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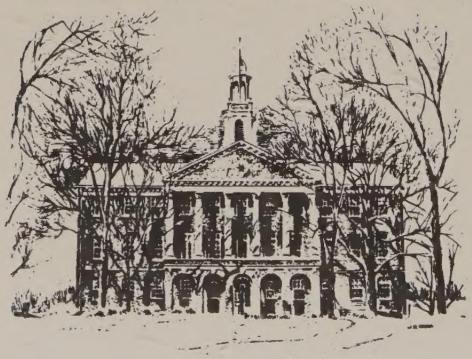

The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

Volume 2—1836-1844

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The History of

THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

THE reception that Volume 1 of the Church History met from the members of the church and their friends greatly encouraged the Board of Publication to urge forward the second volume.

The work of selection, compilation, and arrangement was continued diligently, Apostle Heman C. Smith giving faithful attention to this part of the work, aided at separate stages by the committee of examination and revision.

The second volume covers the difficult period between 1836 and the death of the presidents and martyrs, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, in 1844.

It was found so impracticable with the original design of furnishing an authentic and reliable history, and complete it in two volumes, that the Board decided it to be better to do the work thoroughly, though it should require a third volume to make it what the completed work should be.

It is in this spirit and intention that the Board takes pleasure in placing in the hands of its patrons Volume 2 of the Church History.

THE BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

LAMONI, Iowa, August 9, 1897.

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CHAPTER 1.

1836.

PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES — REFLECTIONS — RECONCILIATION — THE TRIAL — THE CONFESSION — THE SCHOOL — HIGH COUNCIL OF ZION — A FEAST — PLASTERING THE TEMPLE — A JOINT COUNCIL — ANOTHER COUNCIL — PUBLIC MEETING — MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE — BOYNTON'S MARRIAGE — PATRIARCH ORDAINED — A VISION — ENDOWMENTS — RESOLUTIONS ON ORDAINING — EXAMPLE OF INTEMPERANCE.

UNDER the peculiar circumstances mentioned in volume 1, chapter 23, the year 1836 opened. Serious difficulty existed between Joseph Smith and his brother William, which was affecting several others. The spirit manifested by Joseph, as indicated by his writing, was commendable; and we invite special consideration of the following copied from the *Millennial Star:*—

Peculiar circumstances.

"Friday morning, January 1, 1836. This being the beginning of a new year, my heart is filled with gratitude to God, that he has preserved my life, and the lives of my family, while another year has rolled away. We have been sustained and upheld in the midst of a wicked and perverse generation, and exposed to all the afflictions, temptations, and misery that are incident to human life, for which I feel to humble myself in dust and ashes, as it were, before the Lord. But notwithstanding the gratitude that fills my heart on retrospecting the past year, and the multiplied blessings that have crowned our heads, my heart is pained within me because of the difficulty that exists in my father's family. The Devil has made a violent attack on my brother William, and Calvin Stoddard, and the powers of darkness seem to lower over their minds, and not only theirs, but casts a gloomy shade over the minds of my brothers and sisters, which prevents them from seeing things as they really

Reflections.

are; and the powers of earth and hell seem combined to overthrow us and the church, by causing a division in the family; and indeed the adversary is bringing into requisition all his subtlety, to prevent the saints from being endowed, by causing a division among the Twelve, also among the Seventy, and bickerings and jealousies among the elders and official members of the church; and so the leaven of iniquity ferments and spreads among the members of the church. But I am determined that nothing on my part shall be lacking to adjust, and amicably dispose of, and settle, all family difficulties on this day, that the ensuing year, and years, be they few or many, may be spent in righteousness before God. And I know that the cloud will burst, and Satan's kingdom be laid in ruins, with all his black designs; and the saints come forth like gold seven times tried in the fire, being made perfect through sufferings and temptations, and the blessings of heaven and earth multiplied upon our heads, which may God grant for Christ's sake. Amen.

"Brothers William and Hyrum, and Uncle John Smith, came to my house, and we went into a room by ourselves, in company with Father, and Elder Martin Harris. Father Smith then opened our interview by prayer, after which he expressed his feelings on the occasion in a very feeling and pathetic manner, even with all the sympathy of a father, whose feelings were deeply wounded on the account of the difficulty that was existing in the family; and while he addressed us, the Spirit of God rested down upon us in mighty power, and our hearts were melted. Brother William made an humble confession, and asked my forgiveness for the abuse he had offered me. And wherein I had been out of the way, I asked his forgiveness. And the spirit of confession and forgiveness was mutual among us all, and we covenanted with each other, in the sight of God, and the holy angels, and the brethren, to strive thenceforward to build each other up in righteousness, in all things, and not listen to evil reports concerning each other, but, like brethren indeed, go to each other, with our grievances, in the spirit of meekness, and be reconciled, and thereby promote our happiness, and the happiness of the family, and in

Reconciliation.

short, the happiness and wellbeing of all. My wife, and mother, and my scribe were then called in, and we repeated the covenant to them that we had entered into; and while gratitude swelled our bosoms, tears flowed from our eyes. I was then requested to close our interview, which I did with prayer; and it was truly a jubilee, and time of rejoicing; after which we all unitedly administered by laying on of hands to my cousin, George A. Smith, who was immediately healed of a severe rheumatic affection all over the body, which caused excruciating pain.

"Saturday morning, 2d. According to previous arrangement I went to the council at nine o'clock. This council was called to sit in judgment on a complaint preferred against Brother William Smith, by Orson Johnson, on the 29th December.

The trial.

"The council organized and proceeded to business, but before entering on the trial Brother William arose and humbly confessed the charges preferred against him, and asked the forgiveness of the council and the whole congregation.

"A vote was then called to know whether his confession was satisfactory, and whether the brethren would extend the hand of fellowship again. With cheerfulness the whole congregation raised their hands to receive him. . . .

"Sunday morning, 3d. Went to meeting at the usual hour. President Rigdon delivered a fine lecture upon the subject of revelation.

"In the afternoon I confirmed ten or twelve persons who had been baptized, among whom was Malcham C. Davis, who was baptized during intermission to-day. Brother William Smith made his confession to the church to their satisfaction, and was cordially received into fellowship again. The Lord's supper was administered, and Brother William gave out an appointment to preach in the evening, at early candlelight, and preached a fine discourse; and this day has been a day of rejoicing to me. The cloud that has been hanging over us has burst with blessings on our heads, and Satan has been foiled in his attempts to destroy me and the church, by causing jealousies to arise in the hearts of some of the brethren. And I

The confession.

thank my heavenly Father for the union and harmony which now prevail in the church.

"Monday morning, 4th. Met and organized our Hebrew school according to the arrangements that were made on Saturday last, as we had engaged Doctor Piexotto to teach us in the Hebrew language, when we had our room prepared. We informed him that we were ready, and our room was prepared. And he agreed to wait on us this day, and deliver his introductory lecture.

The school.

"Yesterday he sent us word that he could not come until Wednesday next. A vote was then called to know whether we would submit to such treatment or not; and carried in the negative; and Elder Sylvester Smith appointed clerk to write him on the subject, and inform him that his services were not wanted; and Elders William E. McLellin and Orson Hyde dispatched to Hudson Seminary to hire a teacher. They were appointed by the voice of the school to act in their behalf. However, we concluded to go on with our school, and do the best we could until we obtained a teacher; and by the voice of the school I consented to render them all the assistance I was able to, for the time being.

"We are occupying the translating room for the use of the school, until another room can be prepared. This is the first day we have occupied it, which is the west room in the upper part of the temple, which was consecrated this morning by prayer, offered up by Father Smith. This is a rainy time, and the roads are extremely muddy. . . .

"Tuesday, 5th. Attended the Hebrew school, divided them into classes. . . .

"Wednesday, 6th. Attended school, and spent most of the forenoon in settling the unpleasant feelings that existed in the breast of Elder O. Pratt. . . .

"Elder McLellin returned from Hudson, and reported to the school that he had hired a teacher to teach us the term of seven weeks, for three hundred and twenty dollars; that is, forty scholars for that amount; to commence in about fifteen days. He is highly celebrated as a Hebrew scholar, and proposes to give us sufficient knowledge during the above term, to read and translate the language.

"A High Council assembled at Kirtland for the purpose of filling the vacancies of the High Council of Zion. Presidents David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps, and fifteen high priests and elders present. President Phelps announced the death of Christian Whitmer on the 27th of November, 1835. Four councilors, namely, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, William E. McLellin, and Thomas B. Marsh, had been chosen apostles, or special witnesses; and Elisha H. Groves was appointed to take the place of P. P. Pratt in the High Council of Zion; Jesse Hitchcock in the place of William E. McLellin; G. M. Hinkle for O. Pratt; Elias Higbee for T. B. Marsh; and Peter Whitmer, Jr., for Christian Whitmer, deceased; who were ordained, at the time, to their office as councilors. . . .

High Council of Zion.

"Thursday, 7th. Attended a sumptuous feast at Bishop N. K. Whitney's. This feast was after the order of the Son of God—the lame, the halt, and blind were invited, according to the instruction of the Savior. Our meeting was opened by singing, and prayer by Father Smith; after which Bishop Whitney's father and mother, and a number of others, were blessed with a patriarchal blessing. We then received a bountiful refreshment, furnished by the liberality of the Bishop. The company was large, and before we partook, we had some of the songs of Zion sung; and our hearts were made glad while partaking of an antepast of those joys that will be poured upon the heads of the Saints, when they are gathered together on Mount Zion, to enjoy each other's society for evermore, even all the blessings of heaven, when there will be none to molest or make us afraid. Returned home, and spent the evening.

A feast.

"Friday, 8th. Spent the day in the Hebrew school, and made rapid progress in our studies.

"The plastering and hard-finishing on the outside of the Lord's house was commenced on the 2d November, 1835, and finished this day. The job was let to Artemas Millet and Lorenzo Young, at one thousand dollars. Jacob Bump took the job of plastering the inside of the house throughout, at fifteen hundred dollars, and com-

Plastering the temple.

menced the same on the 9th of November last. He is still continuing the work, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather.

"Saturday, 9th. Attended school in the forenoon. About eleven o'clock, received the following note:—

" 'Thus saith the voice of the Spirit to me: If thy brother, Joseph Smith, Jr., will attend the feast at thy house this day (at twelve o'clock), the poor and the lame will rejoice at his presence, and also think themselves honored. Yours in friendship and love,

" 'N. K. W. (WHITNEY.)

" 'January 9, 1836.'

"I dismissed the school, in order to attend to this polite invitation, with my wife, father, and mother. A large congregation assembled, a number were blessed under the hands of Father Smith, and we had a good time. Spent the evening at home.

"Sunday, 10th. Attended meeting at the usual hour. . . .

"Monday, 11th. There being no school, I spent the day at home. . . .

"Tuesday, 12th. I called on the Presidency of the church, and made arrangements to meet to-morrow at ten o'clock a. m., to take into consideration the subject of the solemn assembly."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 551, 552, 564, 565, 567, and 568.

A joint council.

On Wednesday, January 13, 1836, there was a council held at Kirtland, Ohio, composed of the First Presidency of the church, the presidents of the High Council in Zion, and the presidents of the High Council in Kirtland, the Twelve Apostles, the Seventy, and many of the elders.

At this council Elder Vinson Knight was chosen a member of the Bishop's council of Kirtland. He was ordained a high priest and Bishop's counselor under the hands of Bishop N. K. Whitney.

Elder John P. Green was elected a member of the High Council, instead of Oliver Cowdery, who had been elected a president of said council.

Elder Thomas Grover was elected to the High Council to

fill the place of Luke Johnson, who had been ordained one of the Twelve Apostles.

Elder Noah Packard was elected a member of the High Council in place of Sylvester Smith, who had been ordained to the Presidency of the Seventy.

Elder Joseph Kingsbury was elected a high councilor to supply the place of Elder Orson Pratt, who had been ordained one of the Twelve Apostles.

Elder Samuel James was chosen a member of the High Council, in place of Joseph Smith, Sr. These were all ordained under the hands of Presidents Rigdon, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Hyrum Smith, to positions in the High Council of Kirtland.

Then the following were selected to act temporarily in the High Council of Zion, on account of the absence of John Murdock and Solomon Hancock; viz., Elders Alva Beeman and Isaac McWithy.

Thomas Carrico was appointed a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord.

Elders Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, W. W. Phelps, David Whitmer, and Hyrum Smith were appointed a committee to draft rules and regulations to govern the house of the Lord.

The following resolution was passed:—

"By the unanimous voice of the whole assembly, motioned, seconded, and carried unanimously, that no whispering shall be allowed in our councils or assemblies, nor anyone allowed (except he is called upon, or asks permission) to speak loud, upon any consideration whatever; and no man shall be interrupted while speaking, unless he is speaking out of place; and every man shall be allowed to speak in his turn."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 582.

Joseph states regarding the work of this day:—

"This has been one of the best days that I ever spent; there has been an entire union of feeling expressed, in all our proceedings this day; and the Spirit of the God of Israel has rested upon us in mighty power, and it has been good for us to be here in this heavenly place in Christ Jesus; and although much fatigued with the labors of the day, yet my

spiritual reward has been very great indeed. Spent the evening at home."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 582.

On February 15, 1836, this council again assembled, when the committee on rules reported. Their report was three times read, then passed upon by the Presidency, the High Council of Kirtland, the High Council of Zion, the Twelve Apostles, the Seventy, the Bishop of Zion and his counselors, the Bishop of Kirtland and his counselors, and then by the assembly as a whole; when it became a law to govern the house of the Lord in Kirtland.[1]

At this council Don C. Smith was chosen President of the High Priests in Kirtland; Alva Beeman to preside over the

[1] "I. It is according to the rules and regulations of all regular and legally organized bodies, to have a President to keep order.

"II. The body thus organized, are under obligation to be in subjection to that authority.

"III. When a congregation assembles in this house, they shall submit to the following rules, that due respect may be paid to the order of worship; viz.:—

"1. No man shall be interrupted who is appointed to speak by the Presidency of the church, by any disorderly person or persons in the congregation, by whispering, by laughing, by talking, by menacing gestures, by getting up and running out in a disorderly manner, or by offering indignity to the manner of worship, or the religion, or to any officer of said church, while officiating in his office, in anywise whatsoever, by any display of ill manners, or ill breeding, from old or young, rich or poor, male or female, bond or free, black or white, believer or unbeliever. And if any of the above insults are offered, such measures will be taken as are lawful, to punish the aggressor or aggressors, and eject them out of the house.

"2. An insult offered to the presiding elder of said church, shall be considered an insult to the whole body. Also, an insult offered to any of the officers of said church, while officiating, shall be considered an insult to the whole body.

"3. All persons are prohibited from going up the stairs in times of worship.

"4. All persons are prohibited from exploring the house, except waited upon by a person appointed for that purpose.

"5. All persons are prohibited from going into the several pulpits, except the officers who are appointed to officiate in the same.

"6. All persons are prohibited from cutting, marking, or marring the inside or outside of the house with a knife, pencil, or any other instrument whatever, under pain of such penalty as the law shall inflict.

"7. All children are prohibited from assembling in the house, above or below, or any part of it, to play, or for recreation, at any time; and all parents, guardians, or masters, shall be amenable for all damage that shall accrue in consequence of their children's misconduct.

"8. All persons, whether believers or unbelievers, shall be treated with due respect by the authorities of the church.

"9. No imposition shall be practiced upon any member of the church by depriving them of their rights in the house."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 582, 583.

elders, in Kirtland; William Cowdery to preside over the priests of the Aaronic priesthood in Kirtland; Oliver Olney to preside over the teachers in Kirtland; and Ira Bond to preside over the deacons in Kirtland. D. C. Smith and Alva Beeman were ordained by Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith; the others were ordained by Bishop Whitney.

It was agreed that the several quorums should take their turn as doorkeepers in the house of the Lord, and that they should be assisted by Nathaniel Milliken, Thomas Carrico, Amos R. Orton, and Samuel Rolfe.

It was resolved that the Presidency of the High Council should hold all of the keys of the temple, except the keys of one vestry, which were to be held by the "Bishopric of the Aaronic priesthood."

John Corrill was placed in charge of the house.

On January 16, 1836, a joint council was held at Kirtland, between the First Presidency and the Twelve, in which some differences were reconciled. By reference to footnote it will be seen that the difference arose on account of the unwarrantable interference of another. The minutes of the council are as follows:—

Another joint council.

"Saturday morning, 16th. By request, I met with the council of the Twelve in company with my colleagues, Frederick G. Williams and Sidney Rigdon.

"Council opened with singing, and prayer by Thomas B. Marsh, President of the Twelve. He arose and requested the privilege, in behalf of his colleagues, of each speaking in his turn without being interrupted; which was granted them.

"Elder Marsh proceeded to unbosom his feelings touching the mission of the Twelve, and more particularly respecting a certain letter which they received from the Presidency of the High Council in Kirtland, while attending a conference in the State of Maine; also spoke of being placed, in our council on Friday last, below the councils of Kirtland and Zion, having been previously placed next the Presidency in our assemblies; also observed that they were hurt on account of some remarks made by President Hyrum Smith

on the trial of Gladden Bishop, (who had been previously tried before the Council of the Twelve, while on their mission in the east,) who had by their request thrown his case before the High Council in Kirtland for investigation; and the Twelve considered that their proceedings with him were in some degree discountenanced.

"Elder Marsh then gave way to his brethren, and they arose and spoke in turn until they had all spoken, acquiescing in the observations of Elder Marsh, and made some additions to his remarks, which were as follows: that the letter in question, which they received from the Presidency, in which two of their members were suspended, and the rest severely chastened, and that too upon testimony which was unwarrantable; and particular stress was laid upon a certain letter which the Presidency had received from Doctor Warren A. Cowdery, of Freedom, New York, in which he preferred charges against them, which were false, and upon which we (the Presidency) had acted in chastening them; and therefore the Twelve had concluded that the Presidency had lost confidence in them; and that whereas the church in this place had caressed them, at the time of their appointment to the apostleship, they now treated them coolly, and appeared to have lost confidence in them also.[2]

"They spoke of their having been in the work from the beginning almost, and had borne the burden in the heat of the

"NOTICE

[2] "Is hereby given to all whom it may concern, that Messrs. T. B. Marsh and others, denominated the 'Twelve,' while on their mission to the East, last season, received a letter from the Presidency of the church in which they were censured for neglecting to teach the church in Freedom, Cattaraugus County, New York, the necessity of contributing of their earthly substance for the building of the house of the Lord in this place. The rebuke from the Presidency (as the undersigned has been informed) was predicated upon a letter addressed by him to the Presidents or some one of them, stating that they, the Twelve, taught no such thing. The undersigned, although actuated by the purest motives at the time he wrote, believing he had stated nothing but the truth, has since become satisfied from the best of evidence that that particular item in their instructions was not omitted as he had represented, he therefore most deeply regrets it, being sensible as he now is that he was the cause (although innocent) of wounding the best of feelings, and depressing spirits buoyant with hope, while in a field of useful labor at a distance from home. W. A. COWDERY.

"KIRTLAND, March 7, 1836."

—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, p. 263.

day, and passed through many trials, and that the Presidency ought not to suspect their fidelity, nor lose confidence in them, neither have chastened them upon such testimony as was lying before them; also urged the necessity of an explanation upon the letter which they received from the Presidency, and the propriety of their having information, as it respects their duties, authority, etc., that they might come to an understanding in all things, that they might act in perfect unison and harmony before the Lord, and be prepared for the endowment; also that they had preferred a charge against Doctor Cowdery for his unchristian conduct, which the Presidency had disregarded; also that President Oliver Cowdery, on a certain occasion, had made use of language to one of the Twelve that was unchristian and unbecoming any man; and that they would not submit to such treatment. The remarks of the Twelve were made in a very forcible and explicit manner, yet cool and deliberate.

"I observed that we had heard them patiently, and in turn should expect to be heard patiently also. And first, I remarked that it was necessary that the Twelve should state whether they were determined to persevere in the work of the Lord, whether the Presidency were able to satisfy them or not.

"Vote called, and carried in the affirmative, unanimously.

"I then said to them that I had not lost confidence in them, they had no reason to suspect my confidence, and that I would be willing to be weighed in the scale of truth, to-day, in this matter, and risk it in the day of judgment; and as it respects the chastening contained in the letter in question, which I acknowledged might have been expressed in too harsh language, which was not intentional, I asked their forgiveness, inasmuch as I had hurt their feelings; but nevertheless, the letter that Elder McLellin wrote back to Kirtland, while the Twelve were at the east, was harsh also, and I was willing to set the one against the other.

"I next proceeded to explain the duty of the Twelve, and their authority, which is next to the present Presidency, and that the arrangement of the assembly in this place on the 15th instant, in placing the High Councils of Kirtland

next the Presidency, was because the business to be transacted was business relating to that body in particular, which was to fill the several quorums in Kirtland, not because they were first in office, and that the arrangements were the most judicious that could be made on the occasion; also the Twelve are not subject to any other than the First Presidency; viz., myself, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, who are now my counselors; (and where I am not, there is no First Presidency over the Twelve.)

"I also stated to the Twelve that I did not countenance the harsh language of President Cowdery to them, neither in myself nor any other man, although I have sometimes spoken too harshly from the impulse of the moment, and inasmuch as I have wounded your feelings, brethren, I ask your forgiveness, for I love you, and will hold you up with all my heart in all righteousness, before the Lord, and before all men; for be assured, brethren, I am willing to stem the torrent of all opposition, in storms and in tempests, in thunders and in lightnings, by sea and by land, in the wilderness, or among false brethren, or mobs, or wherever God in his providence may call us. And I am determined that neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present or things to come, or any other creature, shall separate me from you. And I will now covenant with you before God, that I will not listen to nor credit any derogatory report against any of you, nor condemn you upon any testimony beneath the heavens, short of that testimony which is infallible, until I can see you face to face, and know of a surety; and I do place unremitted confidence in your word, for I believe you to be men of truth. And I ask the same of you, when I tell you anything, that you place equal confidence in my word, for I will not tell you I know anything which I do not know. But I have already consumed more time than I intended when I commenced, and I will now give way to my colleagues.

"President Rigdon arose next and acquiesced in what I had said, and acknowledged to the Twelve that he had not done as he ought, in not citing Dr. Cowdery to trial on the charges that were put into his hands by the Twelve; that he

had neglected his duty in this thing, for which he asked their forgiveness, and would now attend to it, if they desired him to do so; and President Rigdon also observed to the Twelve, if he had spoken or reproved too harshly at any time, and had injured their feelings by so doing, he asked their forgiveness.

"President Williams arose and acquiesced in the above sentiments, expressed by myself and President Rigdon, in full, and said many good things.

"The President of the Twelve then called a vote of that body to know whether they were perfectly satisfied with the explanation which we had given them, and whether they would enter into the covenant we had proposed to them, which was most readily manifested in the affirmative, by raising their hands to heaven in testimony of their willingness and desire to enter into this covenant, and their entire satisfaction with our explanation upon all the difficulties that were on their minds. We then took each other by the hand in confirmation of our covenant, and there was a perfect union of feeling on this occasion, and our hearts overflowed with blessings, which we pronounced upon each other's heads as the Spirit gave us utterance.

"My scribe is included in this covenant, and these blessings with us, for I love him for the truth and integrity that dwell in him. And may God enable us all to perform our vows and covenants with each other, in all fidelity and righteousness before him, that our influence may be felt among the nations of the earth, in mighty power, even to rend the kingdoms of darkness asunder, and triumph over priestcraft and spiritual wickedness in high places, and break in pieces all kingdoms that are opposed to the kingdom of Christ, and spread the light and truth of the everlasting gospel from the rivers to the ends of the earth.

"Elder Beeman came in for counsel, to know whether it was best for him to return before the solemn assembly or not. After consideration, the council advised him to tarry.

"Council dismissed by singing and prayer.

"WARREN PARRISH, Scribe."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 594-596

Joseph resumes the history as follows:—

"Sunday morning, 17th. Attended meeting at the schoolhouse at the usual hour; a large congregation assembled.

"I proceeded to organize the several quorums present, first the Presidency, then the Twelve, and the Seventy who were present, also the councilors of Kirtland and Zion.

"President Rigdon then arose and observed, that instead of preaching, the time would be occupied by the Presidency and Twelve, in speaking each in their turn, until they had all spoken. The Lord poured out his Spirit upon us, and the brethren began to confess their faults one to the other, and the congregation was soon overwhelmed in tears, and some of our hearts were too big for utterance. The gift of tongues came on us also, like the rushing of a mighty wind, and my soul was filled with the glory of God.

Public meeting.

"In the afternoon I joined three couple in matrimony in the public congregation; viz., William F. Cahoon and Miranda Gibbs, Harvey Stanley and Larona Cahoon, Tunis Rapley and Louisa Cutler. We then administered the sacrament, and dismissed the congregation, which was so dense that it was very unpleasant for all. We were then invited to a feast at Elder Cahoon's, which was prepared for the occasion, and had a good time while partaking of the rich repast; and I verily realized that it was good for brethren to dwell together in unity, like the dew upon the mountains of Israel, where the Lord commanded blessings, even life forevermore. Spent the evening at home.

"Monday, the 18th. Attended the Hebrew school. This day the elder's school was removed into the temple in the room adjoining ours.

"Tuesday, 19th. Spent the day at school. The Lord blessed us in our studies. This day we commenced reading in our Hebrew Bibles with much success. It seems as if the Lord opens our minds in a marvelous manner to understand his word in the original language; and my prayer is that God will speedily endue us with a knowledge of all languages and tongues, that his servants may go forth for the last time to bind up the law, and seal up the testimony.

"'FORM OF MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE.

"'I hereby certify, that, agreeable to the rules and regulations of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, on matrimony, were joined in marriage, Mr. William F. Cahoon and Miss Nancy M. Gibbs, both of this place, on Sabbath, the 17th instant.

Marriage certificate.

"'JOSEPH SMITH, Jr.,

"'Presiding Elder of said Church.

"'KIRTLAND, Ohio, January 19, 1836.'

"Wednesday morning, 20th. Attended school at the usual hour, and spent the day in reading and lecturing, and made some advances in our studies.

"At evening I attended on a matrimonial occasion with my family, at Mr. John Johnson's, having been invited to join President John F. Boynton and Miss Susan Lowell in marriage. A large and respectable company assembled, and were seated by Elders O. Hyde and W. Parrish, in the following order: The Presidency and their companions in the first seats, the Twelve Apostles in the second, the Seventy in the third, and the remainder of the congregation seated with their companions. Elder Boynton and lady with their attendants came in and were seated in front of the Presidency.

Boynton's marriage.

"A hymn was sung, after which I addressed a throne of grace. I then arose and read aloud a license (according to the law of the land) granting any minister of the gospel the privilege of solemnizing the rights of matrimony, and after calling for objection, if any there were, against the anticipated alliance between Elder Boynton and Miss Lowell, and waiting sufficient time, I observed that all forever after this must hold their peace. I then invited them to join hands. I pronounced the ceremony according to the rules and regulations of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, in the name of God, and in the name of Jesus Christ; I pronounced upon them the blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and such other blessings as the Lord put into my heart; and being much under the influence of a cold, I then gave way, and President Rigdon arose and delivered a very forcible address,

suited to the occasion, and closed the services of the evening by prayer."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 596, 597.

Patriarch ordained.

On the evening of the 21st of January, 1836, the First Presidency met in the west schoolroom of the Kirtland Temple, at which time they ordained Joseph Smith, Sr., Patriarch of the church, and also received their patriarchal blessings under his hands. Joseph states concerning this meeting and other matters as follows:—

A vision.

"The heavens were opened upon us, and I beheld the celestial kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, whether in the body or out I cannot tell. I saw the transcendent beauty of the gate through which the heirs of that kingdom will enter, which was like unto circling flames of fire; also the blazing throne of God, whereon was seated the Father and the Son. I saw the beautiful streets of that kingdom, which had the appearance of being paved with gold. I saw Fathers Adam and Abraham, and my father and mother, my brother Alvin, that has long since slept, and marveled how it was that he had obtained an inheritance in that kingdom, seeing that he had departed this life before the Lord had set his hand to gather Israel the second time, and had not been baptized for the remission of sins.

"Thus came the voice of the Lord unto me, saying:—

" 'All who have died without a knowledge of this gospel, who would have received it if they had been permitted to tarry, shall be heirs of the celestial kingdom of God; also all that shall die henceforth without a knowledge of it, who would have received it with all their hearts, shall be heirs of that kingdom, for I, the Lord, will judge all men according to their works, according to the desire of their hearts.'

"And I also beheld that all children who die before they arrive at the years of accountability, are saved in the celestial kingdom of heaven. . . .

"Many of my brethren who received the ordinance with me saw glorious visions also. Angels ministered unto them as well as myself, and the power of the Highest rested upon us, the house was filled with the glory of God, and we shouted, Hosanna to God and the Lamb.

"The Bishop of Kirtland with his counselors, and the Bishop of Zion with his counselors, were present with us, and received their anointings under the hands of Father Smith, and were confirmed by the Presidency, and the glories of heaven were unfolded to them also.

"We then invited the councilors of Kirtland and Zion into our room, and President Hyrum Smith anointed the head of the President of the councilors in Kirtland, and President David Whitmer the head of the President of the councilors of Zion.

Endowments.

"The president of each quorum then anointed the heads of his colleagues, each in his turn, beginning at the eldest.

"The visions of heaven were opened to them also. Some of them saw the face of the Savior, and others were ministered unto by holy angels, and the spirit of prophecy and revelation was poured out in mighty power; and loud hosannahs, and glory to God in the highest saluted the heavens, for we all communed with the heavenly host. . . .

"22d. At evening we met at the same place, with the Council of the Twelve, and the Presidency of the Seventy, who were to receive this ordinance. The High Councils of Kirtland and Zion were present also.

"After calling to order, and organizing, the Presidency proceeded to consecrate the oil.

"We then laid our hands upon Elder Thomas B. Marsh, who is President of the Twelve, and ordained him to the authority of anointing his brethren. I then poured the consecrated oil upon his head in the name of Jesus Christ, and sealed such blessings upon him as the Lord put into my heart. The rest of the Presidency then laid their hands upon him and blessed him, each in his turn, beginning at the eldest. He then anointed and blessed his brethren from the eldest to the youngest. I also laid my hands upon them and pronounced many great and glorious things upon their heads. The heavens were opened, and angels ministered unto us.

"The Twelve then proceeded to anoint and bless the Presidency of the Seventy, and seal upon their heads power and authority to anoint their brethren. . . .

"Brother Don C. Smith was also anointed and blessed to preside over the High Priesthood.

"President Rigdon arose to conclude the services of the evening by invoking the benediction of heaven upon the Lord's anointed, which he did in an eloquent manner; the congregation shouted a long hosannah; the gift of tongues fell upon us in mighty power, angels mingled their voices with ours, while their presence was in our midst, and unceasing praises swelled our bosoms for the space of half an hour.

"I then observed to the brethren that it was time to retire. We accordingly closed our interview and returned home at about two o'clock in the morning, and the Spirit and visions of God attended me through the night.

"Saturday, 23d. Attended at the schoolroom as usual, and we came together filled with the Spirit, as on the past evening, and did not feel like studying, but commenced conversing upon heavenly things, and the day we spent agreeably and profitably. Elder Alva Beeman had been tempted to doubt the things which we received on Saturday evening, and he made an humble confession, and asked forgiveness of the school, which was joyfully given, and he said he would try to resist Satan in future.

"Sunday, 24th. Met the several quorums in the room under the printing office, and after organizing and opening by prayer, called upon the High Council of Kirtland to proceed and confess their sins, as they might be directed by the Spirit, and they occupied the first part of the day, and confessed and exhorted as the Spirit led.

"Afternoon, attended again, and saw the bread and wine administered to the quorums and brethren who were present.

"In the evening met the Presidency in the room over the printing room, and counseled on the subject of endowment, and the preparation for the solemn assembly, which is to be called when the house of the Lord is finished.

"Monday, 25th. Received a line from my scribe, informing me of his ill health, as follows:—

" 'Brother Joseph:—My great desire to be in your company and in the assembly of the Saints, where God opens

the heavens, and exhibits the treasures of eternity, is the only thing that has stimulated me, for a number of days past, to leave my house; for be assured, dear brother, my bodily affliction is severe. I have a violent cough, more especially at night, which deprives me of my appetite, and my strength fails, and writing has a particular tendency to injure my lungs, while I am under the influence of such a cough, I therefore with reluctance send your journal to you until my health improves.

"'Yours in haste,

"'WARREN PARRISH.

"'P. S.—Brother Joseph, pray for me, and ask the prayers of the class on my account also. W. P.'

"Appointed Elder Sylvester Smith acting scribe for the time being, or till Elder Parrish shall recover his health. Spent the day at home receiving visitors.

"Tuesday, 26th. Mr. Seixas arrived from Hudson to teach the Hebrew language, and I attended upon the organizing of the class, for the purpose of receiving lectures upon Hebrew grammar. His hours of instruction are from ten to eleven a. m., and from two to three p. m. His introduction pleased me much. I think he will be a help to the class in learning Hebrew.

"Wednesday, 27th. Attended school as usual, and other matters also which came before me.

"Thursday, 28th. Attended school at the usual hour.

"In the evening met the Quorum of High Priests in the west room of the upper loft of the Lord's house, and, in company with my Council of the Presidency, consecrated and anointed the Counselors of the President of the High Priesthood, and having instructed them, and set the quorum in order, I left them to perform the holy anointing, and went to the Quorum of Elders at the other end of the room. I assisted in anointing the counselors of the president of the elders, and gave the instruction necessary for the occasion, and left the President and his council to anoint the elders while I should go to the adjoining room and attend to organizing and instructing of the Quorum of the Seventy.

"I found the Twelve Apostles assembled with this quorum,

and I proceeded, with the Quorum of the Presidency, to instruct them, and also the Seven Presidents of the Seventy Elders, to call upon God with uplifted hands to seal the blessings which had been promised to them by the holy anointing. As I organized this quorum, with the Presidency in this room, President Sylvester Smith saw a pillar of fire rest down and abide upon the heads of the quorum, as we stood in the midst of the Twelve.

"When the Twelve and the Seven were through with their sealing prayer, I called upon President S. Rigdon to seal them with uplifted hands; and when he had done this, and cried hosannah, that all the congregation should join him, and shout hosannah to God and the Lamb, and glory to God in the highest. . . .

"After these things were over, and a glorious vision, which I saw, had passed, I instructed the seven presidents to proceed and anoint the Seventy, and returned to the room of the High Priests and Elders, and attended to the sealing of what they had done, with uplifted hands.

"The Lord had assisted my brother Carlos, the President of the High Priests, to go forward with the anointing of the High Priests, so that he had performed it to the acceptance of the Lord, notwithstanding he was very young and inexperienced in such duties; and I felt to praise God, with a loud hosannah for his goodness to me and my father's family, and to all the children of men. Praise the Lord all ye his saints, praise his holy name.

"After these quorums were dismissed, I retired to my home, filled with the Spirit, and my soul cried, Hosanna to God and the Lamb, through the silent watches of the night; and while my eyes were closed in sleep the visions of the Lord were sweet unto me, and his glory was round about me. Praise the Lord.

"Friday, 29th. Attended school and read Hebrew. Received a line from the Presidency of the Elders' Quorum, they wishing to know whom they should receive, which I answered verbally.

"Afternoon, I called in all my father's family and made a feast, and related my feelings towards them. My father

pronounced patriarchal blessings on the heads of Henry Gannet, Charles H. Smith, Marietta Carter, Angeline Carter, Joanna Carter, and Nancy Carter. This was a good time to me, and all the family rejoiced together. We continued the meeting till about eight o'clock in the evening, and related the goodness of God to us in opening our eyes to see the visions of heaven, and in sending his holy angels to minister unto us the word of life. We sang the praise of God in animated strains, and the power of love and union was felt and enjoyed.

"Saturday, 30th. Attended school as usual and waited upon several visitors, and showed them the record of Abraham. Mr. Seixas, our Hebrew teacher, examined it with deep interest, and pronounced it to be original beyond all doubt. He is a man of excellent understanding, and has a knowledge of many languages which were spoken by the ancients, and he is an honorable man so far as I can judge yet.

" 'At a conference of the Presidency of the church, it was resolved that no one be ordained to an office in the church in Kirtland, without the voice of the several quorums, when assembled for church business.

" 'Resolved, that Alva Beeman, President of the Elders, be directed to give to the Presidents of the church a list of the names of the several elders comprising his quorum, and all other elders in Kirtland not belonging to any quorum now established.

" 'Resolved, that Harvey Whitlock be restored to the church in full fellowship on his being rebaptized, and after, be ordained to the high priesthood.

" 'OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk.'

"In the evening, went to the upper rooms of the Lord's house, and set the different quorums in order. Instructed the Presidents of the Seventy concerning the order of their anointing, and requested them to proceed and anoint the Seventy. Having set all the quorums in order, I returned to my house, being weary with continual anxiety and labor in putting all the authorities in order, and in striving to purify them for the solemn assembly, according to the commandment of the Lord.

"Sunday, 31st. Attended divine service in the schoolhouse, organized the several quorums of the authorities of the church, appointed doorkeepers to keep order about the door because of the crowd, and to prevent the house from being excessively crowded. The High Council of Zion occupied the first part of the day in speaking as they were led, and relating experiences, trials, etc.

"Afternoon. House came to order as usual and President Sidney Rigdon delivered a short discourse, and we attended to the breaking of bread.

"In the evening my father attended to the blessing of three brethren at President O. Cowdery's. Spent the evening at home. . . .

"In the evening, attended to the organizing of the Quorums of High Priests, Elders, Seventy, and Bishops, in the upper rooms of the house of the Lord, and after blessing each quorum in the name of the Lord, I returned home, had another interview with Mr. Seixas, our Hebrew teacher, and related to him some of the dealings of God to me, and gave him some of the evidence of the work of the latter days. He listened cordially and did not oppose.

"Tuesday, 2d. Attended school as usual, and various duties.

"Went to the schoolhouse in the evening and heard an animated discourse delivered by President Rigdon. He touched the outlines of our faith, showed the scattering and gathering of Israel, from the Scriptures, and the stick of Joseph in the hands of Ephraim, aside from that of Moses. It was an interesting meeting; the Spirit bore record that the Lord was well pleased.

"Wednesday, 3d. Morning, attended our Hebrew lecture.

"Afternoon, studied with Oliver Cowdery and Sylvester Smith. Received many visitors, and showed them the records of Abraham. My father blessed three with a patriarchal blessing. President Alva Beeman handed in seventy of his quorum, designed for another Seventy if God will.

"Thursday, 4th. Attended school, and assisted in forming a class of twenty-two members to read at three o'clock p. m. . .

"Friday, 5th. Attended school, and assisted the committee to make arrangements to supply the third and fourth classes with books; concluded to divide a Bible into several parts, for the benefit of said classes; continued my studies in the Hebrew; received several visitors, and attended various duties.

"Saturday, 6th. Called the anointed together to receive the seal of all their blessings. The High Priests and Elders in the council room as usual, the Seventy with the Twelve in the second room, and the Bishops in the third. I labored with each of these quorums for some time to bring them to the order which God had shown to me, which is as follows: The first part to be spent in solemn prayer before God, without any talking or confusion; and the conclusion with a sealing prayer by President Rigdon, when all the quorums were to shout with one accord a solemn hosannah to God and the Lamb, with an Amen, Amen, and Amen; and then all take seats and lift up their hearts in silent prayer to God, and if any obtain a prophecy or vision, to rise and speak that all might be edified and rejoice together.

"I had considerable trouble to get all the quorums united in this order. I went from room to room repeatedly, and charged each separately, assuring them that it was according to the mind of God, yet, notwithstanding all my labor, while I was in the east room with the Bishop's quorum I felt, by the Spirit, that something was wrong in the Quorum of Elders in the west room, and I immediately requested President O. Cowdery and Hyrum Smith to go in and see what was the matter. The Quorum of Elders had not observed the order which I had given them, and were reminded of it by President Don Carlos Smith, and mildly requested to preserve order, and continue in prayer. Some of them replied that they had a teacher of their own, and did not wish to be troubled by others. This caused the Spirit of the Lord to withdraw; this interrupted the meeting, and this quorum lost their blessing in a great measure.

"The other quorums were more careful, and the Quorum of Seventy enjoys a great flow of the Holy Spirit. Many arose and spoke testifying that they were filled with the

Holy Ghost, which was like fire in their bones, so that they could not hold their peace, but were constrained to cry hosannah to God and the Lamb, and glory in the highest. . . .

"Monday, 8th. Attended school at the usual hour.

"In the afternoon lectured in the upper room of the printing office, with some of the brethren. At evening visited Mr. Seixas, in company with Presidents Rigdon and Cowdery. He conversed freely; is an interesting man. Elder Parrish, my scribe, received my journal again. His health is so much improved, that he thinks he will be able, with the blessing of God, to perform his duty. . . .

"Friday, 12th. . . . I met in company with the several quorums in the schoolroom in the temple, at evening, to take into consideration the subject of ordination. I made some remarks upon the subject of our meeting, which were as follows: that many are desiring to be ordained to the ministry, who are not called, consequently the Lord is displeased. Secondly, many already have been ordained, who ought not to hold official stations in the church, because they dishonor themselves and the church, and bring persecution swiftly upon us, in consequence of their zeal without knowledge. I requested the quorums to take some measures to regulate the same. I proposed some resolutions, and remarked to the brethren, that the subject was now before them, and open for discussion.

"The subject was discussed by Presidents S. Rigdon and O. Cowdery, and Elder Martin Harris, and others, and resolutions were drafted by my scribe (who served as clerk on the occasion), read, and rejected. It was then proposed that I should indite resolutions, which I did as follows:—

Resolutions on ordaining.

"'1. Resolved that no one be ordained to any office in the church, in this Stake of Zion, at Kirtland, without the unanimous voice of the several bodies that constitute this quorum, who are appointed to do church business in the name of said church; viz., The Presidency of the Church, and Counsel; the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb; the twelve High Councilors of Kirtland; the twelve High Councilors of Zion; the Bishop of Kirtland and his coun-

selors; the Bishop of Zion and his counselors; the Seven Presidents of the Seventies; until otherwise ordered by the said quorums.

" '2. And further Resolved that no one be ordained in the branches of said church abroad, unless they are recommended by the voice of the respective branches of the church to which they belong, to a General Conference appointed by the heads of the church, and from that conference receive their ordination. The foregoing resolutions were concurred in by the Presidents of the Seventies.'

"Saturday, 13th. . . . At one o'clock, p. m., the Council of the Twelve Apostles met in the house of the Lord, and after prayer, and consultation upon the nature and expediency of the preceding resolutions, offered in council on the 12th instant, it was unanimously agreed to offer the following amendment to the second resolution (perfectly acquiescing in the first); viz.: that none be ordained to any office in the branches to which they belong; but to be recommended to a General Conference appointed by those or under the direction of those who are designated in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants as having authority to ordain and set in order all the officers of the church abroad, and from that conference receive their ordination.

"Thomas B. Marsh, Chairman.
"Orson Hyde, } Clerks.
"Wm. E. McLellin, }

"Sunday, 14th. Attended to the ordinance of baptism before meeting.

"At the usual hour attended meeting. The Presidents of the Seventy expressed their feelings on the occasion, and their faith in the Book of Mormon and the revelations, also their entire confidence in all the quorums that are organized in the Church of Latter Day Saints. A good time—the Spirit of God rested upon the congregation. Administered the sacrament, and confirmed a number that had been bap tized; and dismissed.

"Monday, 15th. Attended school at the usual hours.

"Spent the afternoon in reading Hebrew, and in receiving and waiting on visitors. On this day we commenced trans lating the Hebrew language, under the instruction of Pro-

fessor Seixas; and he acknowledged that we were the most forward of any class he ever instructed the same length of time. . . .

"Wednesday, 17th. Attended the school, and read and translated with my class as usual. My soul delights in reading the word of the Lord in the original, and I am determined to pursue the study of the languages until I shall become master of them, if I am permitted to live long enough. At any rate, so long as I do live I am determined to make this my object; and with the blessing of God I shall succeed to my satisfaction.

"Elder Coe called to make some arrangements about the Egyptian mummies and records. He proposes to hire a room at John Johnson's inn, and exhibit them there from day to day, at certain hours, that some benefit may be derived from them. I complied with his request, and only observed that they must be managed with prudence and care, especially the manuscripts.

" 'The High Council of Kirtland met in the house of the Lord at six o'clock, p. m., to discuss the subject of ordination, as laid before the council on the 12th instant; and also the proposed amendment of the Twelve Apostles, of the 13th. After discussing the resolutions drawn by President Smith, [it was] voted unanimously that they should remain entire, and the proposed amendment of the Twelve Apostles be rejected.

" 'JOSEPH C. KINGSBURY, Clerk.'

"Thursday, 18th. Spent the day as usual in attending to my family concerns, receiving and waiting upon those who called for instructions, and attending to my studies.

" 'The High Council of Zion met in the upper room of the printing office at seven o'clock, p. m., to discuss the subject of ordination, as laid before them in the council of the 12th instant, and also the amendment of the Twelve Apostles. After discussing the resolutions drawn up by the President, [it was] voted unanimously that they should remain, and that we perfectly acquiesce in said resolutions without any alteration or amendment.

" 'ELIAS HIGBEE, Clerk.' . . .

"Monday, 22d. . . . 'The Presidency of the church met and took into consideration the resolutions presented to the Twelve Apostles (dated February 12), the Presidents of the Seventies, the High Council of the church for Zion and Kirtland. After due deliberation it was unanimously agreed that the original resolutions be adopted without amendments.

"'OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk of Council.'

"The lower room of the temple is now prepared for painting. Elder Brigham Young was obliged to leave the Hebrew class and superintend the painting of lower room till finished.

"This afternoon the sisters met to make the vail of the temple. Father Smith presided over them, and gave them much good instruction. Closed by singing and prayer, which is customary at the commencement and close of all councils and meetings of the Church of Latter Day Saints, although not always mentioned in this record.

"Tuesday, 23d. . . Towards the close of the day I met with the Presidency and many of the brethren in the house of the Lord, and made some remarks from the pulpit upon the rise and progress of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, and pronounced a blessing upon the sisters, for their liberality in giving their services so cheerfully to make the vail for the Lord's house; also upon the congregation; and dismissed.

"Wednesday, 24th. . . At evening, met the quorums at the schoolroom in the temple, to take into consideration the propriety or impropriety of ordaining a large number of individuals who wish to be ordained to official stations in the church. Each individual's name was presented, and the voice of the assembly called; and William Wightman, Charles Wightman, David Cluff, Truman Jackson, Reuben Barton, Daniel Miles, and Moses Daley, were received, and nineteen were rejected Their ordinations deferred until another time. Presidents Orson Hyde, Oliver Cowdery, and Sylvester Smith, were nominated and seconded to draft rules and regulations concerning licenses, and by vote of the assembly, passed unanimously.

"Thomas Burdick chosen by nomination to officiate as clerk, to record licenses and receive pay for his services accordingly. Also voted that the Twelve and Seventy see that the calls for preaching in the region round about Kirtland be attended to, and filled by judicious elders of this church. . . .

"This evening [March 3] the several quorums met agreeable to adjournment, and were organized according to their official standing in the church. I then arose and made some remarks on the object of our meeting, as follows:—

" '1. To receive or reject certain resolutions that were drafted by a committee chosen for that purpose, at a preceding meeting, respecting licenses for elders and other official members.

" '2. To sanction, by the united voice of the quorums, certain resolutions respecting ordaining members, that have passed through each quorum separately without any alteration or amendment, excepting in the Quorum of the Twelve.'

"After singing and prayer, President Oliver Cowdery, chairman of the committee appointed on the 24th ultimo, to draft resolutions respecting licenses, arose and made report in behalf of the committee, which was read three times by the chairman. The third time he read the resolutions he gave time and opportunity, after reading each article, for objections to be made, if any there were. No objections were raised or alterations made, but an addition was made to the sixth article, extending the powers of chairman and clerk pro tem. to sign licenses, etc.

"I then observed that these resolutions must needs pass through each quorum separately, beginning at the Presidency, and consequently it must first be thrown into the hands of the President of the Deacons and his council, as equal rights and privileges is my motto; and one man is as good as another, if he behaves as well; and that all men should be esteemed alike, without regard to distinctions of an official nature. The resolutions passed through the President of the Deacons and his council by their unanimous voice.

"It was then thrown before the presidents of the several

quorums and their council in the following order, and in the same manner as before, viz.; the Teachers, Priests, Bishop of Kirtland, Bishop of Zion, Elders, High Priests, Seventy, High Council of Zion, High Council of Kirtland, the Twelve, and, lastly, into the hands of the Presidency of the church, and all the quorums, and received their unanimous sanction. The resolutions are as follows:—

"'Whereas the records of the several conferences, held by the elders of the church, and the ordination of many of the official members of the same, in many cases, have been imperfectly kept since its organization, to avoid ever after any inconvenience, difficulty, or injury, in consequence of such neglect, your committee recommend:—

"'1. That all licenses hereafter granted by these authorities assembled as a quorum, or by General Conference held for the purpose of transacting the business of the church, be recorded at full length by a clerk appointed for that purpose, in a book to be kept in this branch of the church, until it shall be thought advisable, by the heads of the church to order other books and appoint other clerks to record licenses as above; and that said recording clerk be required to indorse a certificate under his own hand and signature, on the back of said licenses, specifying the time when and place where such license was recorded, and also a reference to the letter and page of the book containing the same.

"'2. That this quorum appoint two persons to sign licenses given as aforesaid, one as chairman, and the other as clerk of conference; and that it shall be the duty of said persons appointed to sign licenses as clerk of conference immediately hereafter, to deliver the same into the hands of the recording clerk.

"'3. That all General Conferences abroad give each individual whom they ordain a certificate, signed by the chairman and clerk of said conference, stating the time and place of such conference, and the office to which the individual has been ordained; and that when such certificate has been forwarded to the person hereafter authorized to sign licenses as clerk of conference, such persons shall, together with chairman of conference, immediately sign a license; and

said clerk of conference shall, after the same has been recorded, forward it to the proper person.

"'4. That all official members in good standing and fellowship in the various branches of this church, be requested to forward their present licenses, accompanied by a certificate of their virtuous and faithful walk before the Lord, signed by the chairman and clerk of a General Conference, or by the clerk of the branch of the church in which such official member resides, by the advice and direction of such church, to the clerk of conference, whose duty it shall be to fill a new license, as directed in the third article; and that all licenses, signed, recorded, and indorsed, as specified in the first article, shall be considered good, and valid to all intents and purposes, in the business and spiritual affairs of this church, as a religious society, or before any court of record of this or any other country, wherein preachers of the gospel are entitled to special privileges, answering in all respects as an original record, without the necessity of referring to any other document.

"'5. That the recording clerk be required to publish quarterly, in a paper published by some member or members of this church, a list of the names of the several persons for whom he has recorded licenses within the last quarter.

"'6. That this quorum appoint two persons to sign as chairman and clerk of conference, pro tem., licenses for the standing chairman and clerk, who shall be appointed as named in the second article, and also to act in their absence, in signing other licenses, as specified in the foregoing article.

"'Presidents Joseph Smith, Junior, was nominated as chairman, Frederick G. Williams, as clerk, and Sidney Rigdon as chairman pro tem., and Oliver Cowdery as clerk pro tem. Vote from the several quorums called, in their order, and passed unanimously.

"'President Joseph Smith, Junior, made some remarks upon the resolution offered to the council on the 12th of February, followed by President Thomas B. Marsh, who called a vote of his quorum to ascertain whether they would repeal their amendment of the 13th of February. And nine of the

Twelve voted in the affirmative, and three; viz., John F. Boynton, Lyman E. Johnson, and Orson Pratt, in the negative. And the original bill of the 12th of February was passed.

"'Dismissed by prayer, half past nine o'clock.

"'OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk.' . . .

"Saturday, 12th. Engaged a team to go to Hudson after Mr. Seixas' family and goods, also a horse and carriage for himself and wife. Cold weather and fine sleighing. I was informed to-day that a man by the name of Clark froze to death last night, near this place, who was under the influence of ardent spirits. O, my God! how long will this monster intemperance find its victims on the earth? Methinks until the earth is swept with the wrath and indignation of God, and Christ's kingdom becomes universal. O, come, Lord Jesus, and cut short thy work in righteousness! . . .

Example of intemperance.

"Saturday, 19th. . . . 'Elders Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman Johnson, met the Presidency of the church, and verbally withdrew all objections to the first resolution presented to the quorums by the Presidency, on the 12th of February, for the regulation of ordinations.

"'OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk of Conference.'

"Sunday. 20th. Attended the house of worship. The Quorum of High Priests delivered short addresses to the congregation, in a very feeling and impressive manner. One individual was baptized at intermission.

"In the afternoon, administered the Lord's supper, as we were wont to do on every Sabbath, and the Lord blessed our souls with the outpouring of his Spirit, and we were made to rejoice in his goodness.

"Monday, 21st. At school in the morning. After school, went to the printing office, and prepared a number of elders' licenses, to send by Elder Palmer to the court of Medina County, in order to obtain licenses to marry, as the court in this county will not grant us this privilege. Ten persons were baptized in this place. . . .

"Saturday, 26th. At home, attending to my domestic concerns in the morning. After breakfast, met with the

Presidency to make arrangements for the solemn assembly, which occupied the remainder of the day."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 620, 621, 622, 631, 632, 633, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 662, and 708.

CHAPTER 2.

1836.

THE TEMPLE—ITS DEDICATION—QUORUMS APPROVED—DEDICATORY PRAYER—TESTIMONIES—WASHING OF FEET—A VISION—H. C. KIMBALL'S MISSION—FAMILY AFFAIRS.

SUNDAY, March 27, 1836, was a great day in Kirtland, for on that day the temple was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Considering the circumstances of the people, the erection of this building was a wonderful accomplishment. How the people's hearts must have swelled for joy when they beheld completed this house which they had builded by so much toil, suffering, and sacrifice! It stands to-day a magnificent monument of the industry, liberality, and faithfulness of a humble but devoted people. It is a splendid illustration of what earnest men and women can do, even under the most adverse and discouraging circumstances, when they possess the will and determination.

The temple.

This historic building stands on elevated ground south of the east fork of the Chagrin River about three miles southeast of Willoughby, Ohio, about nine miles southwest of Painesville, and about six miles in direct line from Lake Erie.

The building is built of stone, plastered without and within. It is three stories high exclusive of the basement.

The first and second stories are auditoriums, each fifty-five by sixty-five feet on the inside, exclusive of the vestibule on the east end, through which is the entrance to the building, and in which are the stairways. The lower room was to be dedicated for "sacrament offering, and for your preaching; and your fasting, and your praying, and the offering up your most holy desires unto me, saith your Lord." The second room was to be dedicated for the school of the apostles. In each of these rooms are eight pulpits,

four in each end. Those in the west end were intended for the Melchisedec priesthood, and those in the east end for the Aaronic priesthood. The third story is divided into small rooms.

The outside walls are about two feet thick; the outside of the building is fifty-nine by seventy-nine feet.

The minutes of the dedication as published in the *Messenger and Advocate* at the time are as follows:—

"KIRTLAND, Ohio, March 27, 1836.

"Previous notice having been given, the Church of the Latter Day Saints met this day in the house of the Lord to dedicate it to him. The congregation began to assemble before eight o'clock a. m. and thronged the doors until nine, when the Presidents of the church, who assisted in seating the congregation, were reluctantly compelled to order the doorkeepers to close the doors; every seat and aisle was crowded. One thousand persons were now silently and solemnly waiting to hear the word of the Lord from the mouth of his servants in the sacred desk. President S. Rigdon began the services of the day, by reading the ninety-sixth and twenty-fourth Psalms. An excellent choir of singers, led by M. C. Davis, sung the following hymn:—

Dedication.

" 'TUNE—Sterling.
" 'Ere long the vail will rend in twain.' . . .

"President Rigdon then, in an able, devout, and appropriate manner, addressed the throne of grace. The following hymn was then sung:—

" 'TUNE—Weymouth.
" 'O happy souls who pray.' . . .

"The speaker (S. Rigdon) selected the eighth chapter of Matthew, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth verses from which he proposed to address the congregation, confining himself more closely to the twentieth verse. He spoke two hours and a half in his usual forcible and logical manner. At one time in the course of his remarks he was rather pathetic than otherwise, which drew tears from many eyes. He was then taking a retrospective view of the toils, privations, and anxieties of those who had labored upon the walls of the house to erect them. And added, there were those

who had wet them with their tears, in the silent shades of night, while they were praying to the God of heaven to protect them and stay the unhallowed hands of ruthless spoilers, who had uttered a prophecy when the foundation was laid that the walls would never be reared. This was only a short digression from the main thread of his discourse, which he soon resumed.

"Here it may not be improper to give a synopsis of the discourse for the satisfaction of our readers who were not privileged as we were with hearing it. The speaker assumed as a postulate, what we presume no one was disposed to deny; viz.: that in the days of the Savior there were synagogues, where the Jews worshiped God, and in addition to them, the splendid temple at Jerusalem. Yet, when on a certain occasion one proposed to follow him whithersoever he went, he, though heir of all things, cried out like one in the bitterness of his soul in abject poverty, 'The foxes have holes,' etc. This, said the speaker, was evidence to his mind that the Most High did not put his name there, and that he did not accept the worship of those who paid their vows and adorations there. This was evident from the fact that they would not receive him, but thrust him from them, saying, 'Away with him! crucify him! crucify him!' It was therefore abundantly evident that his Spirit did not dwell in them. They were the degenerate sons of noble sires; but they had long since slain the prophets and seers through whom the Lord revealed himself to the children of men. They were not led by revelation, this, said the speaker, was the grand difficulty among them—their unbelief in present revelation. He further remarked that their unbelief in present revelation was the means of dividing that generation into the various sects and parties that existed. They were sincere worshipers, but their worship was not required of them, nor was it acceptable to God. The Redeemer himself, who knew the hearts of all men, called them a generation of vipers. It was proof positive to his mind, that there being Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and Essenes, and all differing from each other, that they were led by the precepts and commandments of men. Each had

something peculiar to himself, but all agreed in one point; viz.: to oppose the Redeemer. So that we discover he could with the utmost propriety exclaim, notwithstanding their synagogue and temple worship, 'The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.' He took occasion here to remark that such diversity of sentiment ever had and ever would obtain when people were not led by present revelation. This brought him to the inevitable conclusion that the various sects of the present day, from their manifesting the same spirit, rested under the same condemnation with those who were coeval with the Savior. He admitted there were many houses, many sufficiently great, built for the worship of God; but not one except this, on the face of the whole earth, that was built by divine revelation; and were it not for this, the dear Redeemer might in this day of science, this day of intelligence, this day of religion, say to those who would follow him, 'The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.'

"Here his whole soul appeared to be fired with his subject. Arguments, strong and conclusive, seemed almost to vie with each other for utterance. Indeed, there was no sophistry in his reasoning, no plausible hypothesis on which the whole rested, but on the contrary, plain scripture facts. Therefore his deductions and inferences were logical and conclusive.

"The comparison drawn between the different religious sects of ancient and modern times was perfectly natural and simple, yet it was done in that confident, masterly manner, accompanied with those incontrovertible proofs of his position, that was directly calculated to cheer and gladden the hearts of the saints, but to draw down the indignation of the sectarian world upon him; and we have no doubt, had our speaker uttered the same sentiments, with the same proof of their correctness, had there been those present that we might name, his voice would doubtless have been drowned, as was that of the ancient apostle in the Athenian temple, when his auditors cried incessantly for about two hours 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.'

"But to conclude, we can truly say no one unacquainted with the manner of delivery and style of our speaker can from reading form any adequate idea of the powerful effect he is capable of producing in the minds of his hearers; and to say on this occasion he showed himself master of his subject and did well, would be doing him injustice; to say he acquitted himself with honor or did very well, would be detracting from his real merit; and to say that he did exceeding well, would be only halting praise.

"After closing his discourse he presented Joseph Smith, Jr., to the church as a prophet and seer. The Presidents of the church, then all in their seats, acknowledged him as such by rising. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

"The question was then put and carried, without a manifest dissenting sentiment, to each of the different grades or quorums of church officers respectively, and then to the congregation.

"The following hymn was then sung:—

" 'TUNE, Hosanna.

" 'Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation.' . . .

"Services closed for the forenoon.

"Intermission was about fifteen minutes, during which none left their seats except a few females, who from having left their infants with their friends were compelled to do so to take care of them. The p. m. services commenced by singing the following hymn:—

" 'TUNE, Adam-ondi-Ahman.

" 'This earth was once a garden place.' . . .

"President J. Smith, Jr., then rose, and after a few preliminary remarks presented the several Presidents of the church, then present, to the several quorums respectively, and then to the church as being equal with himself, acknowledging them to be prophets and seers. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative in every instance. Each of the different quorums was presented in its turn to all the rest, and then to the church, and received and acknowledged by all the rest, in their several stations, without a manifest dissenting sentiment.

Quorums approved.

"President J. Smith, Jr., then addressed the congregation

in a manner calculated to instruct the understanding rather than please the ear, and at or about the close of his remarks he prophesied to all that inasmuch as they would uphold these men in their several stations, alluding to the different quorums in the church, the Lord would bless them; yea, in the name of Christ, the blessings of heaven shall be yours. And when the Lord's anointed go forth to proclaim the word, bearing testimony to this generation, if they receive it, they shall be blessed; but if not, the judgments of God will follow close upon them, until that city or that house that rejects them shall be left desolate. The following hymn was then sung:—

"'TUNE, Dalston.

"'How pleased and blest was I.' . . .

"He then offered the dedication prayer, which was as follows:—

Dedicatory prayer.

"'Thanks be to thy name, O Lord God of Israel, who keepest covenant and showest mercy unto thy servants, who walk uprightly before thee with all their hearts: thou who hast commanded thy servants to build an house to thy name in this place. (Kirtland.) And now thou beholdest, O Lord, that so thy servants have done, according to thy commandment. And now we ask thee, holy Father, in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of thy bosom, in whose name alone salvation can be administered to the children of men; we ask thee, O Lord, to accept of this house, the workmanship of the hands of us, thy servants, which thou didst command us to build; for thou knowest that we have done this work through great tribulation: and out of our poverty we have given of our substance to build a house to thy name, that the Son of Man might have a place to manifest himself to his people.

"'And as thou hast said, in a revelation given unto us, calling us thy friends, saying, "Call your solemn assembly, as I have commanded you; and as all have not faith, seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom: seek learning, even by study, and also by faith.

"' "Organize yourselves; prepare every needful thing,

and establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God; that your incomings may be in the name of the Lord; that your outgoings may be in the name of the Lord; that all your salutations may be in the name of the Lord, with uplifted hands to the Most High."

"'And now, holy Father, we ask thee to assist us, thy people with thy grace in calling our solemn assembly, that it may be done to thy honor, and to thy divine acceptance, and in a manner that we may be found worthy, in thy sight, to secure a fulfillment of the promises which thou hast made unto us thy people, in the revelations given unto us: that thy glory may rest down upon thy people, and upon this thy house, which we now dedicate to thee, that it may be sanctified and consecrated to be holy, and that thy holy presence may be continually in this house; and that all people who shall enter upon the threshold of the Lord's house may feel thy power and be constrained to acknowledge that thou hast sanctified it, and that it is thy house, a place of thy holiness.

"'And do thou grant, holy Father, that all those who shall worship in this house may be taught words of wisdom out of the best books, and that they may seek learning, even by study, and also by faith; as thou hast said; and that they may grow up in thee and receive a fullness of the Holy Ghost, and be organized according to thy laws, and be prepared to obtain every needful thing: and that this house may be a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of glory, and of God, even thy house: that all the incomings of thy people, into this house, may be in the name of the Lord; that all their outgoings from this house may be in the name of the Lord; that all their salutations may be in the name of the Lord, with holy hands, uplifted to the Most High; and that no unclean thing shall be permitted to come into thy house to pollute it.

"'And when thy people transgress, any of them, they may speedily repent and return unto thee, and find favor in thy sight, and be restored to the blessings which thou hast

ordained to be poured out upon those who shall reverence thee in this thy house.

" 'And we ask thee, holy Father, that thy servants may go forth from this house armed with thy power, and that thy name may be upon them and thy glory be round about them, and thine angels have charge over them; and from this place they may bear exceeding great and glorious tidings in truth unto the ends of the earth, that they may know that this is thy work, and that thou hast put forth thy hand to fulfil that which thou hast spoken by the mouths of thy prophets concerning the last days.

" 'We ask thee, holy Father, to establish the people that shall worship and honorably hold a name and standing in this thy house, to all generations, and for eternity, that no weapon formed against them shall prosper; that he who diggeth a pit for them shall fall into the same himself; that no combination of wickedness shall have power to rise up and prevail over thy people, upon whom thy name shall be put in this house; and if any people shall rise against this people, that thine anger be kindled against them; and if they shall smite this people, thou wilt smite them—thou wilt fight for thy people as thou didst in the day of battle, that they may be delivered from the hands of all their enemies.

" 'We ask thee, holy Father, to confound and astonish, and bring to shame and confusion all those who have spread lying reports abroad over the world against thy servant or servants, if they will not repent when the everlasting gospel shall be proclaimed in their ears; and that all their works may be brought to nought, and be swept away by the hail, and by the judgments which thou wilt send upon them in thine anger, that there may be an end to lyings and slanders against thy people; for thou knowest, O Lord, that thy servants have been innocent before thee in bearing record of thy name. for which they have suffered these things; therefore we plead before thee for a full and complete deliverance from under this yoke. Break it off, O Lord; break it off from the necks of thy servants by thy power, that we may rise up in the midst of this generation and do thy work!

" 'O Jehovah! have mercy upon this people, and as all

men sin, forgive the transgressions of thy people and let them be blotted out forever. Let the anointing of thy ministers be sealed upon them with power from on high: let it be fulfilled upon them as upon those on the day of Pentecost; let the gift of tongues be poured out upon thy people, even cloven tongues as of fire, and the interpretation thereof. And let thy house be filled, as with a rushing mighty wind, with thy glory.

" 'Put upon thy servants the testimony of the covenant, that when they go out and proclaim thy word they may seal up the law and prepare the hearts of thy saints for all those judgments thou art about to send, in thy wrath, upon the inhabitants of the earth, because of their transgressions, that thy people may not faint in the day of trouble.

" 'And whatever city thy servants shall enter and the people of that city receive their testimony, let thy peace and thy salvation be upon that city, that they may gather out of that city the righteous, that they may come forth to Zion or to her stakes, the places of thine appointment, with songs of everlasting joy; and until this be accomplished let not thy judgments fall upon that city.

" 'And whatever city thy servants shall enter and the people of that city receive not the testimony of thy servants, and thy servants warn them to save themselves from this untoward generation, let it be upon that city according to that which thou hast spoken by the mouths of thy prophets; but deliver thou, O Jehovah, we beseech thee, thy servants from their hands, and cleanse them from their blood. O Lord, we delight not in the destruction of our fellow men: their souls are precious before thee; but thy word must be fulfilled. Help thy servants to say, with thy grace assisting them, "Thy will be done, O Lord, and not ours."

" 'We know that thou hast spoken by the mouth of thy prophets terrible things concerning the wicked, in the last days, that thou wilt pour out thy judgments, without measure; therefore, O Lord, deliver thy people from the calamity of the wicked; enable thy servants to seal up the law and bind up the testimony, that they may be prepared against the day of burning.

" 'We ask thee, holy Father, to remember those who have been driven by the inhabitants of Jackson County, Missouri, from the lands of their inheritance, and break off, O Lord, this yoke of affliction that has been put upon them. Thou knowest, O Lord, that they have been greatly oppressed and afflicted, by wicked men, and our hearts flow out in sorrow because of their grievous burdens. O Lord, how long wilt thou suffer this people to bear this affliction, and the cries of their innocent ones to ascend up in thine ears, and their blood to come up in testimony before thee, and not make a display of thy power in their behalf?

" 'Have mercy, O Lord, upon that wicked mob, who have driven thy people, that they may cease to spoil, that they may repent of their sins, if repentance is to be found; but if they will not, make bare thine arm, O Lord, and redeem that which thou didst appoint a Zion unto thy people!

" 'And if it cannot be otherwise, that the cause of thy people may not fail before thee, may thine anger be kindled and thine indignation fall upon them, that they may be wasted away, both root and branch, from under heaven; but inasmuch as they will repent, thou art gracious and merciful and will turn away thy wrath when thou lookest upon the face of thine anointed.

" 'Have mercy, O Lord, upon all the nations of the earth; have mercy upon the rulers of our land. May those principles which were so honorably and nobly defended; viz., the Constitution of our land, by our fathers, be established forever. Remember the kings, the princes, the nobles, and the great ones of the earth, and all people; and the churches; all the poor, the needy and the afflicted ones of the earth, that their hearts may be softened when thy servants shall go out from thy house, O Jehovah, to bear testimony of thy name, that their prejudices may give way before the truth, and thy people may obtain favor in the sight of all, that all the ends of the earth may know that we thy servants have heard thy voice, and that thou hast sent us, that from among all these thy servants, the sons of Jacob, may gather out the righteous to build a holy city to thy name, as thou hast commanded them.

" 'We ask thee to appoint unto Zion other stakes besides this one, which thou hast appointed, that the gathering of thy people may roll on in great power and majesty, that thy work may be cut short in righteousness.

" 'Now these words, O Lord, we have spoken before thee, concerning the revelations and commandments which thou hast given unto us, who are identified with the Gentiles. But thou knowest that we have a great love for the children of Jacob who have been scattered upon the mountains; for a long time in a cloudy and dark day.

" 'We therefore ask thee to have mercy upon the children of Jacob, that Jerusalem, from this hour, may begin to be redeemed, and the yoke of bondage may begin to be broken off from the house of David, and the children of Judah may begin to return to the lands which thou didst give to Abraham, their father, and cause that the remnants of Jacob, who have been cursed and smitten, because of their transgression, to be converted from their wild and savage condition, to the fullness of the everlasting gospel, that they may lay down their weapons of bloodshed and cease their rebellions. And may all the scattered remnants of Israel, who have been driven to the ends of the earth, come to a knowledge of the truth, believe in the Messiah, and be redeemed from oppression, and rejoice before thee.

" 'O Lord, remember thy servant Joseph Smith, Jr., and all his afflictions and persecutions, how he has covenanted with Jehovah and vowed to thee, O mighty God of Jacob, and the commandments which thou hast given unto him, and that he hath sincerely strove to do thy will. Have mercy, O Lord, upon his wife and children, that they may be exalted in thy presence, and preserved by thy fostering hand. Have mercy upon all their immediate connections, that their prejudices may be broken up and swept away as with a flood, that they may be converted and redeemed with Israel and know that thou art God. Remember, O Lord, the presidents, even all the presidents of thy church, that thy right hand may exalt them with all their families, and their immediate connections, that their names may be perpetuated

and had in everlasting remembrance from generation to generation.

" 'Remember all thy church, O Lord, with all their families, and all their immediate connections, with all their sick and afflicted ones, with all the poor and meek of the earth, that the kingdom which thou hast set up without hands may become a great mountain and fill the whole earth, that thy church may come forth out of the wilderness of darkness and shine forth fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners, and be adorned as a bride for that day when thou shalt unveil the heavens and cause the mountains to flow down at thy presence, and the valleys to be exalted, the rough places made smooth, that thy glory may fill the earth.

" 'That when the trump shall sound for the dead, we shall be caught up in the cloud to meet thee, that we may ever be with the Lord, that our garments may be pure, that we may be clothed upon with robes of righteousness, with palms in our hands and crowns of glory upon our head, and reap eternal joy for all our sufferings. O Lord, God Almighty, hear us in these our petitions, and answer us from heaven, thy holy habitation, where thou sittest enthroned with glory, honor, power, majesty, might, dominion, truth, justice, judgment, mercy, and an infinity of fullness from everlasting to everlasting.

" 'O hear, O hear, O hear us, O Lord, and answer these petitions, and accept the dedication of this house unto thee, the work of our hands, which we have built unto thy name; and also this church to put upon it thy name. And help us by the power of thy Spirit, that we may mingle our voices with those bright shining seraphs around thy throne with acclamations of praise, singing hosanna to God and the Lamb: and let these thine anointed ones be clothed with salvation, and thy saints shout aloud for joy. Amen and Amen.'

"The choir then sung a hymn.

" 'TUNE, Hosanna.

" 'The Spirit of God like a fire is burning.' . . .

"President Smith then asked the several quorums sepa-

rately, and then the congregation, if they accepted the prayer. The vote was in every instance unanimous in the affirmative.

"The eucharist was administered. D. C. Smith blessed the bread and wine and they were distributed by several elders present, to the church.

Testimonies

"President J. Smith, Jr., then arose and bore record of his mission. D. C. Smith bore record of the truth of the work of the Lord in which we are engaged.

"President O. Cowdery spoke and testified of the truth of the Book of Mormon and of the work of the Lord in these last days.

"President F. G. Williams bore record that a holy angel of God came and sat between him and J. Smith, Sr., while the house was being dedicated.

"President Hyrum Smith (one of the building committee) made some appropriate remarks concerning the house, congratulating those who had endured so many toils and privations to erect it, that it was the Lord's house built by his commandment and he would bless them.

"President S. Rigdon then made a few appropriate closing remarks, and a short prayer, which was ended with loud acclamations of Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna to God and the Lamb, Amen, Amen and Amen! three times. Elder B. Young, one of the Twelve, gave a short address in tongues; Elder D. W. Patten interpreted and gave a short exhortation in tongues himself; after which, President J. Smith, Jr., blessed the congregation in the name of the Lord, and at a little past four p. m. the whole exercise closed and the congregation dispersed.

"We further add that we should do violence to our own feelings and injustice to the real merit of our brethren and friends who attended the meeting, were we here to withhold a meed of praise, which we think is their just due, not only for their quiet demeanor during the whole exercise, which lasted more than eight hours, but for their great liberality in contributing of their earthly substance for the relief of the building committee, who were yet somewhat involved. As this was to be a day of sacrifice, as well as of fasting, there

was a man placed at each door in the morning to receive the voluntary donations of those who entered. On counting the collection it amounted to nine hundred and sixty-three dollars."—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 274–281.

Washing of feet.

Tuesday, March 29, 1836, there was a meeting of some of the leading men held in the temple, at which time the ordinance of washing of feet was attended to, and the Lord's supper administered.

On the 30th official members of the church to the number of about three hundred met and attended to the ordinance of feet washing, continuing all night in session.

On Thursday, the 31st, the dedication services of the previous Sunday were repeated for the benefit of those who could not be admitted for want of room on Sunday.

Of a meeting held in the temple on April 3, 1836, and other items, Joseph writes:—

"Sunday, 3d. Attended meeting in the Lord's house, and assisted the other presidents of the church in seating the congregation, and then became an attentive listener to the preaching from the stand. Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten spoke in the forenoon to an attentive audience of about one thousand persons. In the afternoon, I assisted the other presidents in distributing the elements of the Lord's supper to the church, receiving them from the Twelve, whose privilege it was to officiate in the sacred desk this day. After having performed this service to my brethren, I retired to the pulpit, the vails being dropped, and bowed myself, with Oliver Cowdery, in solemn and silent prayer. After rising from prayer, the following vision was opened to both of us:—

A vision.

"The vail was taken from our minds, and the eyes of our understanding were opened. We saw the Lord standing upon the breastwork of the pulpit before us, and under his feet was a paved work of pure gold in color like amber. His eyes were as a flame of fire, the hair of his head was white like the pure snow, his countenance shone above the brightness of the sun, and his voice was as the sound of the rushing of great waters, even the voice of Jehovah, saying:—

"'I am the first and the last; I am he who liveth; I am he who was slain; I am your advocate with the Father. Behold, your sins are forgiven you, you are clean before me, therefore lift up your heads and rejoice, let the hearts of your brethren rejoice, and let the hearts of all my people rejoice, who have, with their might, built this house to my name, for behold, I have accepted this house, and my name shall be here, and I will manifest myself to my people in mercy in this house; yea, I will appear unto my servants, and speak unto them with mine own voice, if my people will keep my commandments, and do not pollute this holy house; yea, the hearts of thousands and tens of thousands shall greatly rejoice in consequence of the blessings which shall be poured out, and the endowment with which my servants have been endowed in this house; and the fame of this house shall spread to foreign lands; and this is the beginning of the blessing which shall be poured out upon the heads of my people. Even so. Amen.'

"After this vision closed, the heavens were again opened unto us, and Moses appeared before us, and committed unto us the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth, and the leading of the Ten Tribes from the land of the north.

"After this Elias appeared, and committed the dispensation of the gospel of Abraham, saying, that in us and our seed all generations after us should be blessed.

"After this vision had closed, another great and glorious vision burst upon us, for Elijah the prophet, who was taken to heaven without tasting death, stood before us, and said:—

"'Behold, the time has fully come, which was spoken of by the mouth of Malachi, testifying that he [Elijah] should be sent before the great and dreadful day of the Lord come, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse. Therefore the keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands, and by this ye may know that the great and dreadful day of the Lord is near, even at the doors.'

"Monday, the 4th. The elders began to spread abroad in all parts of the land, preaching the word.

"Saturday, the 9th. Myself and the principal heads of the church, accompanied the wise men of Zion; namely, Bishop Partridge and his counselors, Isaac Morley and John Corrill, and President W. W. Phelps, on their way home, as far as Chardon; and after staying all night, blessed them in the morning and returned to Kirtland."—*Millennial Star.* vol. 15, pp. 729 and 739.

Resuming the history, Joseph writes:—

"The remainder of this month, and May also, was devoted to the spiritual interests of the brethren, and particularly in devising ways and means to build up Kirtland; and in fact the city began to spring into existence like the opening buds of the forest.

"May 10. Brother Heber C. Kimball came to me for counsel, to know whether he should go into the vineyard to proclaim the gospel, or go to school. I told him he might do either that he should choose, for the Lord will bless you, or you shall be blessed. He chose to go into the vineyard; he likewise immediately started, and went down through the State of New York into the State of Vermont, to his native country. He stopped a short time, and then returned back to the city of Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence River, where he built up a church of twenty members. When about leaving that place, my father, and Uncle John Smith, came to him, and blessed the church with patriarchal blessings. When they came to Brother Kimball they were very much depressed in spirits, for when they came through the town of Potsdam, their brother, Jesse Smith, having a spirit against them, in consequence of their religion, swore out an execution against my father, and levied upon his horse and wagon; and to settle the affair and get out of his clutches, my uncle, Silas Smith, (who had returned to that place on private business,) stepped forward and paid fifty dollars, in order that they might pursue their journey home. . . .

H. C. Kimball's mission.

"My cousin, Elias Smith, arrived from St. Lawrence

County, New York, with the information that his father and family, and Uncle Silas and family, were on their way to Kirtland, and that my grandmother was at Fairport.

Family affairs.

"May 17. I went, in company with my brother Hyrum, in a carriage to Fairport, and brought home my grandmother, Mary Smith, aged ninety-three years. She had not been baptized, on account of the opposition of Jesse Smith, her eldest son, who has always been an enemy to the work. She had come five hundred miles to see her children, and knew all of us she had ever seen; was much pleased at being introduced to her great-grandchildren, and expressed much pleasure and gratification on seeing me.

"My grandfather, Asael Smith, long ago predicted that there would be a prophet raised up in his family, and my grandmother was fully satisfied that it was fulfilled in me. My grandfather Asael died in East Stockholm, St. Lawrence County, New York, after having received the Book of Mormon, and read it nearly through; and he declared that I was the very prophet that he had long known would come in his family.

"On the 18th, my uncle Silas Smith and family arrived from the East. My father, three of his brothers, and their mother, met the first time for many years. It was a happy day, for we had long prayed to see our grandmother and uncles in the church.

"On May 27, after a few days' visit with her children, which she enjoyed extremely well, my grandmother fell asleep without sickness, pain, or regret. She breathed her last about sunset, and was buried in the burial ground near the temple, after the funeral address had been delivered by Sidney Rigdon. She had buried one daughter, Sarah; two sons, Stephen and Samuel; and her husband, who died October 30, 1830, and left five sons and three daughters still living. At the death of my grandfather, who had kept a record, there were one hundred and ten children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. My uncle Stephen, and aunt Sarah, were buried side by side in the burial ground in Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont. Stephen died July

25, 1802, aged seventeen years, three months, and eleven days."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 741 and 742.

CHAPTER 3.

1835–1836.

AFFAIRS IN MISSOURI — TROUBLE IN CLAY COUNTY — HISTORICAL ACCOUNT — ORGANIZATION OF CALDWELL COUNTY — PROSPECTS OF PEACE.

Affairs in Missouri.

IN Missouri the year 1835 and a portion of 1836 were spent in comparative peace. The people in Clay County were mostly friendly and hospitable.

The Jackson County people, however, were diligent in their efforts to stir up strife and distrust. In consequence of this the public mind became somewhat inflamed, so much so that trouble was feared, and some public measures were taken to avert it, an account of which will be given in the following pages, and documents produced which in themselves are sufficiently explicit.

In a serial article entitled, "A history of the persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Missouri," published in the *Times and Seasons* in 1840, occurs the following:—

"The Governor, D. Dunklin, was disposed to bring the mobbers to justice; consequently ten or twelve witnesses were subpœnaed to attend the February term of the Circuit Court. Captain Atchison was ordered to guard them over to Jackson and back with his company of Liberty Blues. The Attorney General was also ordered, or requested, by the Governor to attend the court, to assist the circuit attorney in the investigation. The witnesses were guarded over to Independence, and after having been there a short time they were visited by the circuit attorney, accompanied by the Attorney General. They informed the witnesses that such was the excitement prevailing there that it was doubtful whether anything could be done to bring the mobbers to justice; that if any should be convicted they would only be

fined in some trifling sum, not to exceed five dollars at most, just enough to answer the law; and they advised the witnesses not to go before the grand jury, intimating at the same time that they might be in danger. The witnesses replied that they had been ordered there by the court, and they supposed that they were still subject to the court, or to them—the attorneys. As to the danger in going before the grand jury, they feared it not; they were ready and willing to go and testify to the truth. The attorneys left them, and in a short time after they were informed by Captain Atchison that the judge, Mr. Ryland, had sent him word that the witnesses and guard were not wanted there any longer. Captain A. paraded his men as soon and as well as he could for the crowd, and immediately marched off, the witnesses following him. All hopes were now given up of ever bringing that people to justice; their hatred towards the saints appeared to be unabating; they frequently sent over word to Clay County that they were coming over to drive them from that place; they even went so far as to circulate a paper in Clay County, the object of which was to obtain volunteers there, to assist them in driving the saints away. In Clay County, however, they had but a few friends (for some time) and could not obtain many signers.

"A wealthy farmer by the name of Arthur, living in Clay County, who was then friendly to the saints, and who was in the habit of sending flour and whisky into Jackson to sell, (it generally being higher there than in Clay, in consequence of the Indian trade,) sent over one of his negroes and team with a load, sometime that fall or winter, [and] they were stopped on the road by some of the good people of Jackson, who mounted the load and with axes cut the barrels to pieces and wasted the flour and whisky upon the ground.

"In 1834, if we mistake not, an inoffensive brother by the name of Ira J. Willes went into Jackson County to hunt for a lost cow. He was taken by some of the ruffians residing there who, after stripping off his clothes, whipped him unmercifully. For the credit of Missouri we would state that he was taken from the house of a justice of the peace; this is an ensample of upper Missouri peacemakers. The same

year Bro. Lewis Abbot, a very peaceable man, went to Jackson to see a man who owed him. On his way he was discovered and overtaken by some of that lawless banditti, who beat him with handspikes, no doubt with an intent to kill, for that was what they swore they would do; but his life was preserved and he escaped out of their hands. Thus have that people unceasingly abused and persecuted the saints whenever they could get an opportunity.

"Governor Dunklin appeared willing to guard back the saints to Jackson County at any time when they should get ready to go, but said that he had not authority to keep a guard there for their protection. That being the case, they were advised by some of the most influential men in the upper country, who were friendly to them but not believers in their faith, to have enough of their brethren emigrate to that country to enable them to maintain their rights should the mob ever attempt to trample upon them again, and then get the Governor to set them back upon their lands. Accordingly word was sent forth to the churches to that effect, and in the summer of 1834 a large company emigrated from the eastern churches to Clay County for that purpose.

"Whilst this company was forming and going up to Missouri, rumor with her ten thousand tongues was busily engaged in circulating falsehoods about them, insomuch that before they arrived at Clay County there was considerable excitement even there.

"The Jackson County people went over into Clay and called a meeting and stirred up all the feelings there that they possibly could against the saints. The anger of the people of Jackson County rose to a great height; they had furnished themselves with a number of cannon, and their neighbors of the adjoining counties on the south side of the Missouri River volunteered by hundreds to assist them provided that the Governor should attempt to set the saints back upon their land in Jackson County.

"The company from the eastern churches arrived in Clay County and their gentle manners and peaceable deportment soon convinced the people of that country of the false reports which had been circulated about them. The excite-

ment was very soon done away, and the people appeared more friendly than before.

"After the arrival of the brethren from the East a council was held and it was concluded, considering the great wrath of the people south of the river, that it would not be wisdom to ask the Governor to set them back at that time.

"The people of Clay County were mostly friendly to the saints, but there were a few exceptions. Nothing of importance occurred, however, for some time; a few threats and insults from those who were disaffected was all the hostility manifested till the summer of 1836.

"The suits which had been commenced against the Jackson County people for damages progressed so slowly and were attended with such an amount of costs that they were all dropped but two, which were considered sufficient to try the experiment to ascertain whether or not anything could be obtained by the law. Nearly three hundred dollars cost had been paid by the brethren to obtain a change of venue; the suits were then removed to Ray County. Court after court passed and the trials were continued. At last, in the summer of 1836, the time drew near when it was supposed that the trials must come on, which was very gratifying to those who planted the suits. When the court came, their lawyers, instead of going to trial as they should have done, made a sort of compromise with the mobbers, by dropping one suit without even having the cost paid, and that too without the knowledge or consent of their employers. On the other suit the defendants agreed to pay a few hundred dollars, though not as much as the lawyer's fees had been. Thus the lawyers, after getting their pay, managed the cases. Had they been true to the brethren, as they were bound to be by oath, and brought their suits to a trial instead of making a compromise, and labored faithfully for them as they ought to have done, and labored as though they meant to earn their thousand dollar fee, there is no doubt but that on the two suits they would have obtained as many thousands of dollars as they did hundreds by the compromise. No further attempts have ever been made to obtain a compensation for the losses and damages sustained

by the saints in Jackson County, except last winter in petitioning the legislature of Missouri. Among other things they asked the State for remuneration for them, which the legislature did not see fit to grant.

"In the summer of 1836 the mob party in Clay County strengthened itself considerably and became quite bold, insomuch that they in one or two instances began to whip the saints; and one day some sixty or seventy of them assembled, rode off a few miles east and stopped a few wagons which were moving to Clay County, and turned them back. It was manifested from their threatenings and actions that they were determined to fall upon the saints and drive them out of the county if they could. It was equally manifest that the saints were disposed to defend themselves against mobs, even to the shedding of blood.

"At that time it was seen that if something was not done to stop it blood would be shed; for the mob party were resolved on driving, and the saints were determined not to be driven by them, without first trying their strength; wherefore the most intelligent and respectable citizens of the county, who had always appeared friendly to the saints, held a meeting, in which they appointed a committee and also requested the saints to appoint a committee, to meet their committee near Liberty on a day appointed to confer with each other, and see if something could not be done to evade the storm, which appeared to be fast gathering.

"The committee met at the appointed time and a proposition was made by the citizen's committee to the other, to this effect:—

"That whereas, the people of Clay County had kindly received the saints in their distress, when it was expected that they would soon return to Jackson County, and not think of making Clay County a permanent home; and whereas almost three years had passed away since, and the prospect of their returning to Jackson County was less at that time than it was years before; and that a portion of the citizens of Clay County were dissatisfied to have them remain where they were any longer; therefore the committee in behalf of the citizens requested that they (the saints) should look

themselves a new location, either in some unsettled part of the State, or otherwise go out of the State, as suited them best. The committee disclaimed all right to request any such thing; they said they knew very well that the saints had just as good a right there as themselves, but they thought that considering the opposition that there was to them it would be better for them to go where they could be more by themselves; and they even recommended their gathering together and living altogether by themselves. They further said that if they would consent to go and seek a new location they would send a committee with them who was acquainted with the country, who would pilot them in looking it out. However, a location had already been selected and about sixteen hundred acres of land purchased but a short time previous; and they were willing to go, and some of them were making preparations to move there soon before the meeting of the committee. Wherefore the committee on the part of the church consented to the proposition made to them; and then all parted with apparent good feelings. Soon afterwards three on the part of the church and two pilots started to view the country. They traveled a number of days in the new settlements towards the northwest corner of the State; and they finally concluded that the place previously selected, now known as Caldwell County, should be the place where they would settle; there being but a few inhabitants in a district of country large enough for a county, and they, in general, willing to sell out.

"Upon these movements the mob spirit in Clay County measurably subsided, and the saints prepared and moved to their new settlement as fast as their circumstances would permit, pleased with the idea of settling together by themselves."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 49–51.

The resolutions passed by the citizens of Clay County, referred to in the above, were in full as follows:—

"From the *Far West*.

"PUBLIC MEETING.

Trouble in Clay County

"A respectable number of our fellow citizens met, being previously notified of the same, at the courthouse, in the town of Liberty, June 29, 1836.

"On motion of Doctor Woodson J. Moss, John Bird was called to the chair.

"And, on motion of Col. William T. Wood, John F. Doherty appointed secretary:—

"The object of the meeting was, by request of the chair, explained in a few appropriate remarks by Col. Wood, when

"On motion of Col. William T. Wood, a committee of nine was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting:—

"Whereupon the following gentlemen were chosen; viz.:—

"John Thornton, Esq., Peter Rogers, Esq., Andrew Robertson, Esq., James T. V. Thompson, Esq., Col. William T. Wood, Doct. Woodson J. Moss, James M. Hughes, Esq., David R. Atchison, Esq., and A. W. Doniphan, Esq., who retired, and in a short time returned and made through their chairman (Col. John Thornton) the following unanimous report, which was read:—

" 'It is apparent to every reflecting mind that a crisis has arrived in this county that requires the deep, cool, dispassionate consideration and immediate action of every lover of peace, harmony, and good order. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that at this moment the clouds of civil war are rolling up their fearful masses and hanging over our devoted county, solemn, dark, and terrible. This painful state of things has been produced mainly by the rapid and increasing emigration of that people commonly called Mormons, during the last few months. It is known to all that in November, 1833, these people were expelled from their homes in Jackson County, without money, without property, without the means of subsistence for themselves, their wives, and their children; and like Noah's dove without even a resting place for their feet.

" 'They came to our county thus friendless and penniless, seeking (as they said) but a temporary asylum from the storms of persecution by which they were then buffeted. Their destitute and miserable condition, at that inclement season of the year, excited the deep sympathies of the philanthropic and hospitable citizens of this county; and notwithstanding the thousand reports that were borne on the wings

of the wind, charging them with almost every crime known to the laws of our country; yet our feelings of kindness, and sympathy for human suffering, prevailed over every obstacle, and they were received with friendship and treated with toleration, and often with marks of peculiar kindness. They always declared that they looked not upon this county as their home, but as a temporary asylum, and that whenever a respectable portion of the citizens of this county should request it, they would promptly leave us in peace as they found us. That period has now arrived. Duty to ourselves, to our families, and to the best interests of our county, require at our hands to demand the fulfillment of that pledge.

" 'They are charged, by those who are opposed to them, with an unfriendly determination to violate that pledge. Their rapid emigration, their large purchases and offers to purchase lands, the remarks of the ignorant and imprudent portion of them that this country is destined by heaven to be theirs, are received and looked upon by a large portion of this community as strong and convincing proofs that they intend to make this county their permanent home, the center and general rendezvous of their people.

" 'These are some of the reasons why these people have become objects of the deepest hatred and detestation to many of our citizens. They are eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs, and even dialect are essentially different from our own; they are non-slaveholders, and opposed to slavery, which, in this peculiar period when abolition has reared its deformed and haggard visage in our land is well calculated to excite deep and abiding prejudices in any community where slavery is tolerated and practiced.[1] In addi-

[1] That these fears were groundless will appear from the following extract published by Joseph Smith in April, 1836.

"Before closing this communication, I beg leave to drop a word to the traveling elders: You know, brethren, that great responsibility rests upon you, and that you are accountable to God for all you teach the world. In my opinion you will do well to search the Book of Covenants, in which you will see the belief of the church concerning masters and servants. All men are to be taught to repent; but we have no right to interfere with slaves contrary to the mind and will of their masters. In fact, it would be much better and more prudent not to preach at all to slaves, until after their masters are converted: and then, teach the master to use them with kindness, remembering that they are accountable

tion to all this they are charged, as they have heretofore been, with keeping up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on our frontier, with declaring, even from the pulpit, that the Indians are a part of God's chosen people, and are destined by heaven to inherit this land, in common with themselves.

" 'We do not vouch for the correctness of these statements, but whether they are true or false, their effect has been the same in exciting our community. In times of greater tranquility such ridiculous remarks might well be regarded as the offspring of frenzied fanaticism; but at this time our defenseless situation on the frontier, the bloody disasters of our fellow citizens in Florida and other parts of the South, all tend to make a portion of our citizens regard such sentiments with horror, if not alarm.

" 'These and many other causes have combined to raise a prejudice against them, and a feeling of hostility, that the first spark may, and we deeply fear will, ignite into all the horrors and desolations of a civil war—the worst evil that can befall any country. We therefore feel it our duty to come forward as mediators and use every means in our power to prevent the occurrence of so great an evil.

" 'As the most efficient means to arrest the evil, we urge on the Mormons to use every means to put an immediate stop to the emigration of their people to this county. We earnestly urge them to seek some other abiding place, where the manners, the habits and customs of the people will be more consonant with their own. For this purpose we would advise them to explore the Territory of Wisconsin. This country is peculiarly suited to their condition and their wants. It is almost entirely unsettled; they can there procure large bodies of land together, where there are no

to God, and that servants are bound to serve their masters, with singleness of heart, without murmuring. I do most sincerely hope that no one who is authorized from this church to preach the gospel will so far depart from the scripture as to be found stirring up strife and sedition against our brethren of the South. Having spoken frankly and freely, I leave all in the hands of God, who will direct all things for his glory and the accomplishment of his work.

"Praying that God may spare you to do much good in this life, I subscribe myself your brother in the Lord, JOSEPH SMITH, Jr.

settlements and none to interfere with them. It is a Territory in which slavery is prohibited, and it is settled entirely with emigrants from the North and East.

" 'The religious tenets of this people are so different from the present churches of the age that they always have and always will excite deep prejudices against them in any populous country where they may locate. We therefore, in a spirit of frank and friendly kindness, do advise them to seek a home where they may obtain large and separate bodies of land and have a community of their own.

" 'We further say to them, if they regard their own safety and welfare, if they regard the welfare of their families, their wives and children, they will ponder with deep and solemn reflection on this friendly admonition. If they have one spark of gratitudé, they will not willingly plunge a people into civil war who held out to them the friendly hand of assistance in that hour of dark distress when there was few to say, God save them. We can only say to them that if they still persist in the blind course they have heretofore followed in flooding the country with their people, that we fear and firmly believe that an immediate civil war is the inevitable consequence.

" 'We know that there is not one among us who thirsts for the blood of that people. We do not contend that we have the least right, under the Constitution and laws of the country, to expel them by force; but we would indeed be blind if we did not foresee that the first blow that is struck at this moment of deep excitement, must and will speedily involve every individual in a war bearing ruin, woe, and desolation in its course. It matters but little how, where, or by whom the war may begin, when the work of destruction commences, we must all be borne onward by the storm or crushed beneath its fury. In a civil war, when our homes is the theatre on which it is fought, there can be no neutrals; let our opinions be what they may, we must fight in self-defense. We want nothing, we ask nothing, we would have nothing from this people. We only ask them, for their own safety and for ours, to take the least of the two evils. Most of them are destitute of land, have but lit-

tle property, are late emigrants to this country, without relations, friends, or endearing ties to bind them to this land at the risk of such imminent peril to them and to us. We request them to leave us, when their crops are gathered, their business settled, and they have made every suitable preparation to remove. Those who have forty acres of land we are willing shall remain until they can dispose of it without loss if it should require years; but we urge, most strongly urge, that emigration cease and cease immediately, as nothing else can or will allay for a moment the deep excitement that is now unhappily agitating this community. If the Mormons will comply with these friendly requisitions, we will use every exertion among our own citizens to arrest this evil before it is forever too late; but if they are disregarded, we can promise neither them or ourselves, a long continuation of the blessings of peace and harmony.

"'1. Therefore, be it resolved by this meeting, that they view with feelings of the deepest regret the present unhappy situation of our country.

"'2. That it is the fixed and settled conviction of this meeting, that unless the people commonly called Mormons will agree to stop immediately the emigration of their people to this county, and take measures to remove themselves from it, a civil war is inevitable.

"'3. That a committee of ten be appointed to make known to the leaders of that people the views of this meeting, and to urge upon them the propriety of acceding to these propositions.

"'4. That said committee consist of Andrew Robertson, Michael Arthur, Littleberry Sublet, John Baxter, James M. Hughes, W. J. Moss, John Bird, Peter Rogers, W. T. Wood, and J. T. V. Thompson, who shall meet on to-morrow at the house of Mr. Cowen and confer with the Mormons and report to this meeting, as soon thereafter as convenient, the reply of the Mormons to these requisitions.

"'5. That if the Mormons agree to these propositions we will use every means in our power to allay the excitement among our own citizens and to get them to await the result of these things.

" '6. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the recent emigrants among the Mormons should take measures to leave this county immediately, as they have no crops on hand and nothing to lose by continuing their journey to some more friendly land.'

"On motion of Col. Wm. T. Wood, the preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

"Be it resolved that this meeting adjourn until Saturday next.

"JOHN BIRD, Chairman.
"JOHN F. DOHERTY, Secretary."

—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 353-355.

This meeting reassembled according to adjournment on July 2, 1836, when the committee appointed to visit the "Mormon leaders" reported as follows:—

"PUBLIC MEETING.

"The citizens of Clay County met, pursuant to adjournment. The chairman and secretary resumed their stations, when the committee appointed by a public meeting held at the courthouse in the town of Liberty, on Wednesday, June 29, to confer with the Mormon leaders and to present to them the preamble and resolutions passed by said meeting, met according to the appointment at the house of Mr. Cowan, and through the chairman of the committee, Woodson J. Moss, reported to the meeting the response of the Mormons to the preamble and resolutions passed at the aforesaid meeting on Wednesday, the 29th, which is as follows:—

" 'At a respectable meeting of the Elders of the Church of Latter Day Saints, held in Clay County, Missouri, on Friday, the first day of July, 1836; W. W. Phelps was called to the chair and John Corrill appointed secretary. The preamble and resolutions from a meeting of citizens was read and a committee of twelve; viz., E. Partridge, I. Morley, L. Wight, T. B. Marsh, E. Higbey, C. Beebe, J. Hitchcock, I. Higbey, S. Bent, T. Billings, J. Emmett, and R. Evans, were appointed, who retired and, after a short time, reported the following preamble and resolutions:—

" 'That we (the Mormons so-called) are grateful for the kindness which has been shown to us by the citizens of Clay

since we have resided with them, and being desirous for peace and wishing the good rather than the ill will of mankind, will use all honorable means to allay the excitement and, so far as we can, remove any foundation for jealousies against us as a people.

"'We are aware that many rumors prejudicial to us as a society are afloat, and time only can prove their falsity to the world at large.

"'We deny having claim to this or any other county or country further than we purchase with money, or more than the Constitution and laws allow us as free American citizens.

"'We have taken no part for or against slavery, but are opposed to the abolitionists, and consider that men have a right to hold slaves or not according to law. We believe it just to preach the gospel to the nations of the earth and warn the righteous to save themselves from the corruptions of the world, but we do not believe it right to interfere with bondservants nor preach the gospel to nor meddle with or influence them in the least to cause them to be dissatisfied with their situation in this life, thereby jeopardizing the lives of men. Such interference we believe to be unlawful and unjust, and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude.

"'We deny holding any communications with the Indians, and mean to hold ourselves as ready to defend our country against their barbarous ravages as any other people. We believe that all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside, while protected in their inherent and inalienable rights by the laws of such governments, and that sedition and rebellion are unbecoming every citizen thus protected, and should be punished accordingly. It is needless to enter into a further detail of our faith or mention our sufferings, therefore,

"'1. Resolved, for the sake of friendship and to be in a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay County, and the citizens of Clay County to be in a covenant of peace with us, notwithstanding the necessary loss of property and expense we incur in moving, we comply with the requisitions of their

resolutions in leaving the county of Clay, as explained by the preamble accompanying the same; and that we will use our exertions to have the church do the same; and that we will also exert ourselves to stop the tide of emigration of our people to this county.

"'2. Resolved, that we accept of the friendly offer verbally tendered to us, by the committee yesterday, to assist us in selecting a location and removing to it.

"'3. Resolved, unanimously, that this meeting accept and adopt the above preamble and resolutions which are here presented by the committee.

"'4. Resolved, that T. B. Marsh, L. Wight, and S. Bent be a committee to carry these proceedings to the meeting of the citizens of Clay, to be held to-morrow, at Liberty.'

"The above was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

"W. W. PHELPS, Chairman.
"JOHN CORRILL, Secretary."

—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 359, 360.

Upon this report the mass meeting took action as follows:—

"Resolved, that this meeting do accept and receive the reply of the Mormons to the resolutions passed on Wednesday, the 29th June, as perfectly satisfactory.

"Be it further resolved by this meeting that we will use our utmost endeavors to carry into effect the object contained in the preamble and resolutions passed on Wednesday, the 29th, and as agreed to by the Mormons.

"Be it further resolved, that we urge it on our fellow citizens to keep the peace towards the Mormons as good faith, justice, morality, and religion require us.

"Be it further resolved, that a committee of ten persons, two in each township, be appointed to raise money by subscription to aid those of the Mormons who may from necessity require it to leave this county.

"Resolved, that Samuel Tillery, Jeremiah Migner, and Abraham Shafer be appointed a committee to receive the pecuniary aid by subscription for the purpose of aiding the poor persons that may belong to the Mormons in removing from this county to their place of abode, and that the elders of the church be requested to report the above-named per-

sons to the aforesaid committee, who will judge of the proofs and facts entitling the Mormons to pecuniary aid, and appropriate the funds accordingly.

"Resolved, that said committee be authorized to employ some suitable person to accompany those that may wish to examine a new country. It is also understood that if the money which may be received by the committee is not appropriated for the purpose above-named it shall be refunded back in proportion to the amount subscribed.

"Resolved, that the chair appoint five persons in each township to carry the object of the above resolutions into effect.

"The following gentlemen were then appointed in the different townships.

"For Liberty Township, John Thornton, Joel Turnham, Peter Rogers, John Bird, David Atchison.

"For Fishing River Township, Elisha Cameron, E. Price, G. Withers, M. Welton, James Kazey.

"For Platte Township, T. C. Gordon, S. Harris, W. Owens, L. Rollins, J. Marsh.

"For Washington Township, B. Riley, S. Crawford, T Findley, G. McIlvaine, P. Y. G. Bartee.

"For Gallatin Township, D. Dale, W. Nash, William Todd, B. Ricketts, J. Forbion.

"Be it further resolved, that this meeting recommend the Mormons to the good treatment of the citizens of the adjoining counties. We also recommend the inhabitants of the neighboring counties to assist the Mormons in selecting some abiding place for their people where they will be in a measure the only occupants and where none will be anxious to molest them.

"Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be handed over to the publishers of the *Far West* with a request that it be printed.

"Which was severally read, and unanimously adopted.

"On motion the meeting adjourned.

"JOHN BIRD, Chairman.
"JOHN F. DOHERTY, Secretary.

"LIBERTY, July 2, 1836."

—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 360, 361.

When the authorities of the church in Kirtland read of this threatened disturbance, they wrote to the citizens of Clay County, and also to their own brethren. We here reproduce both these letters in full, and recommend for them a careful reading:—

"KIRTLAND, Geauga County, Ohio, July 25, 1836.

"*To John Thornton, Esq., Peter Rogers, Esq., Andrew Robertson, Esq., James T. V. Thompson, Esq., Col. William T. Wood, Doct. Woodson J. Moss, James M. Hughs, Esq., David R. Atchison, Esq., and A. W. Doniphan, Esq.; Gentlemen:—*

"We have just perused with feelings of deep interest an article in the *Far West*, printed at Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, containing the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of said county upon the subject of an excitement now prevailing among you, occasioned either from false reports against the church of Latter Day Saints, or from the fact that said church is dangerous to the welfare of your country, and will, if suffered among you, cause the ties of peace and friendship, so desirable among all men, to be burst asunder, and bring war and desolation upon your now pleasant homes.

"Under existing circumstances while rumor is afloat with her accustomed cunning, and while public opinion is fast setting like a flood tide against the members of said church, we cannot but admire the candor with which your preamble and resolutions were clothed, as presented to the meeting of the citizens of Clay County on the 29th of June last. Though, as you expressed in your report to said meeting, 'We do not contend that we have the least right, under the Constitution and laws of the country, to expel them by force,' yet communities may be, at times, unexpectedly thrown into a situation when wisdom, prudence, and that first item in nature's law, self-defense, would dictate that the responsible and influential part should step forward and guide the public mind in a course to save difficulty, preserve rights, and spare the innocent blood from staining that soil so dearly purchased with the fortunes and lives of our fathers. And as you have come forward as 'mediators' to prevent the effusion of blood, and save disasters consequent

upon civil war, we take this opportunity to present to you, though strangers, and through you, if you wish, to the people of Clay County, our heartfelt gratitude for every kindness rendered our friends in affliction, when driven from their peaceful homes, and to yourselves also for the prudent course in the present excited state of your community. But, in doing this, justice to ourselves, as communicants of that church to which our friends belong, and duty towards them as acquaintances and former fellow citizens, require us to say something to exonerate them from the foul charges brought against them to deprive them of their constitutional privileges and drive them from the face of society.

"They have been charged, in consequence of the whims and vain notions of some few uninformed, with claiming that upper country, and that ere long they were to possess it at all hazards, and in defiance of all consequences. This is unjust and far from a foundation, in truth; a thing not expected, not looked for, not desired by this society as a people, and where the idea could have originated is unknown to us. We do not, neither did we ever insinuate a thing of this kind, or hear it from the leading men of the society now in your country. There is nothing in all our religious faith to warrant it, but on the contrary the most strict injunctions to live in obedience to the laws and follow peace with all men. And we doubt not but a recurrence to the Jackson County difficulties, with our friends, will fully satisfy you that at least, heretofore, such has been the course followed by them. That instead of fighting for their own rights they have sacrificed them for a season, to wait the redress guaranteed in the law, and so anxiously looked for at a time distant from this. We have been, and are still, clearly under the conviction that had our friends been disposed they might have maintained their possessions in Jackson County. They might have resorted to the same barbarous means with their neighbors, throwing down dwellings, threatening lives, driving innocent women and children from their homes, and thereby have annoyed their enemies equally, at least, but this to their credit, and which must ever remain upon the pages of time to their honor, they did not. They had pos-

sessions, they had homes, they had sacred rights, and more still, they had helpless harmless innocence, with an approving conscience that they had violated no law of their country or their God to urge them forward, but, to show to all that they were willing to forego these for the peace of their country, they tamely submitted and have since been wanderers among strangers (though hospitable) without homes. We think these sufficient reasons to show to your patriotic minds that our friends instead of having a wish to expel a community by force of arms, would suffer their rights to be taken from them before shedding blood.

"Another charge brought against our friends is that of being dangerous in societies 'where slavery is tolerated and practiced.' Without occupying time here, we refer you to the April (1836) number of the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, printed at this place, a copy of which we forward to each of you. From the length of time which has transpired since its publication, you can easily see that it was put forth for no other reason than to correct the public mind generally, without a reference or expectation of an excitement of the nature of the one now in your country. Why we refer you to this publication particularly, is because many of our friends who are now at the west were in this place when this paper made its appearance, and from personal observation gave it their decided approbation, and expressed those sentiments to be their own in the fullest particular.

"Another charge of great magnitude is brought against our friends in the West—of 'keeping up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on our frontier; with declaring, even from the pulpit, that the Indians are a part of God's chosen people, and are destined by heaven to inherit this land in common with themselves.' We know of nothing, under the present aspect of our Indian relations, calculated to rouse the fears of the people of the Upper Missouri more than a combination or influence of this nature; and we cannot look upon it other than one of the most subtle purposes of those whose feelings are embittered against our friends to turn the eye of suspicion upon them from every

man who is acquainted with the barbarous cruelty of rude savages. Since a rumor was afloat that the western Indians were showing signs of war, we have received frequent private letters from our friends, who have not only expressed fears for their own safety in case the Indians should break out, but a decided determination to be among the first to repel any invasion and defend the frontier from all hostilities. We mention the last fact, because it was wholly uncalled for on our part, and came previous to any excitement on the part of the people of Clay County against our friends, and must definitively show that this charge is also untrue.

"Another charge against our friends, and one that is urged as a reason why they must immediately leave the county of Clay is, that they are making or are like to, the same 'their permanent home, the center and general rendezvous of their people.' We have never understood such to be the purpose, wish, or design of this society; but on the contrary have ever supposed that those who resided in Clay County only designed it as a temporary residence until the law and authority of our country should put them in the quiet possession of their homes in Jackson County, and such as had not possessions there could purchase to the entire satisfaction and interest of the people of Jackson County.

"Having partially mentioned the leading objections urged against our friends, we would here add that it has not been done with a view on our part to dissuade you from acting in strict conformity with your preamble and resolutions offered to the people of Clay County on the 29th ult., but from a sense of duty to a people embarrassed, persecuted, and afflicted. For you are aware, gentlemen, that in times of excitement virtues are transformed into vices, acts which in other cases and under other circumstances would be considered upright and honorable, interpreted contrary from their real intent and made objectionable and criminal. And from whom could we look for forbearance and compassion with confidence and assurance more than from those whose bosoms are warmed with those pure principles of patriotism with which you have been guided in the present instance to secure the peace of your county and save a

persecuted people from further violence and destruction?

"It is said that our friends are poor; that they have but little or nothing to bind their feelings or wishes to Clay County, and that in consequence have a less claim upon that county. We do not deny the fact that our friends are poor; but their persecutions have helped to render them so. While other men were peacefully following their avocations and extending their interest, they have been deprived of the right of citizenship, prevented from enjoying their own, charged with violating the sacred principles of our Constitution and laws, made to feel the keenest aspersions of the tongue of slander, waded through all but death, and are now suffering under calumnies calculated to excite the indignation and hatred of every people among whom they may dwell, thereby exposing them to destruction and inevitable ruin!

"If a people, a community, or a society can accumulate wealth, increase in worldly fortune, improve in science and arts, rise to eminence in the eyes of the public, surmount these difficulties so much as to bid defiance to poverty and wretchedness, it must be a new creation, a race of beings superhuman. But in all their poverty and want we have yet to learn for the first time that our friends are not industrious and temperate, and wherein they have not always been the last to retaliate or resent an injury, and the first to overlook and forgive. We do not urge that there are not exceptions to be found. All communities, all societies and associations are cumbered with disorderly and less virtuous members—members who violate in a greater or less degree the principles of the same; but this can be no just criterion by which to judge a whole society. And further still, where a people are laboring under constant fear of being dispossessed, very little inducement is held out to excite them to be industrious.

"We think, gentlemen, that we have pursued this subject far enough, and we here express to you, as we have in a letter accompanying this to our friends, our decided disapprobation to the idea of shedding blood if any other course can be followed to avoid it; in which case, and which alone, we have urged upon our friends to desist, only in extreme cases

of self-defense; and in this case not to give the offense or provoke their fellow men to acts of violence,—which we have no doubt they will observe, as they ever have. For you may rest assured, gentlemen, that we would be the last to advise our friends to shed the blood of men or commit one act to endanger the public peace.

"We have no doubt but our friends will leave your county, sooner or later, they have not only signified the same to us, but we have advised them so to do as fast as they can without incurring too much loss. It may be said that they have but little to lose if they lose the whole. But if they have but little, that little is their all, and the imperious demands of the helpless urge them to make a prudent disposal of the same. And we are highly pleased with a proposition in your preamble, suffering them to remain peaceably till a disposition can be made of their land, etc., which if suffered our fears are at once hushed, and we have every reason to believe that during the remaining part of the residence of our friends in your county the same feelings of friendship and kindness will continue to exist that have heretofore, and that when they leave you, you will have no reflection of sorrow to cast that they have been sojourners among you.

"To what distance or place they will remove we are unable to say; in this they must be dictated with judgment and prudence. They may explore the Territory of Wisconsin, they may remove there, or they may stop on the other side; of this we are unable to say. But be they where they will, we have this gratifying reflection, that they have never been the first in an unjust manner to violate the laws, injure their fellow men, or disturb the tranquility and peace under which any part of our country has heretofore reposed. And we cannot but believe that ere long the public mind must undergo a change, when it will appear to the satisfaction of all that this people have been illy treated and abused without cause; and when, as justice would demand, those who have been the instigators of their sufferings will be regarded as their true characters demand.

"Though our religious principles are before the world, ready for the investigation of all men, yet we are aware that

the sole foundation of all the persecution against our friends has arisen in consequence of calumnies and misconstructions, without foundation in truth or righteousness, in common with all other religious societies at their first commencement. And should Providence order that we rise not as others before us, to respectability and esteem, but be trodden down by the ruthless hand of extermination, posterity will do us the justice when our persecutors are equally low in the dust with ourselves, to hand down to succeeding generations the virtuous acts and forbearance of a people who sacrificed their reputation for their religion, and their earthly fortunes and happiness to preserve peace and save this land from being further drenched in blood.

"We have no doubt but your very seasonable mediation, in the time of so great an excitement, will accomplish your most sanguine desire in preventing further disorder; and we hope, gentlemen, that while you reflect upon the fact that the citizens of Clay County are urgent for our friends to leave you, that you will also bear in mind that by their complying with your request to leave is surrendering some of the dearest rights and first among those inherent principles guaranteed in the Constitution of our country; and that human nature can be driven to a certain extent when it will yield no farther. Therefore, while our friends suffer so much, and forego so many sacred rights, we sincerely hope—and we have every reason to expect it—that a suitable forbearance may be shown by the people of Clay, which if done, the cloud that has been obscuring your horizon will disperse and you be left to enjoy peace, harmony, and prosperity.

"With sentiments of esteem and profound respect, we are, gentlemen, your obedient servants,

"SIDNEY RIGDON.
"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
"O. COWDERY.
"F. G. WILLIAMS.
"HYRUM SMITH."

"KIRTLAND, Ohio, July 25, 1836.

"*Dear Brethren:*—Yours of the 1st inst. accompanying the proceedings of a public meeting held by the people of Clay, was duly received. We are sorry that this disturbance has

broken out—we do not consider it our fault. You are better acquainted with circumstances than we are, and of course have been directed in wisdom in your moves relative to leaving the county.

"We forward you our letter to Mr. Thornton and others, that you may know all we have said. We advise that you be not the first aggressors. Give no occasion, and if the people will let you dispose of your property, settle your affairs, and go in peace, go. You have thus far had an asylum, and now seek another as God may direct. Relative to your going to Wisconsin, we cannot say; we should think if you could stop short in peace, you had better. You know our feelings relative to not giving the first offense, and also of protecting your wives and little ones in case a mob should seek their lives. We shall publish the proceedings of the public meeting, with your answer, as well as our letter. We mean that the world shall know all things as they transpire. If we are persecuted and driven, men shall know it!

"Be wise; let prudence dictate all your counsels; preserve peace with all men if possible; stand by the Constitution of your country; observe its principles, and above all show yourselves men of God, worthy citizens, and we doubt not community ere long will do you justice and rise in indignation against those who are the instigators of your suffering and affliction.

"In the bonds of brotherly love we subscribe ourselves, as ever,

"Sidney Rigdon.
"Joseph Smith, Jr.
"Oliver Cowdery.
"F. G. Williams.
"Hyrum Smith.

"To W. W. Phelps and others."

—*Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 355–359.

To the careful and fair reader these documents will show that the church authorities were disposed to be just and conciliatory, even yielding their rights to a certain extent for the sake of peace.

The serial article before-mentioned contains this concern-

ing the exodus from Clay and other counties into the proposed new county:—

"In August, 1836, the saints commenced settling upon their new location, in great numbers, and made preparations for the coming winter, by constructing comfortable dwellings for themselves and gathering as much food for their cattle, horses, etc., as their straitened circumstances would permit. Here they settled with the fond anticipation of being permitted to dwell in quietness and peace upon their possessions without molestation; consequently large entries of the public lands were made by individuals of the society, and extensive farms were soon opened. Those who had not means to purchase lands were under the necessity of loaning [borrowing] it of the citizens at very high rates of percentage, frequently being compelled to pay fifty per cent. Others who could not obtain money by loan would procure two or three months provision for their families, and then go to Fort Leavenworth or elsewhere, and work until they had earned enough to enter a forty or an eighty acre tract. Thus by dint of hard labor and untiring perseverance almost every man in a few months found himself in the possession of sufficient land to make a good farm. In a few months nearly or quite all the best land of the territory, now known as Caldwell County, was purchased by the saints, several hundred buildings erected, and great preparations made for a crop the coming season. A principal part of the old inhabitants sold out and moved away, which, however, were but few, there being only about fifteen or twenty families in the county.

"Commencing a settlement at this season of the year they were obliged to procure all their provision for themselves, and grain for their stock in the adjoining counties, and transport it some thirty or forty miles, which was a great detriment to the extensive improvements they were making. At the session of the Legislature, in the winter of 1836–7, an act was passed calling the territory upon which the saints had settled Caldwell County."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, p. 65.

This account agrees with the following extract from the

"History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri," published in 1886, by the "St. Louis National Historical Company":—

Historical account.

"It was during the summer of 1836 that the Mormons began their settlement of the county in earnest. It was then a portion of Ray, but the people of the northern portion of that county, as well as the Mormons, were informed that a new county was to be organized expressly for the occupation and general benefit of the latter. Indeed, an arrangement of that character had been made by the leaders of the Mormon Church and certain prominent Gentiles. An entire county was to be set apart as a sort of reservation for the saints. To be sure Gentiles were not to be *forbidden* to enter it, but it was believed that under the circumstances few, if any, would desire to do so. The Mormons were to have undisturbed possession of the new county; they were to hold the county offices, send a representative to the legislature, and in return for these privileges they were not to settle in any other county save by express consent and permission, previously obtained, of two thirds of the non-Mormon residents of the township in said county wherein they desired to make location.

"Everybody thought this a complete and satisfactory solution of the Mormon problem, which then, as often since, demanded attention and settlement. The Missourians were satisfied, because they had a poor opinion of the prairie soil of the proposed new county, which they declared was fit only for Mormons and Indians, and doubted whether it could ever be made really valuable. Moreover, they wished to rid themselves of the presence of the despised sect, whose members were clannish and exclusive, as well as unpleasantly peculiar. The Mormons were satisfied, because they wished for peace and security and desired above all to enjoy their religion undisturbed and undismayed.

"Very soon in the summer and fall of 1836 the Mormons left Ray and Clay and pushed up into the new Canaan, which had been reported upon by Phelps and Whitmer, and which when visited was found to be equal to the representations made of it. A few Gentile settlers were found, but

nearly all of them were bought out—all who would sell. Nothing could have been fairer or more equitable than the acquisition of the territory afterward called Caldwell County by the Mormons.

"The leading authorities and shining lights of the Mormon Church came up with the emigration to the new country. There were W. W. Phelps, Bishop Edward Partridge, Sidney Rigdon, Philo Dibble, Elias Higbee, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery, and others. In time came Joseph Smith, Hiram (or Hyrum) Smith, John Taylor, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Thomas B. Marsh, G. M. Hinkle, and Alexander McRae.

"In December, 1836, the county of Caldwell was organized, a measure of much importance to the Mormons. The county seat was located at Far West, and courts held in the schoolhouse. Justices of the peace were appointed in the different townships and all the political machinery of the county was controlled by the Mormons. The militia of the county, all or nearly all Mormons, organized and mustered, and a regiment was formed under the laws of the State, of which either 'General' [Colonel] George M. Hinkle or Lyman Wight was colonel.

"Settlements were made up and down Shoal Creek and thickly along the southern tier of townships of the county. Mills were built, shops were opened, stores established, and the foundations for a thrifty and successful community were securely laid. Emigrants came in from Ohio and other States, but chiefly from the Mormon colony at Kirtland, Ohio, while the saints in Ray and Clay and elsewhere in Missouri joined their brethren in Caldwell as soon as they could do so."—Pages 116-118.

The same authority says of Far West:—

"The town site was entered August 8, 1836. The north half was entered in the name of W. W. Phelps, the south half in the name of John Whitmer; but both Phelps and Whitmer merely held the land in trust for 'the church.' The date of the entry goes to prove that the first exploration was in the summer of 1836.

"Soon after the selection of the second 'promised land,'

in Caldwell County, and the location of the second temple, the Mormons came pouring in and soon a village of respectable proportions sprang up where the wild prairie grass waved tall and luxuriant. As has been stated the town site was a mile square, giving plenty of room for the building of a large city. It was laid out in blocks 396 feet square, and the streets were alike on a grand scale. The four principal avenues were each 132 feet wide, and all the others 82½ feet wide. These diverged at right angles from a public square in the center, designed as the site of the grand temple.

"Nearly all the first houses in Far West were log cabins. In a few months, however, some frames were built, a portion of the lumber being brought from lower Ray, and a portion being whip-sawed. Perhaps the first house was built by one Ormsby; this was in the summer of 1836. It is said that John Whitmer's house was built January 19, 1837. In the fall of 1836 a large and comfortable schoolhouse was built and here courts were held after the location of the county seat until its removal to Kingston. The Mormons very early gave attention to educational matters. There were many teachers among them and schoolhouses were among their first buildings. The schoolhouse in Far West was used as a church, as a town hall, and as a courthouse, as well as for a schoolhouse. It first stood in the southwest quarter of town, but upon the establishment of the county seat it was removed to the center of the square."—Pages 120, 121.

The act of the legislature providing for the organization of Caldwell County was as follows:—

Organization of Caldwell County.

"Hon. Alex. W. Doniphan, then a representative elect from Clay County, had been the leader, if not the proposer, of the scheme, and to him was assigned the work of preparing and introducing into the legislature the act organizing the new counties and of pressing the bill to a passage. Fearing that a separate bill to organize the 'Mormon county' might be defeated, Gen. Doniphan incorporated that proposition in the bill to organize the other county, and early in the month of December, introduced the measure, which soon passed without much opposition. Following is a copy of the important provi-

sions of the act organizing Caldwell and Daviess Counties:—

"'*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:* 1. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct county, to be called the county of Caldwell; to wit: Beginning at a point where the township line dividing townships 54 and 55 intersects the range line dividing ranges 25 and 26; thence north along said range line to the division line between townships 57 and 58; thence west along said line to the division line between ranges 29 and 30; thence south along said line to the division line between townships 54 and 55; thence east along said line to the point of beginning.

"'2. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct county, to be called the county of Daviess, in honor of Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe; to wit: Beginning at the northeast corner of the county of Caldwell, as fixed by this act; thence north 24 miles; thence west 24 miles; thence south to the northwest corner of Caldwell County; thence east along the north boundary line of said county to the place of beginning.

"'3. Joseph Baxter, of the county of Clay, Cornelius Gilliam, of the county of Clinton, and William W. Mangee, of the county of Ray, are hereby appointed commissioners to select a seat of justice for each of said counties; and the said commissioners . . . shall meet on the first Monday in April next, at the house of Francis McGuire, in Caldwell County, for the purpose of selecting and locating the permanent seat of justice of said county; . . . the said commissioners shall, as soon as convenient, proceed to Daviess County for the purpose of selecting and locating a seat of justice for said county. . . .

"'This act to be in force from after its passage.

"'Approved December 29, 1836."[1]—History of Caldwell County, pp. 104, 105.

[1]Approved by Daniel Dunklin, Governor.

Thus with fair prospects of peace and prosperity the year 1836 closed in Missouri.

Prospects of peace.

Those who have carefully investigated the history of these troubles, beginning in Jackson County in 1833, must admit that the saints did all in their power to promote peace, even at times to the sacrificing of the most sacred rights and privileges. While we do not claim that they were perfect, or at all times wise, we nevertheless wonder at the patience and fortitude which they displayed under these trying ordeals. From a natural standpoint their self-control seems strange, and awakens the conviction if anything can, that they were largely taught and led by divine influences.

CHAPTER 4.

1836.

MISSION TO THE EAST — GENERAL PROSPERITY — LABORS OF THE PATRIARCH AND HIS BROTHER—KIRTLAND BANK—CONFERENCE OF AUTHORITIES—LITERARY CONCERNS—WORK IN THE SOUTH—GATHERING TO MISSOURI.

THE history of the church in the East, from July 25, 1836, to the end of the year, is briefly related by Joseph Smith, as follows:—

"On Monday afternoon, July 25, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith, and Oliver Cowdery, I left Kirtland, and at seven o'clock the same evening, we took passage on board the steamer Charles Townsend, S. Fox, master, at Fairport, and the next evening, about ten o'clock, we arrived at Buffalo, New York, and took lodgings at the 'Farmers' Hotel.' Here we met with Elders O. Hyde and M. C. Nickerson, the former on his way to Canada, and the latter from that Province.

Mission to the East.

"To avoid the crowding, fisting, fighting, racing, and rioting of the packets, we took passages on a line boat for Utica, where we arrived about eight o'clock, a. m., of the 29th, just in time to take the railroad car for Schenectady, the first passengers' car on the new road. We were more than six hours traveling eighty miles. The locomotive had hardly stopped before the cry was 'Albany baggage cars start in five minutes.' Amid a scene of confusion, bustle, and crowding, we succeeded, after a good share of scuffling and pulling, in getting our trunks on board the luggage car for Albany, where we arrived the same evening.

"On the 30th, at seven o'clock, a. m., we went on board the steamer John Mason, which took us to the Erie, lying over the bar. While the passengers were stepping off the John Mason, the steamer Rochester passed us. 'Now for a race,'

was the cry from different parts, and a race and try of speed it was; however, as fate or steam power or engine would have it, the Erie, after touching at Catskill and West Point, where the Rochester did not, went into New York a few miles 'ahead.' By such undue pressure of steam the lives of thousands have been sacrificed, and I thanked God that myself and friends were safely landed.

"While here I visited the burnt district—that part of the city where it was estimated fifteen millions of property were consumed by fire on the 16th of December, 1835. . . .

"From New York we continued our journey to Providence, on board a steamer; from thence to Boston, by steam cars, and arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, early in August, where we hired a house, and occupied the same during the month, teaching the people from house to house, and preaching publicly, as opportunity presented; visiting, occasionally, sections of the surrounding country, which are rich in the history of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, in Indian warfare, religious superstition, bigotry, persecution, and learned ignorance.

"The early settlers of Boston (the Emporium of New England), who had fled from their mother country to avoid persecution and death, soon became so lost to principles of justice and religious liberty as to whip and hang the Baptist and the Quaker, who, like themselves, had fled from tyranny to a land of freedom; and the Fathers of Salem from 1691 to 1693, whipped, imprisoned, tortured, and hung many of their citizens for supposed witchcraft; and quite recently, while boasting of her light and knowledge, of her laws and religion, as surpassed by none on earth, has New England been guilty of burning a Catholic convent in the vicinity of Charleston, and of scattering the inmates to the four winds; yes, in sight of the very spot where the fire of the American Independence was first kindled, where a monument is now erecting in memory of the battle of Bunker Hill, and the fate of the immortal Warren, who bled, who died on those sacred heights, to purchase religious liberty for his country; in sight of this very spot, have the religionists of the nineteenth century demolished a noble brick edifice, hurl-

ing its inhabitants forth upon a cold, unfeeling world for protection and subsistence.

"Well did the Savior say concerning such, 'By their fruits you shall know them.' And if the wicked mob who destroyed the Charleston convent, and the cool, calculating religious lookers on, who inspired their hearts with deeds of infamy, do not arise, and redress the wrong, and restore the injured fourfold, they in turn will receive of the measure they have meted out till the just indignation of a righteous God is satisfied. When will man cease to war with man, and wrest from him his sacred rights of worshiping his God according as his conscience dictates? Holy Father, hasten the day. . . .

"While here Brothers Brigham Young and L. C. Johnson arrived. Brother Young had been through New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts, in company with his brother, Joseph Young, having visited their connection in this country, and baptized a good number into the church. They staid in Boston two or three weeks, and baptized seventeen persons. We had a good visit with the brethren, for which I feel very thankful.

"Thus I continued in Salem and vicinity until I returned to Kirtland, sometime in the month of September. During this month the church in Clay County, Missouri, commenced removing to their newly selected location on Shoal Creek, in the territory attached to Ray County.

"During the quarter ending September 3, fifty-two elders', six priests', three teachers', and two deacons' licenses were recorded in the License Records, in Kirtland, Ohio, by Thomas Burdick. The intelligence from the elders abroad was interesting. Elder P. P. Pratt still continued his labors in Upper Canada, Toronto, and vicinity, with good success. Elder Lyman E. Johnson had been laboring in New Brunswick and other places on the seaboard; and on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of August a conference was held by Elders Brigham Young and Lyman E. Johnson, at Newry, Maine, where seventeen branches were represented, amounting to three hundred and seventeen members.

General prosperity.

"October 2, 1836. My father, and Uncle John Smith, returned to Kirtland, from their mission to the Eastern States, having traveled about two thousand four hundred miles, and visited nearly all the branches of the church in New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. During this mission, they baptized many, conferred blessings upon many hundreds, and preached the gospel to many thousands. They also visited their friends and relatives in the land of their nativity. My cousin, George A. Smith, returned the same day from his mission to Richland County, Ohio. Brother H. C. Kimball returned to Kirtland, having been absent nearly five months, during which time he baptized thirty persons into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, this being in fulfillment of a blessing that I had conferred upon his head before he started on his mission.

Labors of the Patriarch and his brother.

"Through the month of October . . . my attention was particularly directed to the building up of Kirtland, and the spiritual interests of the church. And on the 2d of November the brethren at Kirtland drew up certain articles of agreement, preparatory to the organization of a banking institution, to be called the 'Kirtland Safety Society.'

Kirtland Bank.

"President O. Cowdery was delegated to Philadelphia to procure plates for the institution; and Elder O. Hyde, to repair to Columbus, with a petition to the legislature of Ohio, for an act of incorporation, which was presented at an early period of their session, but because we were 'Mormons,' the legislature raised some frivolous excuse on which they refused to grant us those banking privileges they so freely granted to others. Thus Elder Hyde was compelled to return without accomplishing the object of his mission, while Elder Cowdery succeeded at a great expense in procuring the plates, and bringing them to Kirtland.

"Forty-four elders' licenses were recorded in the License Records at Kirtland, during the quarter ending December 1; also five priests' and one teacher's licenses; by T. Burdick. . . .

" 'Minutes of a conference, held in the house of the Lord on the 22d of December, 1836.

" 'The authorities of the church being present, viz.: The First Presidency, the High Council of Kirtland, the Quorum of the Twelve, the Presidents of the Seventies, the President of the Elders and his counselors, and many other official members, such as priests, teachers, deacons, etc., the house was called to order, and the following motions were made, seconded, and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

Conference of authorities.

" '1. That it has been the case that a very improper and unchristianlike course of conduct has been pursued by the elders of this church, and the churches abroad, in sending their poor from among them, and moving to this place, without the necessary means of subsistence; whereas the church in this place being poor from the beginning, having had to pay an extortionate price for their lands, provisions, etc.; and having a serious burthen imposed upon them by comers and goers, from most parts of the world, and in assisting the traveling elders and their families, while they themselves have been laboring in the vineyard of the Lord, to preach the gospel; and also having suffered great loss in endeavoring to benefit Zion, it has become a serious matter which ought to be considered by us.

" 'Therefore, after deliberate discussion upon the subject, it was motioned, seconded, and unanimously carried, that we have borne our part of this burden, and that it becomes the duty, henceforth, of all the churches abroad, to provide for those who are objects of charity that are not able to provide for themselves; and not send them from their midst to burthen the church in this place, unless they come and prepare a place for them, and means for their support.

" '2. That there be a stop put to churches or families gathering or moving to this place, without their first coming or sending their wise men to prepare a place for them, as our houses are all full, and our lands mostly occupied, except those houses that do not belong to the church, which cannot be obtained without great sacrifice, especially when brethren with their families are crowding in upon us, and

are compelled to purchase at any rate, and consequently are thrown into the hands of speculators, and extortioners, with which the Lord is not well pleased; also that the churches abroad do according to the Revelation contained in the Book of Commandments, page 238, commencing at section 10, which is as follows:—

"'"Now verily I say unto you, let all the churches gather together all their moneys; let these things be done in their time, be not in haste; and observe to have all these things prepared before you, and let honorable men be appointed, even wise men, and send them to purchase these lands; and every church in the eastern countries when they are built up, if they will hearken unto this counsel, they may buy lands and gather together upon them, and in this way they may establish Zion."

"'JOSEPH SMITH, Chairman.
"'WARREN PARRISH, Clerk.'

"On the 31st of December, at the setting of the sun, Doctor Willard Richards was baptized at Kirtland, under the hands of President Brigham Young, in the presence of Heber C. Kimball, and others, who had spent the afternoon in cutting the ice to prepare for the baptism."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 821-823, 842.

Literary concerns.

With the March number of the *Messenger and Advocate*, John Whitmer's connection with the paper as editor ceased, and Oliver Cowdery succeeded him.

On June 7, 1836, the publishing firm of F. G. Williams and Company was dissolved by mutual consent and the whole establishment was purchased by Oliver Cowdery, who became sole proprietor, editor, and publisher.

Work in the South.

The June number of the *Messenger and Advocate* contains the minutes of a conference held at Chalk Level, Benton County, Tennessee, May 28 and 29, 1836, Elder D. W. Patten presiding. At this conference there were seven branches represented; namely, Taropen branch, 28 members; Clarks River, 10 members; Blood River, 10 members; Academy, 10 members; Chalk Level, 27 members; Eagle Creek, 15 members; and Cyprus, 10 members.

By this it appears that the work was getting a firm hold

in the South, though so far as we know it had spread no farther south than Tennessee at this time. There is also a notice in same paper of a conference to be held in Calloway County, Kentucky, the following September.

But, as in other places, the work was not permitted to be promulgated without serious and violent opposition, as indicated by a letter from Hickman County, Tennessee, June 28, 1836, written by Warren Parrish, and published in the *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, pp. 365-367.[1]

[1] This evening while meditating upon the variegated scenes of human existence, the ever fluctuating current of mortal life, which sometimes threatens to overwhelm the way-wandering sons of men like an irresistible torrent and hurry them to an untimely grave, while far separated from those who are bound by the dearest ties of consanguinity, my mind flits back to those happy seasons I have enjoyed in Kirtland, in the society of my brethren and friends. The loss of this society is more than usually impressed on my mind from a combination of circumstances which have transpired since I last wrote.

On the return of Brother Patten and myself from Clarks River, to Brother Utley's, we were informed that many of the citizens of that county (Benton) and some of the citizens of Carroll County, had met in convention, headed by a Methodist priest, who was called to the chair, and the county clerk appointed secretary. They drew up resolutions to drive all the "Mormon" (Latter Day Saint) preachers from their coast. These resolutions were signed by the sheriff and many who are sworn to be civil peace officers, to suppress all riots and unlawful assemblies and support and defend the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Tennessee; also military officers who are sworn to do the same. From colonels and majors down through all the grades of officers, enrolled their names with this lawless banditti, to abuse the servants of the living God by abridging their privileges and trampling upon their rights.

We enjoyed our meeting unmolested at Brother Utley's, on Saturday the 19th inst., although almost every breeze brought us news that the mob intended to carry their resolutions into effect and that some hundreds had entered into this conspiracy. In the afternoon a little before sunset a company of some forty or fifty men made their appearance, some on foot, others mounted two on a horse, with guns, sticks, clubs, etc.; they were led by a sheriff, colonel, first and second major, with some other officers, and a Methodist priest with a gun on his shoulder.

The sheriff informed us that he had a State's warrant for D. W. Patten, W. Parrish, and W. Woodruff, issued on complaint of Mathew Williams, the Methodist priest and chairman spoken of above, who sware that we had put forth the following false and pretended prophecy; viz., that Christ would come the second time before this generation passed away, also that four individuals should receive the Holy Ghost within four and twenty hours.

We were credibly informed that the company that were under the control of these noble chieftains consisted of Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, liars, drunkards, hog and horse thieves. And so determined were they to force us off at that late hour that it was with much difficulty we could prevail on them to show us any lenity. However, they protracted the time of our appearance before the court until Tuesday

Having good reasons to believe that all differences were adjusted, and that they would be permitted to occupy the new county in peace, and make permanent homes in this fruitful land, the closing of the year 1836

Gathering to Missouri.

following, by our giving a bond of two thousand dollars, signed by ourselves and two of our brethren.

They intended to have led us into the woods under the dark curtain of night (the emblem of their corrupt and wicked hearts), with the pretension of taking us before the magistrate, that they might the better execute their diabolical designs upon us.

On Tuesday in company with about twenty brethren and warm friends, who were ready and willing to lay down their lives for us, we went before our rulers. We found about one hundred persons assembled whose countenances too plainly indicated the black designs of their hearts. They were armed with guns, dirks, pistols, clubs, sticks, etc. At a late hour we prevailed on the sheriff to have the court called, which consisted of three magistrates, one of whom was rejected from the judgment seat because some of his family were members of our church. The sheriff then asked of the court the privilege of divesting us of our arms, if any we had. It was granted. Elder Patten had a pistol which he had taken that morning in consequence of our having heard that the mob did not expect to sustain a lawful charge against us, but intended to rise up and overpower us by their numbers; he also had a walking stick. I had a cane and common pocket knife. These were taken from us.

A man by the name of Perkins (who report says had run his country for hog stealing and also had been guilty of concealing a stolen horse for which he had lost a part of his nose), was appointed by the court to act as State's Attorney, or in other words, mob solicitor general, to abuse the innocent and screen the guilty. We were abused by any and every scoundrel that saw fit to do so, and the court allowed them this privilege. After they had brought many of those who had entered into a conspiracy to witness against us; we called on our witnesses, but the court refused to hear any testimony on our part, because the mob objected and they dare not do otherwise, but were controlled by the lawless banditti that surrounded them and us, who were determined on our destruction. Said Perkins made a plea against us, and we were not permitted to reply or speak in our own defense. Thus ended this mock trial, and the court after retiring a few minutes, returned with this verdict: That they concluded that the charges preferred against us had been sustained, and that we were bound over to court for trial

Our accusers did not attempt to prove that those individuals who were promised the Holy Ghost on condition of obedience to the gospel did not receive it, for they if called upon would have testified otherwise; and let the candid judge whether any man can in truth testify that he who prophecies that Christ will come the second time in this generation is a false prophet. And furthermore our complainant testified that the above-named crimes were committed in October, 1834. It is a well-known fact that Elder Woodruff, whose name is included in the warrant (though not arrested) was not in this State until the spring of 1835. So much for the oath of a Methodist priest.

While the court was preparing our bonds, another warrant was served on Elder Patten. The mob without and the mob within, whose intoxicating zeal had risen to its zenith, were threatening our lives, and seemed only waiting the dark shades of night, which were fast gathering round, to cover them while they should wreak their hands in our

found hundreds from all parts of the country with their faces turned towards Missouri, with glad hearts, anticipating a home of peace and plenty as a reward of honest toil.

blood. The influence of our friends as instruments in the hands of God kept this gathering storm from bursting upon our heads. About this time the sheriff proposed to us that if we would leave the county in ten days and pay the cost they would set us at liberty, at the same time informing us that it was the only way for us to escape the hands of the mob, who were hardly restrained from acts of violence. One of the brethren present offered to pay the cost and all advised us to accept the offer, although in its nature most insulting, for if we were really guilty of a violation of the laws of the State their oath of office obligated them to bind us over to trial before the circuit court. But this was not the fact; we were not guilty, and this last step proves to a demonstration that they (the court) did not consider us so; and shows that oaths, obligations, and the rights of man were disregarded, and the whole scenery from beginning to end was controlled and governed by a set of ruthless ruffians, who are sunk in the lowest depths of degradation and infamy, of whom the Devil himself ought to be ashamed.

WARREN PARRISH.

CHAPTER 5.

1837.

KIRTLAND BANK—A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE—ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT—PURPOSE NOT FRAUDULENT—SPIRIT OF SPECULATION—JOSEPH SMITH RESIGNS—HE PUBLISHES A WARNING—KELLEY'S LETTER.

THE year 1837 commenced in Kirtland by a movement upon the part of some of its citizens to establish a general banking business. Though this was never a church measure, some of the leading men of the church engaged in the enterprise. The fate of this enterprise was an unfortunate one. The financial stringency of 1837, under which many older and better established institutions went down, combined with the opposition urged by the enemies of the church, and probably with some mismanagement, insured its failure. Stories were put afloat that the officers of the bank had stolen the funds. No institution of the kind ever failed without such reports being circulated. In this case where there was so much religious opposition to the stockholders and officers, these reports would, of course, be more likely to obtain. We therefore beg the indulgence of the reader while we give some items regarding this institution, which do not properly come under the head of church history, because of its having been an individual or private enterprise.

Kirtland Bank.

A private enterprise.

A meeting of the Kirtland Safety Society was held at Kirtland, Ohio, on January 2, 1837, of which the following are the minutes:—

"Minutes of a meeting of the Members of the 'Kirtland Safety Society,' held on the 2d day of January, 1837.

"At a special meeting of the 'Kirtland Safety Society,' two thirds of the members being present, S. Rigdon was called to the chair, and W. Parrish chosen secretary.

"The house was called to order, and the object of the meeting explained by the chairman; which was: First, to annul the old constitution, which was adopted by the Society, on the 2d day of November, 1836; which was, on motion, by the unanimous voice of the meeting, annulled. Second, to adopt articles of agreement, by which the 'Kirtland Safety Society' are to be governed.

Articles of agreement.

"After much discussion and investigation, the following Preamble and Articles of Agreement were adopted by the unanimous voice of the meeting:—

"We, the undersigned subscribers, for the promotion of our temporal interests, and for the better management of our different occupations, which consist in agriculture, mechanical arts, and merchandising, do hereby form ourselves into a firm or company for the before-mentioned objects, by the name of the 'Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company,' and for the proper management of said firm, we individually and jointly enter into and adopt the following articles of agreement:—

"Art. 1. The capital stock of said society or firm shall not be less than four millions of dollars; to be divided into shares of fifty dollars each; and may be increased to any amount, at the discretion of the managers.

"Art. 2. The management of said company shall be under the superintendence of thirty-two managers, to be chosen annually, by, and from among, the members of the same; each member being entitled to one vote for each share, which he, she, or they, may hold in said company; and said votes may be given by proxy, or in *propria persona*.

"Art. 3. It shall be the duty of said managers, when chosen, to elect from their number, a Treasurer and Secretary. It shall be the further duty of said managers to meet in the upper room of the office of said company, on the first Mondays of November and May, of each year, at nine o'clock, a. m., to inspect the books of said company, and transact such other business as may be deemed necessary.

"Art. 4. It shall be the duty of said managers to choose from among their number, seven men, who shall meet in the upper room of said office on Tuesday of each week, at four

o'clock, p. m., to inquire into and assist in all matters pertaining to said company.

"Art. 5. Each manager shall receive from the company one dollar per day for his services when called together at the annual and semiannual meetings. The Treasurer and Secretary and the seven, the committee of the managers, shall receive a compensation for their services as they shall be agreed by the managers at their semiannual meetings.

"Art. 6. The first election of managers, as set forth in the second article, shall take place at the meeting of the members to adopt this agreement, who shall hold their offices until the first Monday of November, 1837, unless removed by death or misdemeanor, and until others are duly elected. Every annual election of managers shall take place on the first Monday of November in each year. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer and Secretary of said company to receive the votes of the members by ballot, and declare the election.

"Art. 7. The books of the company shall be always open for the inspection of the members.

"Art. 8. It shall be the duty of the managers of the company to declare a dividend once in six months; which dividend shall be apportioned among the members, according to the installments by them paid in.

"Art. 9. All persons subscribing stock in said firm shall pay their first installment at the time of subscribing, and other installments from time to time, as shall be required by the managers.

"Art. 10. The managers shall give thirty days' notice in some public paper, printed in this county, previous to an installment being paid in. All subscribers residing out of the State, shall be required to pay in half the amount of their subscriptions at the time of subscribing; and the remainder, or such part thereof, as shall be required at any time, by the managers, after thirty days' notice.

"Art. 11. The Treasurer shall be empowered to call special meetings of the managers whenever he shall deem it necessary, separate and aside from the annual and semiannual meetings.

"Art. 12. Two thirds of the managers shall form a quorum to act at the semiannual meetings, and any number of the seven, the committee of the managers, with the Treasurer and Secretary, or either of them, may form a quorum to transact business at the weekly meetings, and in case none of the seven are present at the weekly meetings, the Treasurer and Secretary must transact the business.

"Art. 13. The managers shall have power to enact such by-laws as they may deem necessary from time to time, provided they do not infringe upon these articles of agreement.

"Art. 14. All notes given by said society, shall be signed by the Treasurer and Secretary thereof, and we, the individual members of said firm, hereby hold ourselves bound for the redemption of all such notes.

"Art. 15. The notes given for the benefit of said society shall be given to the Treasurer in the following form: 'Ninety days after date, we jointly, and severally, promise to pay A. B. or order,———dollars and———cents, value received.' A record of which shall be made in the books at the time, of the amount, and by whom given, and when due, and deposited with the files and papers of said society.

"Art. 16. Any article in this agreement may be altered at any time, annulled, added unto, or expunged by the vote of two thirds of the members of said society, except the fourteenth article; that shall remain unaltered during the existence of said company. For the true and faithful fulfillment of the above covenant and agreement, we individually bind ourselves to each other, under the penal sum of one hundred thousand dollars. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and date first above written." —*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, pp. 843, 844.

A close inspection of Article 14 of the foregoing should convince anyone that the purpose of this company was not fraudulent, for they, the members of the firm, held themselves individually responsible for the redemption of every note signed by the Treasurer and Secretary of the society. Men do not usually involve all they have in an effort to defraud.

Purpose not fraudulent.

Again: Article 16 binds them to each other severally and

individually in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the true and faithful fulfillment of the covenant and agreement set forth in these articles.

Whatever may have been the subsequent action of individuals, this institution was manifestly founded in good faith, and with no design of fraud.

Spirit of speculation.

As early as May, 1837, there was a spirit of speculation in Kirtland, affecting, among others, some of the leading men of the church; and it is possible that under this influence some of them, including some of those connected with the bank, did things of questionable propriety and honesty. This spirit, with its legitimate tendencies, was condemned by Joseph Smith, and by others of high standing. Of this Joseph wrote:—

"At this time the spirit of speculation in lands and property of all kinds, which was so prevalent throughout the whole nation, was taking deep root in the church. As the fruits of this spirit, evil surmisings, faultfinding, disunion, dissension, and apostasy followed in quick succession, and it seemed as though all the powers of earth and hell were combining their influence in an especial manner to overthrow the church at once, and make a final end. Other banking institutions refused the 'Kirtland Safety Society's' notes. The enemy abroad and apostates in our midst united in their schemes, flour and provisions were turned towards other markets, and many became disaffected towards me as though I were the sole cause of those very evils I was most strenuously striving against, and which were actually brought upon us by the brethren not giving heed to my counsel.

"No quorum in the church was entirely exempt from the influence of those false spirits who were striving against me for the mastery; even some of the Twelve were so far lost to their high and responsible calling as to begin to take sides, secretly, with the enemy."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, page 11.

On the date of July 7, 1837, Joseph writes:—

"Some time previous to this I resigned my office in the 'Kirtland Safety Society,' disposed of my interest therein, and withdrew from the institution; being fully aware, after

so long an experiment, that no institution of the kind, established upon just and righteous principles, for a blessing not only to the church but the whole nation, would be suffered to continue its operations in such an age of darkness, speculation, and wickedness. Almost all banks throughout the country, one after the other, suspended specie payment, and gold and silver rose in value in direct ratio with the depreciation of paper currency. The great pressure of the money market is felt in England as well as America, and breadstuffs are everywhere high."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 13.

He publishes a warning.

Notwithstanding the depreciation of Kirtland bank notes, some of these speculators were imposing them upon the uninformed, when Joseph put himself squarely upon record by publishing a warning in the *Messenger and Advocate* for August, 1837.[1]

Kelley's letter.

A letter written by Elder E. L. Kelley from Painesville, Ohio, is valuable to history in this connection. It was written just at the time the church was in court suing for possession of the Kirtland Temple, which would naturally revive the old prejudice and opposition against Joseph Smith and the church.[2]

[1] In the August number of the *Advocate* I published the following CAUTION to the brethren and friends of the Church of Latter Day Saints:—

"I am disposed to say a word relative to the bills of the 'Kirtland Safety Society Bank.' I hereby warn them to beware of speculators, renegades, and gamblers, who are duping the unwary and unsuspecting, by palming upon them those bills, which are of no worth here. I discountenance and disapprove of any and all such practices. I know them to be detrimental to the best interests of society, as well as to the principles of religion. JOSEPH SMITH, Jr."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, page 55.

[2] PRES. J. SMITH, Plano, Illinois:—

Dear Sir:—One week ago to-day I arrived in this city, to look after the interests of the Reorganized Church in its action in the State courts, to recover the possession of the Kirtland Temple property, in Lake County. The plaintiff's claim is based upon the grounds that the Reorganized Church is the lawful and legitimate successor of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, organized by Joseph Smith, Jr., A. D. 1830, at Palmyra, New York, and to which the property in controversy was deeded in the year 1841. The cause was tried to the court, Judge Sherman on the bench, on the 17th inst., and is now held under advisement. Upon the final submission of the case the court referred to the evidence produced, as "showing a very wide departure from the laws and usages of the original church by that body of Mormons in Utah Territory," which make claim to be in the line of succession. Although no decision has been made in the case yet, plaintiff's counsel are confident that

The following letter of Governor Lucas, who was Governor of Ohio from 1832 to 1836, is of importance in this connection:—

"BURLINGTON, Iowa Territory, April 22, 1839.

"To His Excellency, Martin Van Buren, President of the United States.

"Sir:—I have the honor to introduce to your acquaintance,

judgment must be for the Reorganized Church and ordering that they be put in possession of the property.

Since my arrival I have had the pleasure of the acquaintance of many of the leading citizens of the county, and find that among them the most tolerant spirit is manifest toward the members of the original and the Reorganized Church. And now, while I am upon the ground and have every means to ascertain the true character of the Latter Day Saints, or Mormons, who resided here from 1830 to 1838, and have been surprised myself with the facts in the case, as so widely differing from what is found in the popular histories of religious denominations of the day and encyclopedias, I have determined to submit to you the result of my candid inquiries.

So far, among the former acquaintances of Joseph Smith, Jr., I have failed to find one who will say that he was not a good citizen and an honest man. "Joe Smith," say they, "was an honorable man and a gentleman in every particular, let the histories say what they may." Now, if these things are true, history greatly belies the man, and in the eternal fitness of things time must correct the false and fickle stories and vindicate his memory. My information is derived from such men as Messrs. Quinn, Storm, Burrows, and Axtell, who are foremost citizens of the county. These parties say that among some of the fanatical and ignorant there is existing great prejudice and hatred against the early Mormons, and I have found in Kirtland two persons who are terribly bitter, but neither of these had any acquaintance with the parties and base their knowledge on the "stories told." One of these is the present pastor of the Methodist Church in Kirtland, and who is now under the charge of being not only a fanatic, but crazy, and his congregation ask his removal; the other, a Mr. Harvey, of Kirtland, a member of the Baptist Church, but ignorant, can neither read nor write, and abuses his own wife for differing from him in religion, and teaches his children to abuse their mother.

As a sample of my testimony I give you my conversation with I. P. Axtell, Esq., a large farmer, and director in the First National Bank of Painesville for many years; a man of energy and experience, and as early as 1844, a member of the Whig convention at Baltimore, which nominated Henry Clay for President. The conversation was as follows:—

Q.—When did you come to this county, Mr. Axtell?

A.—My father moved here with his family in the year 1830. I was but a boy then.

Q.—What was your father's business?

A.—He was a Baptist minister, and kept a hotel then.

Q.—Did you know Joseph Smith?

A.—Yes, sir. I have seen him many a time; he was often at my father's house; and I with many young people often went to Kirtland to see him and his people. I knew his father also, who at the time I knew him had charge of the Kirtland Temple. He took me with others through the temple at one time; he appeared to be a fine old man.

Q.—When did your father become acquainted with Mr. Smith?

the bearer, Doctor Sidney Rigdon, who was for many years a citizen of the State of Ohio, and a firm supporter of the administration of the General Government.

"Doctor Rigdon visits Washington (as I am informed) as

A.—In about six weeks after he came to the county he first met him; he went out of his way one day six miles to see Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. He said he found them in Kirtland Township; they had been there but a short time and occupied a small log house. He found them to be quite intelligent men, and he said pleasant talkers, and quite free to converse upon their religious views, which at that time was known as the "new sect." My father always said Joseph Smith was a conscientious and upright man.

Q.—Did you know any other persons of the new society?

A.—O, yes, a great many. I knew Mr. Pratt very well. He was a smart and a square man all around. Those men were neither knaves nor rogues; that is my opinion of them. I suppose some of them may have been. It was just as in all other bodies of the kind, there will be some bad ones, but I don't know of any that were. There were a good many stories circulated about them that I knew to be false. At one time an ox was found in Kirtland Township, killed and skinned; and there was a great to do about the Mormons having killed it. My brother was sheriff at the time, and with others went up to investigate the matter, and he says that there was not the least evidence which showed that the Mormons had any hand in killing the ox. Persons around, however, who hated their religion, would tell that they did.

Q.—How was it that people did not like them? Were they not good citizens?

A.—Yes, they were as good citizens as those of any society. It was the *fanatics in religion* that tried to drive those men out. There were a great many conservative men in our county at that time who held these fanatics back, and if it had not been for this they would have gone in and killed them all. But our intelligent and honorable citizens prevented this.

Q.—What about the Kirtland Bank swindle? Mr. Axtell, you are a banker, and know how that was, do you not?

A.—Yes, I know about that bank; they started in Kirtland. These parties went into the banking business as a great many others in the State of Ohio and other States. They got considerable money out at first, and their enemies began to circulate all manner of stories against them, and as we had a great many banks then that issued what was known as "wild-cat" money, the people began to get alarmed at so many stories, and would take the other banks' issue instead of the Kirtland; and so much of it was forced in at once that the bank was not able to take it up. Had the people let these people alone there is no reason that I know of why the Kirtland Bank should not have existed to this time, and on as stable a basis as other banks.

Q.—Then you think it was the fault of the enemies of the bank that it failed?

A.—Yes, I do; and it was not the only one that failed either by a good many, and with which Smith had nothing to do.

Q.—What then do you consider the prime causes of the expulsion of the Mormons from Kirtland?

A.—The ignorance and fanaticism of their accusers did it; they thought public sentiment would tolerate it and they did it. The same as Roger Williams was driven out and the witches burned in Massachu-

the representative of a community of people called Mormons, to solicit from the government of the United States, an investigation into the causes that led to their expulsion from the State of Missouri: together with the various circumstances connected with that extraordinary affair.

"I think it due to that people to state, that they had for a number of years a community established in Ohio, and that while in that State they were (as far as I ever heard) believed to be an industrious, inoffensive people; and I have no recollection of having ever heard of any of them being charged in that State as violators of the laws.

"With sincere respect, I am your obedient servant,

"ROBERT LUCAS."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 151.

setts. My position is that no *fanatic*, either in religion or politics, should be permitted to hold an office of trust in this country.

The above is a fair average sample of the testimony of those I have met and talked with as to the character of the early Mormons in this county, among those who lived here and knew these people. A gentleman of Willoughby, this county, suggested to me, that another reason was, their persecutors wanted their property, and said he, "They got from them thousands of dollars worth too." After canvassing the sentiment here of these men, I feel a good deal like Col. R. G. Ingersoll when he offered the gold for the evidence of Tom Paine's dying declarations; and I now affirm that if any of the great newspapers of the day, like the Chicago *Times*, *Tribune*, or *Inter-Ocean* wish to test the truth of the statements and publish the facts by a correspondent through their columns; I will undertake the task of accompanying their correspondent and if the general integrity, uprightness, honesty, and patriotism, of these men are not maintained by the evidence, I will forfeit to the one so publishing *one hundred dollars in gold*. A letter will reach me at any time directed, Glenwood, Iowa.

My associate counsel in the case here, J. B. Burrows, Esq., is not only an able attorney but a genial gentleman. He is a brother of Congressman Burrows from Michigan, and I must say that his acquaintance has greatly raised in my estimation the favorable opinion I had already entertained of Michigan's great orator. I find many able and indeed eloquent practitioners at the bar here,—this is one of the oldest towns in the State, as well as the wealthiest in proportion to its population—and, as all well informed attorneys are, these are pleasant and honorable.

Hastily, I am very respectfully yours, E. L. KELLEY.

PAINESVILLE, Ohio, Feb. 19, 1880.

—*Saints' Herald*, vol. 27, pp. 84, 85.

CHAPTER 6.

1837.

TEMPLE MEETINGS—MESSENGER AND ADVOCATE TRANSFERRED—SOLEMN ASSEMBLY—PRESIDENTS OF SEVENTIES—CAUSES FOR EMBARRASSMENT—APOSTASY OF 1837—CANADA CONFERENCE—REVELATION TO T. B. MARSH—MISSION TO CANADA—ELDERS' JOURNAL—KIRTLAND CONFERENCE—ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH—MARKS APPOINTED AGENT—LOCATE OTHER STAKES—APPOINTMENT OF ELDERS—BISHOP SENDS EPISTLE—START TO MISSOURI—DEATH OF MRS. HYRUM SMITH—VOICE OF WARNING—DANCING AND UNRULY CHILDREN—ARDENT SPIRITS—ARRIVAL AT FAR WEST.

RESUMING the general thread of history we quote from Joseph Smith as follows:—

"During the winter, the house of the Lord at Kirtland was filled to overflowing with attentive hearers, mostly communicants; and in the evenings of the same, the singers met under the direction of Elders Luman Carter and Jonathan Crosby, Jr., who gave instructions in the principles of vocal music.

"On Monday evenings the Quorum of High Priests meet in the west room of the attic story, where they transact the business of their particular quorum. On Tuesday evenings the Seventies occupy the same room. On Wednesday evenings the rooms are occupied by the Quorum of Elders. And on Thursday, p. m., a prayer meeting is held in the lower part of the house, free for all, though generally conducted by Patriarch Joseph Smith, Sr. The Twelve, the High Council, and other quorums, generally, meet each week to transact business, and during the week the 'Kirtland High School' is taught in the attic story, by H. M. Hawes, Esq., professor of the Greek and Latin languages. The school numbers from one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and forty students, divided into three departments; the classics, where the languages only are

Temple meetings.

taught; the English department, where mathematics, common arithmetic, geography, English grammar, writing, and reading are taught; and the juvenile department, the last two having each an assistant instructor. The school commenced in November, and on the first Wednesday in January the several classes passed a public examination in presence of the trustees of the school, parents and guardians, and their progress in study was found of the highest order. . . .

"The brethren in Missouri were very busy in gathering into Caldwell County, entering United States land, building houses, and preparing to put in crops in the spring.

"On the first of February, 1837, the firm of O. Cowdery and Company was dissolved by mutual consent, and the entire establishment was transferred to Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon; and Warren A. Cowdery acted as their agent in the printing office and bookbindery, and Editor of the *Messenger and Advocate.*

Messenger and Advocate transferred.

"During the quarter ending March the 3d, thirty-two elders', seven priests', three teachers', and two deacons' licenses were recorded in the License Records in Kirtland, by T. Burdick.

"A short notice only was given, that a solemn assembly would be called, of the official members of the church, on the 6th of April, for the purpose of washing, anointing, washing of feet, receiving instructions, and the further organization of the ministry."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 845.

Solemn Assembly.

On Thursday, April 6, 1837, the solemn assembly spoken of above, met, when considerable business was done, and among other items the following: Upon investigation it was discovered that some of those who were presiding over the Seventy were high priests. These were directed to unite with the High Priests, and it was ordered that new Presidents of the Seventy should be chosen in their places. These were finally ascertained to be, Hazen Aldrich, Leonard Rich, Zebedee Coltrin, Lyman Sherman, and Sylvester Smith. In the places of these were chosen James Foster, Daniel S. Miles, Josiah Butterfield,

Presidents of Seventies.

Salmon Gee, and John Gaylord; so that on September 3, 1837, when this point was finally settled, the Presidency of Seventy stood in the following order: 1, Joseph Young; 2, Levi W. Hancock; 3, James Foster; 4, Daniel S. Miles; 5, Josiah Butterfield; 6, Salmon Gee; and 7, John Gaylord.

After this there were only two changes in this council before the death of Joseph Smith in 1844.

On January 13, 1838, John Gaylord was expelled from the church; and on February 6, 1838, Elder Henry Herriman was chosen to fill the vacancy.

On March 6, 1838, the quorum withdrew fellowship from Salmon Gee, and Zera Pulsipher was chosen on the same day to fill the vacancy.

The order as given in Doctrine and Covenants, section 107, paragraph 44, is different; but why the change in arrangement was made we do not know.

This solemn assembly on April 6, 1837, was appropriately addressed by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and Sidney Rigdon. Among other things said are the following. President Joseph Smith spoke as follows:—

"There are many causes of embarrassment, of a pecuniary nature, now pressing upon the heads of the church. They began poor; were needy, destitute, and were truly afflicted by their enemies; yet the Lord commanded them to go forth and preach the gospel, to sacrifice their time, their talents, their good name, and jeopardize their lives; and in addition to this, they were to build a house for the Lord, and prepare for the gathering of the saints. Thus it is easy to see this must involve them. They had no temporal means in the beginning commensurate with such an undertaking; but this work must be done; this place had to be built up. Large contracts have been entered into for lands on all sides, where our enemies have signed away their rights. We are indebted to them, but our brethren from abroad have only to come with their money, take these contracts, relieve their brethren from the pecuniary embarrassments under which they now labor, and procure for themselves a peaceable place of rest among us. This place must and will be built up, and every brother that will take hold and

Causes for embarrassment.

help secure and discharge those contracts that have been made, shall be rich.

"At four p. m., President Hyrum Smith addressed the assembly, principally in relation to the temporal affairs of the church, and censured those who counselled such brethren as moved to this place, when they were not authorized to give advice. He also alluded, in terms of disapprobation, to the practice of some individuals, in getting money from brethren that come in, when it ought to be appropriated to the discharge of heavy debts that are now hanging over the heads of the church, or the payments of the land contracts which had been made for the benefit of the saints in this place.

"Twenty-five minutes before five, President Oliver Cowdery spoke, opposing the idea of elders attempting to preach or teach that which they did not know, etc.

"President Sidney Rigdon rose a little before five p. m., and after referring to the gathering, and the preaching of the gospel, as the first thing, alluded to the debt which had been contracted for building the Lord's house, and other purposes, and stated three principal items that constituted nearly the aggregate of debt that now remained unliquidated.

"First, a charge of six thousand dollars which was appropriated and expended in consequence of the brethren being driven by a lawless mob from their possessions in Jackson County. The second was the building of the Lord's house, the unliquidated debt of which was rising of thirteen thousand dollars. The third item of debt was for the purchase of land, that there might be a place of rest, a place of safety, a place that the saints might lawfully call their own."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 15, p. 850.

The foregoing will serve to explain how the First Presidency and other leading men became involved, and will also explain the necessity for the provision made for the debts of the Presidency in the revelation of July 8, 1838.

Apostasy of 1837.

In the spring and summer of 1837 there was much disaffection in the church, in which some of the leading men were arrayed against Joseph Smith and his supporters. In this opposition we find such names as F. G. Williams, Lyman Johnson, P. P. Pratt, David Whit-

mer, Warren Parrish, and many others. These difficulties led to a series of charges and counter charges, which would be tedious to follow. This disturbance led to the apostasy of some, the rejection of some by the church, and the reconciling of others; this all resulting in a readjustment and rearranging of some if not all the quorums.

P. P. Pratt mentions this time as follows:—

"About this time, after I had returned from Canada, there were jarrings and discords in the church at Kirtland, and many fell away and became enemies and apostates. There were also envyings, lyings, strifes, and divisions, which caused much trouble and sorrow. By such spirits I was also accused, misrepresented, and abused. And at one time, I also was overcome by the same spirit in a great measure, and it seemed as if the very powers of darkness which war against the saints were let loose upon me. But the Lord knew my faith, my zeal, my integrity of purpose, and he gave me the victory.

"I went to Brother Joseph Smith in tears, and with a broken heart and contrite spirit confessed wherein I had erred in spirit, murmured, or done or said amiss. He frankly forgave me, prayed for me, and blessed me. Thus by experience I learned more fully to discern and to contrast the two spirits, and to resist the one and cleave to the other. And being tempted in all points, even as others, I learned how to bear with, and excuse, and succor those who are tempted."—Autobiography of P. P. Pratt, pp. 183, 184.

President John Taylor, of the Utah Church, in a discourse delivered at Salt Lake City, Utah, October 7, 1881, said:—

"There was a time when there was a large amount of apostasy in Kirtland; it was in 1837, I think. There was a very bitter feeling gotten up by a number of men who had apostatized. Parley P. Pratt was one who was affected. He, however, did not go to the length that some did; and Orson Pratt had partaken more or less of that spirit. I speak of these things as facts."—Pamphlet "On marriage —Succession in the Priesthood," p. 13.

Joseph Smith writes of this as follows:—

"In this state of things, and but a few weeks before the

Twelve were expecting to meet in full quorum (some of them having been absent for some time), God revealed to me that something new must be done for the salvation of his church. And on or about the first of June, 1837, Heber C. Kimball, one of the Twelve, was set apart by the spirit of prophecy and revelation, prayer and the laying on of hands of the First Presidency, to preside over a mission to England, to be the first foreign mission of the Church of Christ in the last days. While we were about ordaining him, Orson Hyde, another of the Twelve, came in, and upon listening to what was passing his heart melted within him (for he had begun to drink of the cup filled with the overflowings of speculation). He acknowledged all his faults, asked forgiveness, and offered to accompany President Kimball on his mission to England. His offer was accepted, and he was set apart for that purpose.

"Thirty-five elders', three priests,' two teachers', and two deacons' licenses were recorded in the License Records in Kirtland, during the quarter ending June 3, by T. Burdick." —*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 11.

On the 10th of June, 1837, there was a conference held at Portland, Upper Canada, John E. Page presiding. At this conference there were represented three hundred and five members, all the fruits of thirteen months' labor by Elder Page.

Canada conference.

Joseph, writing of scenes in Kirtland on the same date, states:—

"The same evening, while I was engaged in giving some special instructions to Elders Kimball and Hyde and President Joseph Fielding, concerning their mission to England, President Brigham Young came into my house where we were sitting, accompanied by Dr. Willard Richards, who had just returned from a special business mission to New York, Boston, and other eastern cities, on which he started with President Young the 14th March; Dr. Richards having been ordained an elder on the 6th of March, and President Young having returned from the mission a few days previous. . . .

"Monday, June 12, I was taken sick, and kept my room, unable to attend to business.

"Elder W. Richards, having reported his mission, requested the privilege of fulfilling a covenant which he made with President Kimball in January, which was that he should, agreeable to his desire, accompany the Twelve on their first foreign mission. President Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon granted his petition, laid their hands upon his head, and set him apart for the English mission.

"Tuesday, 13th. My afflictions continued to increase and were very severe, insomuch I was unable to raise my head from my pillow when the brethren called to bid me farewell; and at nine o'clock a. m., Elders H. C. Kimball, O. Hyde, W. Richards, and Joseph Fielding, a priest, a native of Honedon, England, left Kirtland in company with President Brigham Young and several of the Kirtland brethren and sisters, who continued with them as far as Fairport, on Lake Erie, where the mission took a steamer for Buffalo, directing their course for New York City.

"Wednesday, 14th. I had continued to grow worse and worse until my sufferings were excruciating, and although in the midst of it all I felt to rejoice in the salvation of Israel's God, yet I found it expedient to call to my assistance those means which a kind Providence had provided for the restoration of the sick, in connection with the ordinances; and Dr. Levi Richards, at my request, administered to me herbs and mild food, and nursed me with all tenderness and attention; and my heavenly Father blessed his administrations to the ease and comforting of my system, for I began to amend in a short time, and in a few days I was able to resume my usual labors.

"This is one of the many instances that I have suddenly been brought from a state of health to the borders of the grave, and as suddenly restored, for which my heart swells with gratitude to my heavenly Father, and I feel renewedly to dedicate myself and all my powers to his service.

"While I was thus afflicted the enemy of all righteousness was suggesting, apostates reporting, and the doubtful believing that my afflictions were sent upon me because I was in transgression and had taught the church things contrary to godliness; but of this the Lord judge betwixt me and them,

while I pray my Father to forgive them the wrong."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 12.

On Sunday, July 23, 1837, the same day that Apostles Kimball and Hyde preached their first sermons in England, this being the first preaching in a foreign land, the revelation to Thomas B. Marsh, President of the Apostles' Quorum, was received.[1]

Revelation to T. B. Marsh.

[1] 1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you my servant, Thomas, I have heard thy prayers, and thine alms have come up as a memorial before me, in behalf of those thy brethren who were chosen to bear testimony of my name, and to send it abroad among all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; and ordained through the instrumentality of my servants.

2. Verily I say unto you, There have been some few things in thine heart and with thee, with which I, the Lord, was not well pleased; nevertheless, inasmuch as thou hast abased thyself thou shalt be exalted; therefore, all thy sins are forgiven thee. Let thy heart be of good cheer before my face, and thou shalt bear record of my name, not only unto the Gentiles, but also unto the Jews; and thou shalt send forth my word unto the ends of the earth.

3. Contend thou, therefore, morning by morning, and day after day; let thy warning voice go forth, and when the night cometh, let not the inhabitants of the earth slumber because of thy speech.

4. Let thy habitation be known in Zion, and remove not thy house, for I, the Lord, have a great work for thee to do, in publishing my name among the children of men; therefore, gird up thy loins for the work. Let thy feet be shod also for thou art chosen and thy path lieth among the mountains, and among many nations; and by thy word many high ones shall be brought low; and by thy word many low ones shall be exalted. Thy voice shall be a rebuke unto the transgressor; and at thy rebuke let the tongue of the slanderer cease its perverseness.

5. Be thou humble, and the Lord thy God shall lead thee by the hand, and give thee answer to thy prayers. I know thy heart, and have heard thy prayers concerning thy brethren. Be not partial towards them in love above many others, but let thy love be for them as for thyself; and let thy love abound unto all men, and unto all who love my name. And pray for thy brethren of the twelve. Admonish them sharply for my name's sake, and let them be admonished for all their sins; and be ye faithful before me unto my name. And after their temptations and much tribulations, behold, I, the Lord, will feel after them, and if they harden not their hearts, and stiffen not their necks against me, they shall be converted, and I will heal them.

6. Now, I say unto you,—and what I say unto you I say unto all the twelve,—Arise and gird up your loins, take up your cross, follow me, and feed my sheep. Exalt not yourselves; rebel not against my servant Joseph, for verily I say unto you, I am with him, and my hand shall be over him, and the keys which I have given unto him, and also to youward, shall not be taken from him till I come.

7. Verily I say unto you, my servant Thomas, Thou art the man whom I have chosen to hold the keys of my kingdom (as pertaining to the twelve) abroad among all nations, that thou mayest be my servant to unlock the door of the kingdom in all places where my servant Joseph, and my servant Sidney, and my servant Hyrum, cannot come; for on them have I laid the burden of all the churches for a little season; wherefore, whithersoever they shall send you, go ye, and I will be with you,

Mission to Canada.

On Thursday, July 27, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and T. B. Marsh started on a mission to Canada. Arriving at Painesville, Ohio, they were delayed two days by malicious lawsuits.

Elders' Journal.

The August number of the *Messenger and Advocate* contained the prospectus of a new paper to be edited by Joseph Smith, Jr., at Kirtland, Ohio, and called the *Elders' Journal.*

On or about the last of August, 1837, Joseph Smith and his companions on the Canada mission returned to Kirtland.

On September 3, 1837, there was a conference held at

and in whatsoever place ye shall proclaim my name, an effectual door shall be opened unto you, that they may receive my word; whosoever receiveth my word receiveth me, and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth those (the first presidency) whom I have sent, whom I have made counselors for my name's sake unto you.

8. And again I say unto you, that whosoever ye shall send in my name, by the voice of your brethren, the twelve, duly recommended and authorized by you, shall have power to open the door of my kingdom unto any nation whithersoever ye shall send them, inasmuch as they shall humble themselves before me, and abide in my word, and hearken to the voice of my Spirit.

9. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Darkness covereth the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people, and all flesh has become corrupt before my face. Behold, vengeance cometh speedily upon the inhabitants of the earth—a day of wrath, a day of burning, a day of desolation, of weeping, of mourning, and of lamentation—and as a whirlwind it shall come upon all the face of the earth, saith the Lord.

10. And upon my house shall it begin, and from my house shall it go forth, saith the Lord. First among those among you, saith the Lord, who have professed to know my name and have not known me, and have blasphemed against me in the midst of my house, saith the Lord.

11. Therefore, see to it that ye trouble not yourselves concerning the affairs of my church in this place, saith the Lord; but purify your hearts before me, and then go ye into all the world, and preach my gospel unto every creature who has not received it; and he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not, and is not baptized, shall be damned.

12. For unto you (the twelve), and those (the first presidency), who are appointed with you, to be your counselors and your leaders, is the power of this priesthood given, for the last days and for the last time, in the which is the dispensation of the fullness of times, which power you hold in connection with all those who have received a dispensation at any time from the beginning of the creation; for verily I say unto you, The keys of the dispensation which ye have received, have come down from the fathers; and last of all, being sent down from heaven unto you.

13. Verily I say unto you, Behold how great is your calling. Cleanse your hearts and your garments, lest the blood of this generation be required at your hands. Be faithful until I come, for I come quickly, and my reward is with me to recompense every man according as his work shall be. I am Alpha and Omega. Amen.

Kirtland, an extract of the minutes of which is as follows:—

"Minutes of a conference assembled in committee of the whole church on Sunday, the 3d of September, 1837:—

"At nine o'clock in the morning George W. Robinson was called upon to take the minutes of the conference. Sidney Rigdon then presented Joseph Smith, Jr., to the church to know if they still looked upon and would still receive and uphold him as the President of the whole church; and the vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

Kirtland conference.

"President Smith then presented Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams as his counselors, and to constitute with himself the three First Presidents of the church. Voted unanimously in the affirmative, except for F. G Williams, which was not carried.

"President Smith then introduced Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, Sr., Hyrum Smith, and John Smith, for assistant counselors. These last four, together with the first three, are to be considered the heads of the church. Carried unanimously.

"Voted, that Newel K. Whitney hold his office as Bishop, and continue to act as such in Kirtland, and that Reynolds Cahoon and Vinson Knight continue to act as counselors to the Bishop.

"The Twelve Apostles were then presented one by one, when Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, William Smith, and William E. McLellin were received unanimously in their apostleship. Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, and John F. Boynton were rejected and cut off, though privileged with confessing and making satisfaction.

"Elder Boynton (who was the only one present at the time) arose and endeavored to confess, justifying himself in his former conduct by reason of the failure of the bank, etc.

"His conduct was strongly protested by Elder Brigham Young in a plain and energetic manner, stating various reasons why he could not receive him into fellowship until a hearty repentance and confession were manifested.

"Elder Young was followed by Elder Marsh, who acquiesced in testimony and resolutions.

"President Rigdon then addressed the assembly, showing the cause of the difficulty with Elders Boynton and Johnson, in leaving their calling to attend to other occupations.

"Elder Boynton again rose and still attributed his difficulties to the failure of the bank, stating that he understood the bank was instituted by the will of God and he had been told that it should never fail, let men do what they would.

"President Smith then arose and stated that if this had been declared, no one had authority from him for so doing, for he had always said that unless the institution was conducted on righteous principles it would not stand.

"A vote was then taken to know if the congregation was satisfied with Boynton's confession; carried in the negative.

"Conference adjourned for one hour.

"Conference assembled at two o'clock in the afternoon; opened by reading, singing, and prayer.

"The President then arose and said he would call upon the church to know if they were satisfied with their High Council, and should proceed to name them individually.

"John Johnson, Joseph Coe, Joseph Kingsbury, and Martin Harris were objected to, also John P. Green; but his case was put over until he should be present.

"Noah Packard, Jared Carter, Samuel H. Smith, were voted to retain their office.

"Oliver Granger, Henry G. Sherwood, William Marks, Mayhew Hillman, Harlow Redfield, Asahel Smith, Phinehas Richards, and David Dort were chosen to fill the places of those objected to (and Thomas Grover having moved west); John Smith chosen one of the Presidents of the church, and Orson Johnson having been excluded from the church; (all having belonged to the High Council.) . . .

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR., President.
"GEORGE W. ROBINSON, Clerk."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 56, 57.

Members of the High Council chosen in this conference were ordained on the 9th, when the council drew numbers, which resulted in the following arrangement: 1, John P.

Green; 2, Asahel Smith; 3, Samuel H. Smith; 4, Mayhew Hillman; 5, William Marks; 6, Noah Packard; 7, Oliver Granger; 8, David Dort; 9, Jared Carter; 10, Phinehas Richards; 11, Henry G. Sherwood; 12, Harlow Redfield.

Assembly of the church.

An assembly of the whole church was held on the 10th, when Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, and John F. Boynton, of the Twelve, made satisfactory confession, and were by vote restored to fellowship, and permitted to retain their Apostleship. Counselor John P. Green was, upon his confession, also forgiven and retained in his office.

Marks appointed agent.

At a conference held at Kirtland, September 17, 1837, William Marks was appointed agent for Bishop N. K. Whitney, in order to relieve the Bishop that he might travel.

George W. Robinson was elected Church Recorder, in place of Oliver Cowdery, who had removed to Missouri.

Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were requested to locate other stakes for the gathering of the saints.

Appointment of elders.

The elders in a situation to labor as missionaries were called upon to volunteer, and one hundred and nine responded. These were divided into eight companies of thirteen and fourteen each, and sent out as follows: fourteen were to go east, fourteen southeast, fourteen south, fourteen southwest, thirteen west, thirteen northwest, fourteen north, thirteen northeast.

Bishop sends epistle.

On September 18 Bishop N. K. Whitney and his counselors, Reynolds Cahoon and Vinson Knight, sent out a general epistle to the church.

On September 27 Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, and Vinson Knight started for Missouri.

On October 1 Elder Lyman Sherman was elected to the High Council of Kirtland, in place of Jared Carter, who had removed to Missouri; and on the 2d, Samuel H. Smith was appointed president of the council.

Death of Mrs. Hyrum Smith.

On October 13 Jerusha Smith, wife of Hyrum Smith, died at Kirtland, while he was absent in Missouri. Of her, Lucy Smith, her husband's mother, wrote a touching tribute of respect.[2]

[2] About one year after my husband returned from this mission a

About this time Parley P. Pratt published from New York City a work of 116 pages entitled, "A Voice of Warning."

Voice of Warning.

This work has since become quite popular, and is now published and extensively circulated by the church.

On October 18, 1837, the High Council of Kirtland resolved to commence a reform by pruning the church of unruly members.

On the 22d the church in Kirtland disfellowshiped twenty-two members, until satisfaction should be made, for uniting with the world in a dance.

On the 23d the High Council resolved that all unruly children should be reported to their parents, and in case the parents neglect to take suitable notice of it, the parents be reported to church authorities.

They also passed the following resolution: "That we discountenance the use of ardent spirits, in any way, to sell, or to be brought into this place for sale or use."

Ardent spirits.

On the 29th nine more members were reported to the church for having taken part in the dance referred to, and eleven of the thirty-one made confession.

About the last of October Joseph Smith and his companions arrived at Far West, Missouri. Immediately upon their arrival a series of councils and conferences was held for the purpose of regulating and more fully organizing the church in Missouri. In addition to the local authorities the following officials from Kirtland, Ohio, engaged in this work: Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, of the First Presidency; Thomas B. Marsh, William E. McLellin, Lyman E. Johnson, and William Smith, of the Twelve; and Hyrum Smith, of the High Priests.

Arrival at Far West.

calamity happened to our family that wrung our hearts with more than common grief. Jerusha, Hyrum's wife, was taken sick, and, after an illness of perhaps two weeks, died while her husband was absent on a mission to Missouri. She was a woman whom everybody loved that was acquainted with her, for she was every way worthy. The family were so warmly attached to her that, had she been our own sister, they could not have been more afflicted by her death.—Joseph Smith, the Prophet, page 225.

CHAPTER 7.

1837.

BRIGHT PROSPECTS—SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE CALDWELL COUNTY—COMMITTEE ON TOWN LOTS—BUILDING COMMITTEE—WORD OF WISDOM—LIQUOR TRAFFIC—THE FOURTH AT FAR WEST—CALDWELL MILITIA—RESOLVE TO BUILD A TEMPLE—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—BISHOP REIMBURSED—AFFAIRS AT KIRTLAND.

THE year 1837 dawned upon the saints of Missouri with bright hopes and flattering prospects, though some apprehension was doubtless felt because of the change of administration in the State government. The term of office of Governor Daniel Dunklin had expired, and he was succeeded by their cruel and relentless enemy, Lilburn W. Boggs, of Independence; yet under the agreement that they were to have a county, and a county organization of their own, free from molestation, they were encouraged in the thought that peace had at last come to them.

Bright prospects.

The first three months of the year they were as busy as the season of the year would admit, building their homes and preparing for the future. Their numbers were almost daily augmented by accessions from the East. In some instances settlements were made outside of Caldwell County, but always by written consent, as provided in the agreement.

Settlements outside Caldwell County.

On this point we quote from the "History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, as follows:—

"The most desirable locations in Caldwell having been taken, the Mormon settlement extended into other counties. In the spring of 1837 quite a detachment went up into Daviess, and by written permission of the few Gentile settlers there, made locations in that county. Three miles above Gallatin, on the east bluffs of Grand River, they laid out a town which they called Diahman (pronounced Di-a-*mon*). The locality was named 'Adam-ondi-ahman,' signifying, it is

said, 'the grave of Adam,' as certain of the Mormon wise men claimed it to be the burial place of the progenitor of the human race! Some of the Mormons located at Gallatin and elsewhere throughout the county. Over in Clinton County there were perhaps fifty Mormon families in 1833. Down in Carroll County, at DeWitt, on the Missouri, in the spring of 1838, General George M. Hinkle and John Murdock, as trustees for the Mormons, purchased the town site, laid it off into lots, and soon a thriving village of one hundred houses was built. DeWitt was designed to be a steamboat landing and a point from which goods and immigrants could be forwarded to Caldwell County.

"It is claimed that all the Mormon settlements outside of this county were made with the prior consent of the inhabitants then living where the settlements were made; the consent was obtained, in nearly every instance, by the payment of money, either for the lands of the pioneer Gentiles or for some articles of personal property they owned. Money was scarce at that day, and although the pioneers did not approve Mormon doctrines, they did approve of Mormon gold and silver, and they were willing to tolerate the one if they could obtain the other. But afterward certain of the Gentiles claimed that the Mormon occupation had been by stealth and fraud, and perhaps in some instances this was true.

"By far the majority of the Mormon settlers in this quarter were poor. Many of them were able to enter and improve but forty acres of land, and nearly all their houses were cabins. Like other pioneers they had come to the country to better their condition; to worship as they pleased, and to be with their brethren, were of course considerations. Every head of family was guaranteed a home, and if he was unable to buy one it was given him from the lands held by the trustees of the church. Among so many, however, there could but be those of some wealth, as well as craftsmen of various kinds, skilled mechanics and artisans. There were also many persons of education and accomplishment. School-teachers were plenty and schools were numerous."—History of Caldwell County, pp. 118, 119.

At a meeting of the High Council of Far West and the Bishop's Council held at Far West, April 7, 1837, a committee on appraising and selling town lots was appointed, consisting of W. W. Phelps, John Whitmer, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, and John Corrill. Jacob Whitmer, Elisha H. Groves, and Geo. M. Hinkle were appointed a building committee to build the house of the Lord in Far West.

Committee on town lots.

Building committee.

About May 28, 1837, at a general meeting of the church the following was passed: "Resolved unanimously, that we will not fellowship any ordained member who will not or does not observe the Word of Wisdom according to its literal reading."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 9.

Word of Wisdom.

On June 11, 1837, the High Council at Far West passed a resolution in regard to the liquor traffic, which is in strict harmony with the one passed at Kirtland, and leaves no doubt as to where the church stood on that question, which had not then agitated the public mind to the extent it has since.[1]

Liquor traffic.

On July 4 an excavation was made for the proposed temple, and quite a gathering of saints was had at Far West. Concerning this and other items, W. W. Phelps writes:—

The Fourth at Far West.

"FAR WEST, Missouri, July 7, 1837.

"Monday, the 3d of July, was a great and glorious day in Far West. More than fifteen hundred saints assembled at this place, and at half past eight in the morning, after prayer, singing, and an address, proceeded to break the ground for the Lord's house. The day was beautiful; the Spirit of the Lord was with us. A cellar for this great edifice, one hundred and ten feet long by eighty feet broad, was nearly finished. On Tuesday, the 4th, we had a large meeting and several of the Missourians were baptized; our meetings, held in the open prairie, were larger than they were in

[1] It was reported that certain individuals, not of the church, were desirous or were about to establish themselves as grocers, retailers of spirituous liquors, and so forth, in Far West, whereupon it was resolved that we will not uphold any man or men to take a partner out of the church to trade or traffic in this line of business, or sell for any man or men out of the church, in his name, or on commission.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 11.

Kirtland, when I was there. We had more or less to bless, confirm, and baptize, every Sabbath. This same day our school section was sold at auction, and although entirely a prairie, it brought, on a year's credit, from $3.50 to $10.20 per acre, making our first school fund $5,070.00!! Land cannot be had round town now much less than ten dollars per acre.

"Our numbers increase daily, and notwithstanding the season has been cold and backward, no one has lacked a meal, or went hungry. Provisions have risen, but not as high as accounts say they are abroad. Public notice has been given by the mob in Daviess County, north of us, for the Mormons to leave that county by the first of August, and go into Caldwell: our enemies will not slumber till Satan knows the bigness of his lot. Our town gains some; we have about one hundred buildings, eight of which are stores. If the brethren abroad are wise, and will come on with means, and help enter the land, and populate the county, and build the Lord's house, we shall soon have one of the most precious spots on the globe; God grant that it may be so. Of late we receive little news from you, and we think much of that is exaggerated. As ever,

"W. W. PHELPS.

"N. B.—Please say in your *Messenger and Advocate*, a 'Post office has been established at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 13.

Caldwell militia.

About this time the Caldwell regiment of the State militia was regularly organized, composed mostly of members of the church. Their officers received their commission under the hands of Governor Boggs.

Lyman Wight, in his private journal under date of August 2, 1837, states:—

"We held an election to make choice of a colonel to take the command of the regiment in Caldwell County. I received a unanimous vote for that office, which was two hundred and thirty-six votes, whereupon I received a commission from under the hands of Lilburn W. Boggs."

Of this event the History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, has this:—

"The militia of the county, all or nearly all Mormons, organized and mustered, and a regiment was formed under the laws of the State, of which either 'General' George M. Hinkle or Lyman Wight was Colonel."—Page 117.

We are thus particular to mention this because careless writers often write of this regiment as the "Mormon militia," and the uninformed conclude that their only authority was from the church; when the fact is they were regularly organized and a part of the State troops. It is also true that subsequently when this regiment took an active part in putting down riots and quelling mobs, Colonel Wight acted under orders from his military superiors, as will appear from General Parks' address on October 18, 1838.[2]

About this time two deaths occurred in the High Council at Far West; viz., Jesse Hitchcock and Peter Whitmer, Jr. Their places were filled by the selection of Thomas Grover and George Morey.

On August 5 a meeting was held in Far West, of which Joseph writes:—

[2]"Gentlemen, I deplore your situation. I regret that transactions of this nature should have transpired in our once happy State. Your condition is certainly not an enviable one, surrounded by mobs on one side, and popular opinion and prejudice against you on the other. Gladly would I fly to your relief with my troops, but I fear it would be worse for you; most of them have relations living in this county, and will not fight against them. One of my principal captains; namely, Samuel Bogart, and his men, have already mutinized and have refused to obey my command. I can only say to you, gentlemen, follow the command of Colonel Wight, whom I have commanded to disperse all mobs found in Daviess County, or to make them prisoners and bring them before the civil authorities forthwith. I wish to be distinctly understood that Colonel Wight is vested with power and authority from me to disperse from your midst all who may be found on the side of mobocracy in the county of Daviess. I deeply regret, gentlemen, (knowing as I do the vigilance and perseverance of Colonel Wight in the cause of freedom and rights of man,) that I could not even be a soldier under his command in quelling the hellish outrages I have witnessed. In conclusion, gentlemen, be vigilant and persevere and allay every excitement of mobocracy. I have visited your place frequently; find you to be an industrious and thriving people, willing to abide the laws of the land. And I deeply regret that you could not live in peace and enjoy the privileges of freedom. I shall now, gentlemen, return and dismiss my troops and put Captain Bogart under an arrest, leave the sole charge with Colonel Wight, whom I deem sufficiently qualified to perform according to law in all military operations necessary."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 266.

"The same day, August 5, the Presidency, High Council, and all the authorities of the church in Missouri, assembled in council at Far West, and unanimously resolved to go on moderately and build a house unto the name of the Lord in Far West, as they had means, and appointed Edward Partridge treasurer, to receive all the donations and subscriptions for the erection of the house of the Lord; Isaac Morley to be his secretary. Also voted that the committee; viz., Jacob Whitmer, Elisha H. Groves, and George M. Hinkle, stand until President David Whitmer goes to and returns from Kirtland; also that the building committee of the house of the Lord have no store connected with building the house, but that every firm or individual that embarks in that business, have, own, and claim such property as their own private individual property and stewardship."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 54, 55.

Resolve to build a temple.

This is peculiar in *this:* that it appears from subsequent events that these authorities were hasty in resolving to build a temple without a direct command of God. When Joseph Smith arrived at Far West, three months later, the High Council, on November 6, 1837, Joseph Smith being present, "voted unanimously, that it is the opinion of this council that there is sufficient room in this country for the churches to continue gathering from abroad; also that the building of the house of the Lord be postponed, till the Lord shall reveal it to be his will to be commenced."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 89.

Concerning this, Andrew Jensen in his "Historical Record," page 434, has this to say:—

"Consequently Joseph and Sidney, accompanied by William Smith and Vinson Knight, started from Kirtland September 27, and arrived in Far West, Missouri, about the 1st of November. While there Joseph met in council with the elders and saints, and regulated matters connected with the town-site of Far West. It was also decided that there was sufficient room in the county for the saints to continue gathering there from abroad. The previous summer (August 5, 1837) the authorities of the church in Missouri had resolved in council to go on moderately and build a house unto the

name of the Lord in Far West. When Joseph arrived there he counseled that the building of that house should be postponed until the Lord should reveal it to be his will to have it commenced."

From this it appears that Joseph's counsel was (and the High Council concurred) not to commence the building of a temple until commanded of God.

From this it will appear that the Kirtland Temple is the only one standing to-day, the building of which is approved of God.

On August 20, 1837, Charles C. Rich was ordained President of the High Priests' Quorum in Missouri, and Henry Green President of the Elders in Caldwell County.

On November 7 a general assembly of the church in Missouri was held at Far West, the minutes of which as published in the *Millennial Star*, are as follows:—

"Minutes of a conference at Far West, Missouri, November 7, 1837.

"At a general assembly of the Church of Latter Day Saints, assembled at Far West, to take into consideration and transact the business of said church, Elder Thomas B. Marsh was chosen as moderator, and Oliver Cowdery clerk.

General assembly.

"After singing, the moderator addressed the throne of grace in prayer, after which President Sidney Rigdon explained the object of the meeting, giving a relation of the recent reorganization of the church in Kirtland. The minutes of said meeting were read by the moderator, who also nominated Joseph Smith, Jr., the First President of the whole church, to preside over the same.

"All were requested (male and female) to vote, and he was unanimously chosen.

"He then made a few remarks, accepting the appointment, requesting the prayers of the church in his behalf.

"President Smith then nominated President Sidney Rigdon to be one of his counselors, who was unanimously chosen.

"He then nominated Frederick G. Williams to be his next counselor, who was objected to by Elder Lyman Wight in a

few remarks, referring to a certain letter written to this place by the said F. G. Williams.

"Also Elder Marsh objected to President Williams.

"Elder James Emmet also objected to President Williams.

"Bishop E. Partridge said he seconded President Williams' nomination, and should vote for him; and as to said letter, he had heard it, and saw nothing so criminal in it.

"President David Whitmer also made a few remarks in President Williams' favor.

"Elder Marsh made further remarks.

"Elder Thomas Grover also objected to President Williams.

"President S. Rigdon then nominated President Hyrum Smith to take President Williams' place.

"He then called for a vote in favor of President Williams, who was rejected.

"He then called for a vote in favor of President Hyrum Smith, which was carried unanimously.

"Some few remarks were made by President David Whitmer and Sydney Rigdon.

"David Whitmer was nominated as the president of this branch of the church, and was objected to by Elder Marsh.

"Bishop E. Partridge said he should vote for President Whitmer.

"Elder William E. McLellin made a few remarks.

"Elder George M. Hinkle made a few remarks in favor of President Whitmer; also Elder King Follet.

"Elder Caleb Baldwin spoke against President Whitmer; also Elder Seymour Brunson.

"Elder Elisha H. Groves spoke in favor of President Whitmer.

"Further remarks from Elder McLellin by request of President Whitmer, who made satisfaction for him.

"Remarks from President Joseph Smith, Jr., who called for an expression, which was carried by almost an unanimous vote in favor of President Whitmer.

"President Joseph Smith, Jr., then nominated John Whitmer for an assistant president, who was objected to, and Elder Marsh spoke in opposition to him, and read a list of

charges from a written document against him and President Phelps.

"President John Whitmer then spoke a few words by way of confession, and was followed by Elder Isaac Morley.

"The vote was called, and carried unanimously.

"The meeting adjourned for one hour.

"Meeting convened according to adjournment, a hymn was sung, and a prayer offered up by the moderator.

"W. W. Phelps was nominated for an assistant president for this church, by President Joseph Smith, Jr.

"He rose and made certain remarks on the subject of the charges referred to above, by way of confession also, when the vote was put by President Rigdon, and passed unanimously.

"Elders John Murdock, Solomon Hancock, Elias Higbee, Calvin Beebe, John M. Hinkle, Thomas Grover, and Simeon Carter were unanimously chosen high counselors.

"Lyman Wight was nominated and objected to by John Anderson, who went aside to converse.

"Newel Knight was unanimously chosen. George M. Hinkle was nominated, and objected to by Elder James Emmet, because he was too noisy; by King Follet, because of his military office; and by James Durfee, because he was a merchant.

"Elder Hinkle made a few remarks.

"The vote was called, and was unanimous.

"Levi Jackman and Elisha H. Groves were unanimously chosen.

"John Anderson then took the stand and made his objections to Lyman Wight; after which Elder Wight also spoke.

"The vote was called, and he was unanimously chosen.

"The Twelve were then called; namely, Thomas B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, William E. McLellin, Parley P. Pratt, William Smith, Luke Johnson, Orson Pratt, John F. Boynton, and Lyman E. Johnson, and were unanimously chosen.

"Bishop E. Partridge was nominated to still act as Bishop, and was unanimously chosen; who then nominated Isaac

Morley and Titus Billings for his counselors, who were unanimously chosen.

"Elder Isaac Morley was then unanimously appointed Patriarch of this branch of the church.

"Elder John Corrill was chosen to be keeper of the Lord's storehouse.

"Elder Isaac Morley was then ordained to the office of Patriarch, under the hands of Presidents Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Hyrum Smith.

"The congregation, after a few remarks from Sidney Rigdon, unanimously voted not to support stores and shops selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco.

"A vote was called on the subject of the Presidents of the Seventies; and those who have recently been appointed to that office were unanimously received.

"The congregation then united with President Sidney Rigdon, who, in the closing prayer, called upon their Lord to dedicate this land for the gathering of the saints, and their inheritances.

"THOMAS B. MARSH, Moderator.
"Attest, OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk."
—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 106–108.

Soon after this Joseph Smith left Far West to return to Kirtland.

On November 27, at Kirtland, Reuben Hedlock was chosen President of the Elders' Quorum, to succeed Elder Beeman, deceased.

On November 30 Bishop Partridge reported that he had paid attorney's fees in suits against the Jackson County mob, to the amount of six hundred dollars, and costs to the amount of three hundred dollars, and asked that he be permitted to liquidate the debt out of properties of the church. This request was granted.

Bishop reimbursed.

Of affairs at Kirtland, Joseph writes:—

"During my absence Warren Parrish, John F. Boynton, Luke Johnson, Joseph Coe, and some others united together for the overthrow of the church.

"I returned to Kirtland on or about the 10th of December, soon after which this dissenting band openly and publicly

renounced the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, and claimed themselves to be the old standard, calling themselves the Church of Christ, excluding that of *saints*, and set me at naught, and the whole church, denouncing us as heretics, not considering that the *saints* shall possess the kingdom according to the Prophet Daniel.

"The *Elders' Journal* No. 2, for November, was the last paper printed at Kirtland. Our printing establishment was attached to satisfy an unjust judgment of county court, and soon after the whole printing apparatus was burned to the ground."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 109.

Joseph records the following regarding the troublesome times in Kirtland at the close of the year 1837:—

"On the morning of the 22d of December, 1837, Brother Brigham Young left Kirtland, in consequence of the fury of the mob, the spirit that prevailed in the apostates who had threatened to destroy him, because he would proclaim publicly and privately that he knew by the power of the Holy Ghost that I was a prophet of the most high God, that I had not transgressed and fallen as the apostates declared.

"Apostasy, persecution, confusion, and mobocracy strove hard to bear rule at Kirtland, and thus closed the year 1837."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 110.

A detailed account of these trials and persecutions may be found in the "History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet," by Lucy Smith.

CHAPTER 8.

1837, 1838.

EUROPEAN MISSION — KIMBALL'S ACCOUNT — CHILD HEALED — PREACHING ON BOARD SHIP — ARRIVE AT LIVERPOOL — A TRYING CONDITION — THEY GO TO PRESTON — A DOOR IS OPENED —SUCCESS ATTENDS THEM—FIRST CONFERENCE IN ENGLAND— OPPOSITION OF THE CLERGY—ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSION— FAREWELL ADDRESSES—ARRIVAL AT KIRTLAND.

HAVING now followed the church in America to the close of A. D. 1837, and noted during the last year that a mission was sent to Europe, it will now be proper to inquire how the work was prospering in foreign lands.

European mission.

Heber C. Kimball, who was in charge of this mission, kept a journal, extracts of which have since been published in book form, and from which we will quote largely in this chapter:—

Kimball's account.

"I was then set apart, along with Elder Hyde, who was likewise appointed to that mission, by the laying on of the hands of the Presidency, who agreed that Elders Goodson, Russell, Richards, Fielding, and Snider should accompany us.

"After spending a few days in arranging my affairs and settling my business, on the thirteenth day of June, A. D. 1837, I bade adieu to my family and friends, and the town of Kirtland, where the house of the Lord stood, in which I had received my anointing, and had seen such wonderful displays of the power and glory of God. In company with Elder Hyde and the other brethren I arrived at Fairport, on Lake Erie, that afternoon, a distance of twelve miles, and about an hour after our arrival, took passage in a steamboat for Buffalo, New York.

"We were accompanied by Brother R. B. Thompson and wife, who were on their way to Canada, from Kirtland, where he intended to labor in the ministry.

"After a pleasant voyage, we reached Buffalo the next day, at which place we expected to get some funds which were promised us, to assist us on our journey; but we were unfortunately disappointed.

"At that time we had but very little means, but still we determined to prosecute our journey, believing that the Lord would open our way.

"We accordingly continued our journey, and took our passage in a line boat on the Erie Canal to Utica, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, and thence to Albany on the railroad.

"From this latter place I went with Brother Richards into the country about thirty miles, where we were successful in obtaining some means to enable us to prosecute our journey. We then returned and took passage on a steamboat for New York, at which place we arrived on the 22d day of June.

"On our arrival we met with Brothers Goodson and Snider, according to appointment (they having gone round by the way of Canada), all in good health.

"When we arrived at New York we found a vessel ready to sail; but not having sufficient means, we were obliged to wait until such time as we could obtain funds to pay our passage and buy provisions for the voyage. We rented a small room in a storehouse, hoping that some way would be provided for us to go forward and fulfill the mission whereunto we were sent.

"We spent considerable time while we were there in praying to our heavenly Father for his guidance and protection, that he would make our way plain before us, bless us with a prosperous voyage across the billows of the mighty ocean, and make us a blessing to each other and to the captain and crew with whom we should sail.

"During our stay in that city, we were subject to many inconveniences. We had to lay upon the floor, and had to buy and cook our own victuals; yet none of these things moved us, neither did we feel discouraged, believing that the Lord would open our way and guide us to our destination.

"We conversed with many persons on the subject of the gospel, and distributed a large number of copies of the 'Pro-

phetic Warning' among all classes of the community, not forgetting the ministers of religion who abound in that city. We sent a copy to every one whose name we could ascertain through the medium of the post office.

"After remaining a few days, we were presented with sixty dollars to assist us. Brother Elijah Fordham made us a present of ten dollars, and concluded to accompany us on our mission, but upon more mature consideration we thought it was best for him to stop in that place, believing that the Lord had a people in that city, and that a church would be built up, which was afterwards done by the instrumentality of Elders Parley P. and Orson Pratt.

"Having obtained as much money as would pay our passage across the Atlantic, we laid in a stock of provisions, and on the first day of July went on board the ship Garrick, bound for Liverpool, and weighed anchor about ten o'clock a. m., and about four o'clock p. m. of the same day lost sight of my native land. I had feelings which I cannot describe when I could no longer behold its shores, and when I bade adieu to the land of my birth, which was fast receding. . . .

"I hope I was actuated by a different motive than either to please myself or to gain the riches and applause of the world: it was a higher consideration than these that induced me to leave my home. It was because a dispensation of the gospel had been committed to me, and I felt an ardent desire that my fellow creatures in other lands, as well as those of the land of my birth, might hear the sound of the everlasting gospel, obey its requisitions, rejoice in the fullness and blessings thereof, and escape the judgments which were threatened upon the ungodly.

"Our passage was very agreeable, and the winds for most part very favorable. On the banks of New Foundland we saw several whales and many different species of fish.

"We were kindly treated while on board, both by the officers and crew, and their conduct was indeed praiseworthy; had we been their own relatives, they could not have behaved more kindly or have treated us better. Thus the Lord answered our prayers in this respect, for which I desire to praise his holy name.

"The Lord also gave us favor in the eyes of the passengers, who treated us with the greatest respect. During our voyage a child belonging to one of the passengers was very sick and was given up for dead by the doctor who attended it; consequently, its parents had given up all hopes of its recovery, and expected to have to commit their little one to the ocean. Feeling a great anxiety for the child, I went to its parents and reasoned with and laid before them the principle of faith, and told them that the Lord was able to restore their child notwithstanding there was no earthly prospect of its recovery, to which they listened with great interest. Having an opportunity shortly after secretly to lay hands upon the child, I did so, and in the name of Jesus Christ rebuked the disease which preyed upon its system. The Spirit of the Lord attended the administration, and from that time the child began to recover, and two or three days after it was running about perfectly well. Its parents had to acknowledge that it was healed by the power of the Almighty.

Child healed.

"The last Sunday we were on the water I went to the captain and asked the privilege for one of us to preach on board. He very obligingly agreed, and appointed the time when it would be most suitable for himself and the crew to attend, which was at one o'clock p. m. We then appointed Brother Hyde to speak, and notified the crew and passengers of the circumstance.

"At the time appointed there was a congregation of from two to three hundred persons assembled on the deck, who listened with great attention and deep interest to the discourse, which was delivered with great power. I think I never heard Brother Hyde speak with such power and eloquence as that time; he spoke on the subject of the resurrection. The time being limited on account of the duties of the ship's company, his subject was necessarily condensed. The congregation was composed of persons from different nations and of different faiths, English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, French, etc., both Jews and Christians. A great feeling was produced upon the minds of the assembly, who had never heard the subject treated in like manner before, and

from the conversation we afterwards had with several of them I believe that good was done, and many from that time began to search the Scriptures for themselves, which are able to make men wise unto salvation.

"On the 15th of July we came in sight of land, which caused joy and gratitude to my heavenly Father to arise in my bosom for the favorable passage we had had so far and the prospect of soon reaching our destination. We then sailed up the Irish Channel, having Ireland on our left and Wales on our right. The scenery was very beautiful and imposing.

"Three days after first seeing land, being the 18th of July, we arrived in Liverpool, one of the largest ports in Great Britain, being just seventeen days and two hours from our departure from New York. The packet ship South America, which left New York the same time we did, came in a few lengths behind. The sight was very grand to see these two vessels enter port, with every inch of canvas spread. When we first got sight of Liverpool I went to the side of the vessel and poured out my soul in praise and thanksgiving to God for the prosperous voyage and for all the mercies which he had vouchsafed to me; and while thus engaged, and while contemplating the scenery which then presented itself, and the circumstances which had brought me thus far, the Spirit of the Lord rested upon me in a powerful manner; my soul was filled with love and gratitude, and was humbled within me, while I covenanted to dedicate myself to God and to love and serve him with all my heart.

Arrive at Liverpool.

"Immediately after we anchored a small boat came alongside, and several of the passengers, with Brothers Hyde, Richards, Goodson, and myself got in and went on shore. When we were within six or seven feet from the pier I leaped on shore, and for the first time in my life stood on British ground, among strangers whose manners and customs were different from my own. My feelings at that time were peculiar, particularly when I realized the object, importance, and extent of my mission and the work to which I had been appointed and in which I was shortly

to be engaged."—Heber C. Kimball's Journal, pp. 11–15.

Left in the city of Liverpool, strangers in a strange land, they had nothing to rely upon but their faith in God and his promises.

Of their condition Elder Kimball states:—

A trying condition.

"Having no means, poor and penniless we wandered in the streets of that great city, where wealth and luxury, penury and want abound. I there met the rich attired in the most costly dresses, and the next moment was saluted with the cries of the poor, who were without covering sufficient to screen them from the weather. Such a distinction I never saw before. We then looked out for a place to lodge in, and found a room belonging to a widow, which we engaged for a few days.

"The time we were in Liverpool was spent in council and in calling on the Lord for direction, so that we might be led to places where we should be most useful in proclaiming the gospel and in establishing and spreading his kingdom. While thus engaged the Spirit of the Lord, the mighty power of God, was with us, and we felt greatly strengthened; and a determination to go forward, come life or death, honor or reproach, was manifested by us all. Our trust was in God, who we believed could make us as useful in bringing down the kingdom of Satan as he did the rams' horns in bringing down the walls of Jericho, and in gathering out a number of precious souls who were buried amidst the rubbish of tradition and who had none to show them the way of truth.

They go to Preston.

"Feeling led by the Spirit of the Lord to go to Preston, a large manufacturing town in Lancashire, we started for that place three days after our arrival in Liverpool. We went by coach and arrived on Saturday afternoon about four o'clock. After unloading our trunks, Brother Goodson went in search of a place of lodging, and Brother Fielding went to seek a brother of his, who was a minister, residing in that place."—Heber C. Kimball's Journal, pp. 16, 17.

This Mr. Fielding was found, and he received the elders very kindly, and gave them the privilege of preaching in his

chapel, until some of the members of his church were believing, when he closed the doors against them. The elders then began preaching in private houses, which were opened on every hand, and many became obedient to the faith.

A door is opened.

After laboring in Preston for a time successfully and baptizing several they divided their labor; Elders Goodson and Richards going to the city of Bedford, Elders Russell and Snider to Alston, and Elders Kimball, Hyde, and Fielding remaining in Preston. The work spread rapidly and their success was remarkable.

Success attends them.

After about four weeks' labor, Elder Kimball states:—

"I was instrumental in building up churches in Eccleston, Wrightington, Askin, Exton, Daubers Lane, Chorly, Whittle, and Laland Moss, . . . and baptized upwards of one hundred persons."

All these places were near Preston.

Soon after, in company with Elder Fielding, he took a short tour northeast of Preston, and raised up churches in Ribchester, Thomly, Soney Gate Lane, and Clitheroe. On his first visit to the village of Chatburn he baptized twenty-five persons. At this time, after an absence of seven days, they returned to Preston, having baptized eighty-three persons.

The first conference in Europe was held on Christmas Day, 1837. Of this conference and the events succeeding it, Elder Kimball writes:—

"On Christmas Day the saints assembled in the Cockpit, and we then opened the conference, which was the first that was held by the Church of Christ in that country. There were about three hundred saints present on the occasion, all of whom, with the exception of three, had been baptized within a very short time. Elders Hyde, Fielding, and myself were present.

First conference in England.

"The brethren were instructed in the principles of the gospel, and their several duties enjoined upon them, as saints of the Most High. We then proceeded to ordain several of the brethren to the lesser priesthood, to take charge of the different branches where they resided. We confirmed four-

teen who had previously been baptized, and blessed about one hundred children.

"At this conference the Word of Wisdom was first publicly taught in that country, having previously taught it more by example than precept; and, from my own observation afterwards, I am happy to state that it was almost universally attended to by the brethren.

"The Spirit of the Lord was with us during our interview, and truly the hearts of the elders were rejoiced beyond measure when we contemplated the glorious work which had begun. We had to exclaim, 'It is the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes! Blessed be the name of the Lord!'

"I felt greatly humbled before the Lord, who had crowned our labors with such signal success, and had prospered us far beyond my most sanguine expectations.

"Immediately after this conference Elder Hyde and I went to a village called Longton, situated near the seashore, where we raised the standard of truth and published to the listening crowds the glad tidings of salvation. After delivering two discourses, several came to us and requested baptism. It being very cold weather, insomuch that the streams were all frozen up, we had to repair to the seashore to administer that ordinance, and immersed fifteen in the waters of the ocean.

"It would probably be too tedious to enumerate all the particulars which occurred during the time we sojourned in that country; I shall therefore pass over many events which, though pleasing to us at that time, and which showed the kind dealings of our heavenly Father, would not be sufficiently interesting to others. I shall therefore content myself by giving an outline of the principal circumstances attending our mission, which I have no doubt will be pleasing to the brethren, and to all who love the prosperity of Zion.

"From this time until about five weeks previous to our departure from that land, we were continually engaged in the work of the ministry, proclaiming the everlasting gospel in all the region round about, and baptizing all such as believed the gospel and repented of their sins. And truly,

'the Lord of Hosts was with us, the God of Jacob was our refuge.' The Holy Ghost, the Comforter, was given to us and abode with us in a remarkable manner, while the people thronged to hear our addresses, and 'numbers were added to the church daily, such as should be saved.' We would baptize as many as fifty in Preston in a week, exclusive of those in the country. During one short mission which Brother Hyde and I took into the country, after preaching five discourses on the principles of our holy religion, we had the pleasure of immersing one hundred and thirty in the waters of baptism.

"Thus mightily ran the word of God and prospered to the joy and comfort of his servants, and to the salvation of precious and immortal souls; while the world was struck with amazement and surprise at the things which they saw and heard. During this state of things, our enemies were not idle, but heaped abuse upon us with an unsparing hand, and issued torrents of lies after us, which, however, I am thankful to say, did not sweep us away.

"Among those most active in publishing falsehoods against us and the truth were many of the reverend clergy, who were afraid to meet us face to face in honorable debate, although particularly requested so to do, but sought every opportunity to destroy our characters and propagate their lies concerning us, thus giving testimony that 'they loved darkness rather than light.'

Opposition of the clergy.

"Although we frequently called upon the ministers of the different denominations, who had taken a stand against us, to come forward and investigate the subject of our religion before the world in an honorable manner, and bring forth their strong reasons to disprove the things we taught, and convince the people by sound argument and the word of God, if they could, that we did not preach the gospel of Christ, they altogether declined.

"This course we felt moved upon by the Spirit to adopt; but they kept at a respectful distance, and only came out when we were absent, with misrepresentations and abuse. It is true we suffered some from the statements which they thought proper to make, when we could get no opportunity

to contradict them; but generally their reports were of such a character that they carried along with them their own refutation.

"The time when we expected to return to our native land having now nearly arrived, it was thought necessary to spend the short time we had to remain in the country in visiting and organizing the churches; placing such officers over them, and giving such instructions as would be beneficial to them during our absence. Accordingly Brothers Hyde, Fielding, and I entered upon this duty, and we visited a church nearly every day, and imparted such instructions as the Spirit directed. We first visited the churches south of Preston, and after spending some time in that direction we journeyed to the north, accompanied by Brother Richards, who had just returned from the city of Bedford.

"While we were attending to our duties in that section we received a very pressing invitation from a Baptist church, through the medium of their deacon, to pay them a visit, stating that the society was exceedingly anxious to hear from our own lips the wonderful things we had proclaimed in the regions round about.

"We endeavored to excuse ourselves from going, as our engagements already were such that it would require the short time we had to stay to attend to them. But they seemed determined to take no denial, and plead with us with such earnestness that we could not resist their entreaties, and finally we consented to go and preach once.

"Having arrived at the place we found a large congregation already assembled in the Baptist chapel, anxiously awaiting our arrival. The minister gave out the hymns for us, and Elder Hyde spoke on the subject of the resurrection with great effect; after which the minister gave out another hymn, which was sung by the assembly, and he then requested me to address them. I arose and spoke briefly on the first principles of the gospel.

"During the services the congregation were overjoyed, the tears ran down their cheeks, and the minister could not refrain from frequently clapping his hands together for joy while in the meeting. After the service was over he took us

to his house, where we were very kindly entertained. After partaking of his hospitality he with some more friends accompanied us to our lodgings, where we remained in conversation until a very late hour.

"The next morning while we were preparing to depart we were waited upon by several of the citizens, who requested us to preach again that day, stating that great interest was felt by the inhabitants, many of whom were in tears, fearing they should hear us no more; and that a number of influential men had suspended operations in their factories to allow their workmen the privilege of hearing us preach. But we were obliged to deny them, as it was necessary to attend to the appointments we had previously made. We could scarcely tear ourselves away from them, and when we did so they wept like little children. Such a desire to hear the gospel I never saw equaled before.

"After commending them to the grace and mercy of God, we went to Downham, where we preached in the afternoon, after which forty came forward and were baptized. In the evening we called the churches of Chatburn and Downham together, and after confirming forty-five who had previously been baptized, we appointed priests, teachers, and deacons to preside over them."—Heber C. Kimball's Journal, pp. 32–35.

Of their closing labors in the mission and the organization they left when returning to America, Elder Kimball writes:—

"On the eighth day of April, A. D. 1838, it being Sunday, and the time appointed for a general conference of the saints in that kingdom, and the day previous to our departure from them, they began to assemble at an early hour in the morning, and by nine o'clock there were from six to seven hundred of the saints assembled from various parts of the country.

"Believing it necessary for the good of the kingdom to have some one to preside over the whole mission, we nominated Brother Joseph Fielding to be appointed to that office, and Brothers Levi Richards and William Clayton to be his counselors. The nominations met with the approbation of the whole assembly, who agreed to hearken to their instructions and uphold them in their

Organization of the mission.

offices. These brethren were then, with eight elders, several priests, teachers, and deacons, set apart and ordained to the several offices to which they were called. One of the brethren who was ordained was going to Manchester, one of the largest manufacturing towns in England, and another to the city of London, and they undoubtedly would carry the glad tidings of salvation to those places.

"We then laid hands upon forty individuals, who had previously been baptized, for the gift of the Holy Ghost, after which about one hundred children were presented to us to receive a blessing, and the same day we baptized about twenty individuals for the remission of sins, and then proceeded to administer the sacrament to this numerous assembly. We then gave some general instructions to the whole church respecting their duty to God and to one another, which were listened to with great attention and were treasured up in the hearts of most who were present.

"At five o'clock p. m. we brought the conference to a close, it having continued without intermission from nine o'clock a. m. We then appointed seven o'clock the same evening to deliver our farewell addresses.

"At the time appointed we repaired to the meeting, which was crowded to excess. Brother Hyde and myself then spoke to them respecting our labors in that land, the success of our ministry, and the kindness we had experienced at their hands; told them that we hoped before long to see them again, after we had visited the church and our families in America; but when we spoke of our departure their hearts were broken within them. They gave vent to their feelings and wept like children, and broke out in cries like the following: 'How can we part with our beloved brethren!' 'We may never see them again!' 'O, why can you leave us!' etc. I could not refrain; my feelings only found vent in a flood of tears.

Farewell addresses.

"Some persons may be disposed to accuse me of weakness on this occasion, but if any should do so, I would say that I do not envy any man's feelings who could witness such a scene with all its associations, and the finer feelings of his heart not be touched on such an occasion; indeed, it would

have been almost an impossibility for us to have left this dear and affectionate people had we not had the most implicit confidence in the brethren who were appointed to preside over them in our absence; but knowing their faith and virtuous conversation, and that they had the confidence of the church, we felt assured that the affairs of the church would be conducted in righteousness; consequently we left them under different feelings than we otherwise could have done.

"Immediately after dismissing we met the official members, the number of whom were eighty, at a private house, and instructed them further in their duties, and dismissed them at one o'clock the next morning.

"This was certainly one of the most interesting conferences I ever attended. The services were calculated to convince the honest and give joy to saints, and will long be remembered by all those who attended, and I have no doubt was the means of great and lasting good.

"At this conference we were favored with the company of Elders Isaac Russell and Willard Richards. The latter had returned from the county of Bedford, where he had been proclaiming the gospel. In consequence of sickness his labors had not been so extensive as they otherwise would have been, and were confined within a short distance from the city of Bedford, where he raised up two small branches, which he set in order and ordained one elder and other officers. He labored under considerable difficulty in consequence of the conduct of Elder Goodson, who accompanied him on that mission, who taught many things which were not in wisdom, which proved a barrier to the spread of the truth in that region. Elder Russell had returned from a mission to the north, having been laboring in the county of Cumberland, near the borders of Scotland, where numbers of his friends resided. While he was there he met with considerable opposition, even from those of his own family as well as the ministers of the different denominations, who sought every opportunity to block up his way and to destroy his influence.

"However, notwithstanding the great opposition he was instrumental in bringing upwards of sixty souls into the

kingdom of God, and left them rejoicing in the truth and strong in the faith of the gospel.

"Thus the great work which is to go through the length and breadth of that land, which will cause the hearts of thousands to rejoice and the poor and meek to increase their joy in the Lord; which shall lead the honest-hearted to the foundation of truth; which shall prepare a holy company from that nation to meet the Lord Jesus when he shall descend from the mansions of glory and from the regions that are not known, which shall cause thousands to rail against the doctrines of Christ and his servants, and persecute the honest in heart; which shall prepare the ungodly for the day of vengeance of our God, and shall bind them together in the cords of darkness, was commenced in three places; viz., Preston, Bedford, and Alston; which forcibly reminds me of the parable of the leaven which the woman cast into the three measures of meal."—Heber C. Kimball's Journal, pp. 45-47.

Arrival at Kirtland.

They arrived in Kirtland on the 22d of May, 1838, after an absence of nearly one year. This was one of the most marvelously successful missions ever prosecuted by the church, the details of which we have not space to relate.

CHAPTER 9.

1838.

APOSTATE MOBOCRACY—ARRIVAL AT FAR WEST—MOTTO OF THE CHURCH—QUESTIONS ON SCRIPTURE—EXPULSION OF PROMINENT MEN—LETTER FROM J. SMITH—WM. MARKS—CHURCH RECORDS—ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED—OFFICERS APPOINTED—QUARTERLY CONFERENCE—STANDING OF QUORUMS—ACTION AGAINST COWDERY AND OTHERS—TEACHERS ON DIFFICULTIES AND INTEREST—CHURCH HISTORY—TRIAL OF MCLELLIN AND MCCORD—ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN—STAKE OF ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN—CELEBRATION AT FAR WEST—TITHING—SELLING LIQUOR—KIMBALL AND HYDE ARRIVE—F. G. WILLIAMS REBAPTIZED—TROUBLE AT GALLATIN.

THE opening of the year 1838 can best be told in the language of Joseph Smith. He writes:—

"A new year dawned upon the church in Kirtland in all the bitterness of the spirit of apostate mobocracy; which continued to rage and grow hotter and hotter, until Elder Rigdon and myself were obliged to flee from its deadly influence, as did the apostles and prophets of old, and as Jesus said, 'When they persecute you in one city, flee to another.' And on the evening of the 12th of January, about ten o'clock, we left Kirtland, on horseback, to escape mob violence, which was about to burst upon us under the color of legal process to cover their hellish designs and save themselves from the just judgment of the law. We continued our travels during the night, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th arrived among the brethren in Norton Township, Medina County, Ohio, a distance of sixty miles from Kirtland; where we tarried about thirty-six hours, when our families arrived, and on the 16th pursued our journey with our families, in covered wagons, toward the city of Far West, in Missouri; passing through Dayton, Eaton, etc., to Dublin, Indiana, where we tarried nine days and refreshed ourselves.

Apostate mobocracy.

"The weather was extremely cold, and we were obliged to

secrete ourselves in our wagons sometimes, to elude the grasp of our pursuers, who continued their race more than two hundred miles from Kirtland, armed with pistols, etc., seeking our lives. They frequently crossed our track; twice they were in the houses where we stopped; once we tarried all night in the same house with them, with only a partition between us and them, and heard their oaths and imprecations and threats concerning us, if they could catch us; and late in the evening they came in our room and examined us, but decided we were not the men. At other times we passed them in the streets, and gazed upon them, and they on us; but they knew us not. One Lyons was one of our pursuers.

"I parted with Brother Rigdon at Dublin, and traveling different routes we met at Terre Haute, where, after resting we separated again, and I pursued my journey, crossing the Mississippi River at Quincy, Illinois. . . .

"When I had arrived within one hundred and twenty miles of Far West the brethren met me with the teams and money to help me forward; and when eight miles from the city we were met by an escort; viz., Thomas B. Marsh and others, who received us with open arms; and on the 13th of March I with my family and some others put up at Brother Barnards' for the night. Here we were met by an escort of the brethren from the town, who came to make us welcome to their little Zion.

Arrival at Far West.

"On the 14th as we were about entering Far West, many of the brethren came out to meet us, who also with open arms welcomed us to their bosoms. We were immediately received under the hospitable roof of Brother George W. Harris, who treated us with all possible kindness; and we refreshed ourselves with much satisfaction after our long and tedious journey, the brethren bringing in such things as we had need of for our comfort and convenience.

"After being here two or three days my brother Samuel arrived with his family.

"Shortly after his arrival, while walking with him and certain other brethren, the following sentiments occurred to my mind:—

"Motto of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

"The Constitution of our country formed by the fathers of liberty. Peace and good order in society. Love to God and good will to man. All good and wholesome laws, virtue and truth above all things, and aristarchy, live forever! But woe to tyrants, mobs, aristocracy, anarchy, and toryism, and all those who invent or seek out unrighteous and vexatious lawsuits, under the pretext and color of law, or office, either religious or political. Exalt the standard of democracy! Down with that of priestcraft, and let all the people say Amen! that the blood of our fathers may not cry from the ground against us. Sacred is the memory of that blood which bought for us our liberty.

Motto of the church.

"Joseph Smith, Jr.
"Thomas B. Marsh.
"David W. Patten.
"Brigham Young.
"Samuel H. Smith.
"George M. Hinkle.
"John Corrill.
"George W. Robinson.

"QUESTIONS ON SCRIPTURE.

"Who is the stem of Jesse spoken of in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth verses of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah?

"Verily thus saith the Lord, It is Christ.

"What is the rod spoken of in the first verse of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah that should come of the stem of Jesse?

"Behold, thus saith the Lord, It is a servant in the hands of Christ, who is partly a descendant of Jesse as well as of Ephraim, or of the house of Joseph, on whom there is laid much power.

"What is the root of Jesse spoken of in the tenth verse of the eleventh chapter?

"Behold, thus saith the Lord, It is a descendant of Jesse, as well as of Joseph, unto whom rightly belong the priesthood, and the keys of the kingdom, for an ensign, and for the gathering of my people in the last days.

"Questions by Elias Higbee, as follows:—

" 'What is meant by the command in Isaiah, fifty-second

chapter, first verse, which saith, "Put on thy strength, O Zion"? And what people had Isaiah reference to?'

"He had reference to those whom God should call in the last days, who should hold the power of priesthood to bring again Zion, and the redemption of Israel; and to put on her strength is to put on the authority of the priesthood, which she (Zion) has a right to by lineage; also to return to that power which she had lost.

"What are we to understand by Zion's loosing herself from the bands of her neck, second verse?

"We are to understand that the scattered remnants are exhorted to return to the Lord from whence they have fallen, which if they do, the promise of the Lord is that he will speak to them, or give them revelation. See the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses. The bands of her neck are the curses of God upon her, or the remnants of Israel in their scattered condition among the Gentiles.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 114, 115, 117, 118.

About this time a disaffection which had been growing for some time culminated in the expulsion from the church of several prominent men, among whom were two of the presidents of the church in Missouri: John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps.

Expulsion of prominent men.

A conference and a meeting of the High Council were held, in which this matter was considered and disposed of. We give the minutes of these from the history of Joseph Smith, as published in the *Millennial Star*, volume 16, which was not published during the lifetime of Joseph Smith or D. W. Patten. Further than this we know nothing of the merits or demerits of this unfortunate controversy. We are not interested in criminating the men involved on the one side, nor in shielding those on the other. We therefore give the record as it appears for what it may be worth.

It will be observed that the minutes of the conference are signed by John Murdock, Moderator, and T. B. Marsh, Clerk.

The minutes of the High Council are signed by Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten, Presidents, and Ebenezer Robinson, Clerk. So whatever sentiment these minutes contain

besides the actual business done, received the indorsement of those over whose signatures it appears.

" 'Minutes of the proceedings of the committee of the whole church in Zion, in General Assembly, at the following places; to wit: At Far West, February 5, 1838. Thomas B. Marsh, Moderator, John Cleminson, Clerk.

" 'After prayer the moderator stated the object of the meeting, giving a relation of the recent organization of the church here and in Kirtland. He also read a certain revelation given in Kirtland, September 3, 1837, which made known that John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were in transgression, and if they repented not they should be removed out of their places; also read a certain clause contained in the appeal published in the old *Star*, on the one hundred and eighty-third page as follows: "And to sell our lands would amount to a denial of our faith, as that is the place where the Zion of God shall stand, according to our faith and belief in the revelations of God."

" 'Elder John Murdock then took the stand and showed to the congregation why the High Council proceeded thus was that the church might have a voice in the matter; and that he considered it perfectly legal according to the instructions of President Joseph Smith, Jr.

" 'Elder G. M. Hinkle then set forth the way in which the Presidency of Far West had been labored with, that a committee of three, of whom he was one, had labored with them. He then read a written document containing a number of accusations against the three Presidents. He spoke many things against them, setting forth in a plain and energetic manner the iniquity of Phelps and Whitmer in using the moneys which were loaned to the church. Also David Whitmer's wrong in persisting in the use of tea, coffee, and tobacco.

" 'Bishop Partridge then arose and endeavored to rectify some mistakes of minor importance made by Elder Hinkle; also the Bishop spoke against the proceedings of the meeting as being hasty and illegal, for he thought they ought to be had before the Common Council, and said that he could

not lift his hand against the Presidency at present. He then read a letter from President Joseph Smith, Jr.

" 'A letter was then read by T. B. Marsh, from William Smith, who made some comments on the same, and also on the letter read by Bishop Partridge.

" 'Elder George Morey, who was one of the committee sent to labor with the Presidency, spoke, setting forth in a very energetic manner the proceedings of the Presidency as being iniquitous.

" 'Elder Grover, also, being one of the committee, spoke against the conduct of the Presidency and Oliver Cowdery, on their visit to labor with them.

" 'Elder D. W. Patten then spoke with much zeal against the Presidency, and in favor of Joseph Smith, Jr., and that the wolf alluded to in his letter were the dissenters in Kirtland.

" 'Elder Lyman Wight stated that he considered all other accusations of minor importance compared to their selling their land in Jackson County; that they (Phelps and Whitmer) had set an example which all the saints were liable to follow. He said that it was a hellish principle, and that they had flatly denied the faith in so doing.

" 'Elder Elias Higbee sanctioned what had been done by the council, speaking against the Presidency.

" 'Elder Murdock stated that sufficient had been said to substantiate the accusations against them.

" 'Elder Solomon Hancock pleaded in favor of the Presidency, stating that he could not raise his hand against them.

" 'Elder John Corrill then spake against the proceedings of the High Council, and labored hard to show that the meeting was illegal, and that the Presidency ought to be had before a proper tribunal, which he considered to be a bishop and twelve high priests. He labored in favor of the Presidency, and said that he should not raise his hands against them at present, although he did not uphold the Presidents in their iniquity.

" 'Simeon Carter spoke against the meeting as being hasty.

" 'Elder Grover followed Brother Carter in like observations.

" 'Elder Patten again took the stand in vindication of the cause of the meeting.

" 'Elder Morley spoke against the Presidency, at the same time pleading mercy.

" 'Titus Billings said he could not vote until they had a hearing in the Common Council.

" 'Elder Marsh said that the meeting was according to the direction of Brother Joseph, he therefore considered it legal.

" 'Elder Moses Martin spoke in favor of the legality of the meeting, and against the conduct of the Presidency, with great energy, alleging that the present corruptions of the church here were owing to the wickedness and mismanagement of her leaders.

" 'The moderator then called the vote in favor of the present Presidency; the negative was then called, and the vote against David Whitmer, John Whitmer, and William W. Phelps was unanimous, excepting eight or ten, and this minority only wished them to continue in office a little longer, or until Joseph Smith, Jr., came up.

" 'In S. Carter's settlement the saints assembled on the 6th instant, when they unanimously rejected the three above-named Presidents. On the 7th, the saints assembled at Edmond Durphy's, agreeable to appointment, where the above-named Presidents were unanimously rejected; also on the 8th at Nahum Curtis's dwelling house, they were unanimously rejected by the assembly; also at Haun's Mills, on the 9th, the saints unanimously rejected them.

" 'At a meeting of the High Council, the Bishop, and his council, February 10, 1838, it was moved, seconded, and carried, that Oliver Cowdery, William W. Phelps, and John Whitmer stand no longer as chairman and clerks to sign and record licenses.

" 'Voted that Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten be authorized to attend to such business for the time being.

" 'Also voted that Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten be Presidents, pro tempore, of the Church of Latter Day

Saints in Missouri, until Presidents Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon arrive in the land of Zion.

"'J. MURDOCK, Moderator.
"'T. B. MARSH, Clerk.

"'The High Council of Zion met in Far West, on Saturday, March 10, 1838, agreeable to adjournment; when after discussion it was resolved first: That the High Council recommend by writing to the various branches of this church, that all those who wish to receive ordination, procure a recommend from the branch to which they belong, and have it pass through the hands of the different quorums for inspection, previous to their ordination.

"'2d. Resolved that the High Council recommend to all those who hold licenses, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and do not officiate in their respective offices, to be subject to military duty.

"'A charge was then preferred against William W. Phelps and John Whitmer for persisting in unchristianlike conduct.

"'Six counselors were appointed to speak; viz., Simeon Carter, Isaac Higbee, and Levi Jackson [Jackman?], on the part of the accuser; and Jared Carter, Thomas Grover, and Samuel Bent, on the part of the accused; when the following letter was read by Brother Marcellus Cowdery, bearer of the same, belonging to Thomas B. Marsh, previous to giving it to its rightful owner:—

"'"FAR WEST, March 10, 1838.

"'"Sir:—It is contrary to the principles of the revelations of Jesus Christ, and his gospel, and the laws of the land, to try a person for an offense by an illegal tribunal, or by men prejudiced against him, or by authority that has given an opinion or decision beforehand, or in his absence.

"'"Very respectfully we have the honor to be

"'"DAVID WHITMER,
"'"W. W. PHELPS,
"'"JOHN WHITMER,
"'"Presidents of the Church of Christ in Missouri.

"'"To T. B. Marsh, one of the Traveling Counselors."

"'Attested, OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk of the High Council of the Church of Christ in Missouri.

" 'I certify the foregoing to be a true copy from the original.

" 'OLIVER COWDERY, Clerk of the High Council.

" 'All the effect the above letter had upon the council was to convince them more of the wickedness of those men by endeavoring to palm themselves upon the church as her Presidents after the church had by a united voice removed them from their presidential office for their ungodly conduct; and the letter was considered no more nor less than a direct insult or contempt cast upon the authorities of God and the Church of Jesus Christ; therefore the council proceeded to business.

" 'A number of charges were sustained against these men, the principal of which was for claiming two thousand dollars church funds, which they had subscribed for building an house to the Lord in this place, when they held in their possession the city plot, and were sitting in the presidential chair, which subscription they were intending to pay from the avails of the town lots; but when the town plot was transferred into the hands of the Bishop for the benefit of the church, it was agreed that the church should take this subscription from off the hands of W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer; but in the transaction of the business they bound the Bishop in a heavy mortgage to pay them the above two thousand dollars in two years from the date thereof, a part of which they had already received, and claim the remainder.

" 'The six counselors made a few appropriate remarks, none of whom felt to plead for mercy, as it had not been asked on the part of the accused, but all with one consent declared that justice ought to have her demands.

" 'After some remarks by Presidents Marsh and Patten, setting forth the iniquity of those men in claiming the two thousand dollars spoken of, which did not belong to them any more than any other person in the church, it was decided that William W. Phelps and John Whitmer be no longer members of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, and be given over to the buffetings of Satan, until they learn to blaspheme no more against the authorities of God, nor fleece the flock of Christ.

" 'The council was then asked if they concurred with the decision; if so, to manifest it by rising, when they all arose.

" 'The vote was then put to the congregation, which was carried unanimously.

" 'The negative was called but no one voted.

" 'Brother Marcellus Cowdery arose and said he wished to have it understood that he did not vote either way, because he did not consider it a legal tribunal. He also offered insult to the High Council and to the church, by reading a letter belonging to Thomas B. Marsh before giving it to him, and in speaking against the authorities of the church.

" 'A motion was then made by President Patten, that fellowship be withdrawn from Marcellus Cowdery until he make satisfaction; which was seconded and carried unanimously.

" 'THOMAS B. MARSH, } Presidents.
" 'DAVID W. PATTEN, }
" 'EBENEZER ROBINSON, Clerk of High Council.'"

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 115-117.

Letter from J. Smith.

The following letter, written to the authorities of the church at Kirtland by Joseph Smith, will be read with interest. We invite especial attention to the vision concerning Elder Marks, which indicates that he would finally triumph over his enemies and be raised "up for a blessing unto many people."

" 'To the Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Kirtland:—

" '*Dear and Well-Beloved Brethren:*—Through the grace and mercy of our God, after a long and tedious journey of two months and one day, I and my family arrived safe in the city of Far West, having been met at Huntsville, one hundred and twenty miles from the place, by my brethren with teams and money, to forward us on our journey. When within eight miles of the city of Far West we were met by an escort of brethren from the city; viz., Thomas B. Marsh, John Corrill, Elias Higbee, and several others of the faithful of the West, who received us with open arms and warm hearts, and welcomed us to the bosom of their society. On our arrival in the city we were greeted on every hand by

the saints, who bade us welcome to the land of their inheritance.

" 'Dear brethren, you may be assured that so friendly a meeting and reception paid us well for our long seven years of servitude, persecution, and affliction in the midst of our enemies, in the land of Kirtland; yea, verily, our hearts were full, and we feel grateful to Almighty God for his kindness unto us. The particulars of our journey, brethren, cannot well be written; but we trust that the same God who has protected us will protect you also, and will, sooner or later, grant us the privilege of seeing each other face to face, and of rehearsing all our sufferings.

" 'We have heard of the destruction of the printing office, which we presume to believe must have been occasioned by the Parrish party, or more properly the aristocrats or anarchies.

" 'The saints here have provided a room for us, and daily necessaries, which are brought in from all parts of the country to make us comfortable; so that I have nothing to do but to attend to my spiritual concerns, or the spiritual affairs of the church.

" 'The difficulties of the church had been adjusted before my arrival here, by a judicious High Council, with Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten, who acted as Presidents pro tempore of the church of Zion, being appointed by the voice of the council and church; William W. Phelps and John Whitmer having been cut off from the church, David Whitmer remaining as yet. The saints at this time are in union; and peace and love prevail throughout; in a word, heaven smiles upon the saints in Caldwell. Various and many have been the falsehoods written from thence to this place, but have availed nothing. We have no uneasiness about the power of our enemies in this place to do us harm.

" 'Brother Samuel H. Smith and family arrived here soon after we did, in good health. Brothers Brigham Young, Daniel S. Miles, and Levi Richards arrived here when we did. They were with us on the last of our journey, which ended much to our satisfaction. They also are well. They

have provided places for their families, and are now about to break the ground for seed.

" 'Having been under the hands of wicked and vexatious lawsuits for seven years past, my business was so deranged that I was not able to leave it in so good a situation as I had anticipated; but if there are any wrongs, they shall all be noticed, so far as the Lord gives me ability and power to do so.

" 'Say to all the brethren that I have not forgotten them, but remember them in my prayers. Say to Mother Beeman, that I remember her, also Brother Daniel Carter, Brother Strong and family, Brother Granger and family; finally I cannot enumerate them all for want of room; I will just name Brother Knight, the Bishop, etc. My best respects to them all, and I commend them and the Church of God in Kirtland to our heavenly Father, and the word of his grace, which is able to make you wise unto salvation.

" 'I would just say to Brother Marks, that I saw in a vision while on the road, that whereas he was closely pursued by an innumerable concourse of enemies, and as they pressed upon him hard, as if they were about to devour him, and had seemingly obtained some degree of advantage over him, but about this time a chariot of fire came, and near the place, even the angel of the Lord put forth his hand unto Brother Marks, and said unto him, "Thou art my son, come here," and immediately he was caught up in the chariot, and rode away triumphantly out of their midst. And again the Lord said, "I will raise thee up for a blessing unto many people." Now the particulars of this whole matter cannot be written at this time, but the vision was evidently given to me that I might know that the hand of the Lord would be on his behalf.

Wm. Marks.

" 'I transmit to you the Motto of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

" 'We left President Rigdon thirty miles this side of Paris, Illinois, in consequence of the sickness of Brother George W. Robinson's wife.

" 'On yesterday Brother Robinson arrived here, who informed us that his father-in-law (S. Rigdon) was at Hunts-

ville, detained on account of the ill health of his wife. They will probably be here soon.

"'Choice seeds of all kinds of fruit, also choice breed of cattle, would be in much demand; and best blood of horses, garden seeds of every description, and hay seeds of all sorts, are much needed in this place.

"'Very respectfully I subscribe myself your servant in Christ, our Lord and Savior,

"'JOSEPH SMITH, JR.,
"'President of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints.'"

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 130, 131.

Sidney Rigdon arrived at Far West with his family on April 4, 1838.

Church records.

At the time of John Whitmer's expulsion he was the official historian of the church. He refused to give up the records, and by some it has been claimed that the church never obtained access to them.[1]

This, however, does not agree with the statement made by Ebenezer Robinson in 1889, who was the clerk writing the letter above referred to for the Presidency.[2]

We have been unable to learn the whereabouts of either the original or the copy.

In June, 1896, we made a special trip to Richmond, Missouri, for the purpose of obtaining a view of the original, but were unsuccessful. We were courteously treated by the Whitmer family and Elder Philander Page; but none of them could locate the present whereabouts of the record. Mr. George Schweich, a grandson of David Whitmer, gave

[1] After his excommunication from the church John Whitmer refused to deliver up the church documents in his possession to the proper authorities, which gave occasion for quite a severe letter from Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The records, however, were never obtained; they are now [1888] in the custody of John C. Whitmer (a nephew of John Whitmer) who resides in Richmond, Clay County, Missouri.—Historical Record, p. 613.

[2] No attention was paid to the foregoing letter by John Whitmer, as, perhaps, he thought he would not be justified in thus surrendering the work which had been assigned him by revelation. The record was subsequently obtained however, and brought to our house, where we copied the entire record into another book, assisted a part of the time, by Dr. Levi Richards.—*The Return*, vol. 1, p. 133.

us encouragement that he would find the record and permit us to have access to it for the purposes of this history; but up to the time of going to press (May, 1897) it has not been received.

Anniversary celebrated.

On April 6, 1838, the anniversary of the organization of the church was celebrated in Far West, of which Joseph Smith records the following:—

"Far West, April 6, 1838. Agreeable to a resolution passed by the High Council of Zion, March 3, 1838, the saints in Missouri assembled in this place, to celebrate the anniversary of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to transact church business; Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon presiding.

"The meeting was opened by singing, and prayer by David W. Patten, after which President Joseph Smith, Jr., read the order of the day as follows: Doors will be opened at nine o'clock a. m., and the meeting will commence by singing and prayer. A sexton will then be appointed for a doorkeeper, and other services in the house of the Lord.

Officers appointed.

Two historians will then be appointed to write and keep the Church History; also a General Recorder to keep the records of the whole church, and to be the clerk of the First Presidency. And a clerk will be appointed for the High Council, and to keep the church records of this stake. Three presidents will be appointed to preside over this church of Zion, after which an address will be delivered by the Presidency. Then an intermission of one hour, when the meeting will again convene, and open by singing and prayer. The sacrament will then be administered, and the blessing of infants attended to.

"The meeting then proceeded to business. George Morey was appointed sexton, and Dimick Huntington assistant; John Corrill and Elias Higbee historians; George W. Robinson General Church Recorder, and clerk to the First Presidency; Ebenezer Robinson church clerk and recorder for Far West, and clerk of the High Council; Thomas B. Marsh president pro tempore of the church in Zion, and Brigham Young and David W. Patten his assistant presidents.

"After one hour's adjournment, meeting again opened by David W. Patten. The bread and wine were administered, and ninety-five infants were blessed.

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR., President.
"E. ROBINSON, Clerk."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 131, 132.

A quarterly conference was held at Far West, April 7 and 8. The several quorums were represented: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was represented by D. W. Patten, who highly commended T. B. Marsh, Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, P. P. Pratt, and Orson Pratt. He spoke doubtfully of William Smith, and declared he could not recommend W. E. McLellin, Luke Johnson, Lyman Johnson, and J. F. Boynton.

Quarterly conference.

Standing of quorums.

John Murdock represented the High Council, stating that E. H. Groves, Calvin Beebe, and Lyman Wight had moved so far away that they could not attend the councils. Thomas B. Marsh nominated Jared Carter, J. P. Green, and G. W. Harris to fill their places, and these nominations were unanimously approved, and G. W. Harris was ordained a high priest.

C. C. Rich represented the Quorum of High Priests.

D. S. Miles and Levi Hancock represented the Seventies.

Harvey Green represented the Elders.

Bishop Partridge represented his council and the lesser priesthood.

On April 11, 1838, charges were preferred against Oliver Cowdery, by Seymour Bronson. He was tried before the Bishop's court on the 12th, and expelled from the church. This account is found on page 133 of *Millennial Star*, volume 16, where reference is made to Book "A," Far West Record.

Action against Cowdery and others.

On April 13, charges were preferred against David Whitmer, upon which he was tried before the High Council and expelled. An account of this trial is found in the *Millennial Star*, volume 16, pages 133 and 134, where reference is made to Far West Record, Book "A."

On the same day Lyman E. Johnson was expelled on con-

viction before the High Council. (See also *Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 134.)

It has been urged in the cases of Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and others, that there is no record that their cases were ever presented to the church, or that the church ever lifted up their hands against them, as provided for in the law; and it is further urged that neither the High Council nor the Bishop's Council have authority to take the final action in expelling members; hence that they were not legally expelled from the church. Whether their cases were presented to the church or not, we do not know; nor is it our province as historians to discuss what the legitimate effect of these council decisions without a vote of the church would be.

Teachers on difficulties and interest.

On April 26, 1838, the Teachers resolved that they would not fellowship any member of the quorum who did not settle his own difficulties, and that they would not fellowship any member of the quorum who would take unlawful interest.

On this date a revelation was given which among other things settles definitely the name of the church.[3]

About this time Joseph Smith began writing a history of the church.

[3] Revelation, given at Far West, April 26, 1838, making known the will of God concerning the building up of this place, and of the Lord's house, etc.

Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph Smith, Jr., and also my servant Sidney Rigdon, and also my servant Hyrum Smith, and your counselors who are and shall be appointed hereafter; and also unto you my servant Edward Partridge, and his counselors; and also unto my faithful servants, who are of the High Council of my church in Zion (for thus it shall be called), and unto all the elders and people of my Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, scattered abroad in all the world; for thus shall my church be called in the last days, even the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Verily I say unto you all, Arise and shine forth, that thy light may be a standard for the nations, and that the gathering together upon the land of Zion and upon her stakes may be for a defense, and for a refuge from the storm, and from wrath when it shall be poured out without mixture upon the whole earth.

Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standest is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for the gathering together of my saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer; and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next, and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this day let them

On May 5, 1838, General Wilson, then the Federal candidate for Congress, delivered an address in Far West.

On Monday, May 7, Elders P. P. Pratt and Reynolds Cahoon arrived in Far West, from Kirtland, Ohio.

Of the trial of W. E. McLellin and Doctor McCord, Joseph Smith writes as follows:—

"Friday, 11th. I attended the trial of William E. McLellin and Doctor McCord, for transgression, before the Bishop's Court.

Trial of McLellin and McCord.

"McCord said, 'he was sorry to trouble the council on his account, for he had intended to withdraw from the church before he left the place; that he had no confidence in the work of God, or his prophet, and should go his own way.' He gave up his license and departed.

"William E. McLellin stated about the same as McCord, and that 'he had no confidence in the heads of the church, believing they had transgressed, and had got out of the way, consequently he quit praying, and keeping the commandments of God, and indulged himself in his lustful desires, but when he heard that the First Presidency had made a general settlement, and acknowledged their sins, he began to pray again, etc.' When I interrogated him, he said, 'he had seen nothing out of the way himself, but he judged from hearsay.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 151.

recommence laying the foundation of my house; thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished, from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not anything remain that is not finished.

Verily I say unto you, Let not my servant Joseph, neither my servant Sidney, neither my servant Hyrum, get in debt any more for the building of an house unto my name; but let an house be built unto my name according to the pattern which I will show unto them. And if my people build it not according to the pattern which I shall show unto their Presidency, I will not accept it at their hands; but if my people do build it according to the pattern which I shall show unto their Presidency, even my servant Joseph and his counselors, then I will accept it at the hands of my people. And again, verily I say unto you, It is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my saints, and also that other places should be appointed for stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph, from time to time; for behold, I will be with him, and I will sanctify him before the people, for unto him have I given the keys of this kingdom and ministry. Even so. Amen.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 147, 148.

In regard to exploring northward from Far West and of locating "Adam-ondi-ahman," Joseph writes:—

"Friday, 18th. I left Far West in company with Sidney Rigdon, T. B. Marsh, D. W. Patten, Bishop Partridge, E. Higbee, S. Carter, Alanson Ripley, and many others, for the purpose of visiting the north country, and laying off a stake of Zion, making locations, and laying claims to facilitate the gathering of the saints, and for the benefit of the poor, in upbuilding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of Honey Creek, which is a tributary of Grand River, where we camped for the night. We passed a beautiful country of land, a majority of which is prairie (untimbered land), and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game; such as deer, turkey, hen, elk, etc. We discovered a large black wolf, and my dog gave him chase, but he outran us. We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnake, which is natural to this country, though not very numerous. We turned our horses loose and let them feed on the prairie.

"Saturday, 19th. This morning we struck our tents and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep, and rapid stream during the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of steamboat navigation and other water craft; and at the mouth of Honey Creek are a splendid harbor and good landing.

"We pursued our course up the river, mostly in the timber, about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's, who lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave it in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower), where we camped for the Sabbath.

"In the afternoon I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Rigdon and my clerk, George W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, township 60, range 27 and 28, and sections 25, 36, 31, and 30, which the brethren called Spring Hill; but by the mouth of the Lord it was named Adam-ondi-ahman, because, said he,

it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.

"Sunday, 20th, was spent by our company principally at Adam-ondi-ahman; but near the close of the day we struck our tents and traveled about six miles north, and encamped for the night in company with Judge Morin and company, who were also traveling north.

"Monday, 21st. This morning, after making some locations in this place, which is in township 61, range 27 and 28, we returned to Robinson's Grove, about two miles, to secure some land near Grand River, which we passed the day previous; and finding a mistake in the former survey, I sent the surveyor south five or six miles to obtain a correct line while some of us tarried to obtain water for the camp.

"In the evening I called a council of the brethren, to know whether it was wisdom to go immediately into the north country, or tarry here and hereabouts, to secure land on Grand River, etc. The brethren spoke their minds freely on the subject, when I stated to the council that I felt impressed to tarry and secure all the land near by that is not secured between this and Far West, especially on Grand River. President Rigdon concurred, and the council voted unanimously to secure the land on Grand River, and between this and Far West. . . .

"Tuesday, 22d. President Rigdon went last [east?] with a company, and selected some of the best locations in the county, and returned with a good report of that vicinity, and valuable locations which might be secured. Following awhile in the course of the company I returned to camp in Robinson's Grove, and from thence went west to obtain some game to supply our necessities. We discovered some antiquities about one mile west of the camp, consisting of stone mounds, apparently erected in square piles, though somewhat decayed and obliterated by the weather of many years. These mounds were probably erected by the aborigines of the land, to secrete treasures. We returned without game.

"Wednesday, 23d. We all traveled east, locating lands,

to secure a claim on Grove Creek and near the city of Adam-ondi-ahman. Towards evening I accompanied Elder Rigdon to Colonel Wight's, and the remainder of the company returned to their tents.

"Thursday, 24th. This morning the company returned to Grove Creek to finish the survey, accompanied by President Rigdon and Colonel Wight, and I returned to Far West.

"Friday, 25th. The company put up the river, and made some locations. In the afternoon they struck their tents and removed to Colonel Wight's.

"Saturday, 26th. They surveyed lands on the other side of the river opposite Adam-ondi-ahman.

"Sunday, 27th, they spent at Colonel Wight's.

"Monday, 28th. The company started for home (Far West), and I left Far West the same day in company with Brother Hyrum Smith and fifteen or twenty others, to seek locations in the north, and about noon we met President Rigdon and his company going into the city, where they arrived the same evening.

"President Hyrum Smith returned to Far West on the 30th, and I returned on the 1st of June, on account of my family, for I had a son born unto me.[4]

"Monday, June 4. I left Far West with President Rigdon, my brother Hyrum, and others, for Adam-ondi-ahman, and staid at Brother Moses Dailey's over night; and on the morning of the 5th went to Colonel Lyman Wight's in the rain. We continued surveying, building houses, etc., day after day for many days, until the surveyor had completed the city plat. . . .

"June 16. My uncle, John Smith, and family, with six other families, arrived in Far West, all in good health and spirits. I counseled them to settle at Adam-ondi-ahman."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 152, 153.

Lyman Wight in his journal agrees with this account. He writes:—

"About June Joseph Smith, together with many others

[4] This son was President Alexander Hale Smith, who was born on the 2d.

of the principal men of the church, came to my house, and taking a view of the large bottom in the bend of the river, and the beautiful prairies on the bluffs, came to the conclusion that it would be a handsome situation for a town. We therefore commenced surveying and laying off town lots, and locating government lands for many miles north of this place. This beautiful country with its flattering prospects drew in floods of emigrants. I had not less than thirty comers and goers through the day during the three summer months, and up to the last-mentioned date [last of October] there were upwards of two hundred houses built in this town, and also about forty families living in their wagons."

On June 28, 1838, a conference was held at Adam-ondi-ahman, for the purpose of organizing a stake. The following are the minutes of this organization as published in the history of Joseph Smith:—

Stake of Adam-ondi-ahman.

"Adam-ondi-ahman, Missouri, Daviess County, June 28, 1838. A conference of elders and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was held in this place this day, for the purpose of organizing this stake of Zion, called Adam-ondi-ahman.

"The meeting convened at ten o'clock a. m., in the grove, near the house of Elder Lyman Wight.

"President Joseph Smith, Jr., was called to the chair, who explained the object of the meeting, which was to organize a Presidency and High Council, to preside over this stake of Zion, and attend to the affairs of the church in Daviess County.

"It was then motioned, seconded, and carried by the unanimous voice of the assembly, that President John Smith should act as President of the Stake of Adam-ondi-ahman.

"Reynolds Cahoon was unanimously chosen first counselor, and Lyman Wight second counselor.

"After prayer the Presidents ordained Elder Wight as second counselor.

"Vinson Knight was chosen acting Bishop pro tempore, by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

"President John Smith then proceeded to organize the High Council. The counselors were chosen according to the

following order, by a unanimous vote: John Lemon, 1st; Daniel Stanton, 2d; Mayhew Hillman, 3d; Daniel Carter, 4th; Isaac Perry, 5th; Harrison Sagers, 6th; Alanson Brown, 7th; Thomas Gordon, 8th; Lorenzo D. Barnes, 9th; George A. Smith, 10th; Harvey Olmstead, 11th; Ezra Thayer, 12th.

"After the ordination of the counselors, who had not previously been ordained to the high priesthood, President Joseph Smith, Jr., made remarks by way of charge to the presidents and counselors, instructing them in the duties of their callings, and the responsibility of their stations, exhorting them to be cautious and deliberate in all their councils, and to be careful and act in righteousness in all things.

"President John Smith, R. Cahoon, and L. Wight then made some remarks.

"Lorenzo D. Barnes was unanimously chosen clerk of this council and stake, and after singing the well known hymn, Adam-ondi-ahman, the meeting closed by prayer by President Cahoon, and a benediction by President Joseph Smith, Jr.

"LORENZO D. BARNES,
"ISAAC PERRY, } Clerks."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 181.

July 4 was a great day in Far West. A grand celebration was held. "Joseph Smith, Jr., was president of the day, Hyrum Smith vice president, Sidney Rigdon orator; Reynolds Cahoon chief marshal, and George W. Robinson clerk." The procession commenced forming at ten a. m., and marched to the Temple Lot, forming a circle around the excavation; when the corner stones of the proposed temple were laid with appropriate ceremonies. After this the oration was delivered by Sidney Rigdon.[6] This was an able and patriotic address, but con-

Celebration at Far West.

[6] *Friends and Fellow Citizens:*—By your request I am called upon to address you this day under circumstances novel to myself, and, I presume, as much so to most of you; for however frequently we may have met our fellow citizens in times past, in the places of our nativity, or of our choice, to mingle our feelings with theirs, and unite with them in grateful acknowledgments to our divine Benefactor, on the anniversary of our national existence, we have never before been assembled by reason of our holy religion, for which cause alone a very large majority of us are here to-day. But though our residence here is far from the sepul-

tained some scathing denunciations of mobs and lawless practices.

If it be granted that this speech is correctly reported by Hunt, the orator crossed the bounds of propriety and right

chers of our fathers, and from the lands of our nativity and former choice; and our association here as novel and as strange to ourselves as it could be to any portion of our fellow men; still we hail the return of the birthday of our liberties with no less feelings of joy and gratitude, nor no less desire for the prosperity and continuance of the fabric of our national government inspires our breasts this day, than when we met in the mixed assemblies of all religions, as in times past, in the lands of our nativity. Nor, indeed, could it otherwise be: from our infancy, we have been traditionated to believe ours to be the best government in the world. Our fathers, our neighbors, and our associates in life have extolled its excellence to the highest pinnacle of fame in our ears, even before we were capable of judging of its merits for ourselves, or were able to form an estimate of its worth. As we advanced in life we heard nothing else from our statesmen and heroes but the perfection and excellence of our public institutions, and the superiority of our government over all the governments of the world, whether they existed in former or latter times. It is the government under which we were born and educated, or else we exchanged another for it, with whose form we were satisfied, and in exchange gave this the preference, and sought, by removal, to enjoy its benefits. We have been taught from our cradles to reverence the Fathers of the Revolution, and venerate the very urns which contain the ashes of those who sleep; and every feeling of our hearts responds in perfect unison to their precept. Our country and its institutions are written on the tablet of our hearts, as with the blood of the heroes who offered their lives in sacrifice, to redeem us from oppression. On it towers the flag of freedom, and invites the oppressed to enter, and find an asylum; under the safeguard of its constitution the tyrant grasp is unfastened, and equal rights and privileges flow to every part of the grand whole. Protected by its laws, and defended by its powers, the oppressed and persecuted saint can worship under his own vine and fig tree, and none can molest or make him afraid. We have always contemplated it, and do now, as the only true fabric of freedom and bulwark of our liberty in the world. Its very existence has taught the civilized world, far surpassing those of a Pitt, a Wilberforce, a Canning, or a Grey, and has cast all their efforts in the shade forever. It has stood, and now stands, as the arbiter of the world, the judge of the nations, and the rebuker of tyrants throughout the world: it is the standard of freedom, both civil and religious. By its existence, the fears of the superstitious have been removed, and the pretexts of tyrants have been swept away, as a refuge of lives [lies], and the rights of man have been restored, and freedom, both political and religious, have been made to triumph. Our government is known throughout the civilized world, as the standard of freedom, civil, religious, and political: By it are the acts of all nations tried; and it serves to expose the frauds, the deceptions, and crafts of the old world, in attempting to palm upon the people monarchy and aristocracy for republicanism and freedom. So powerful has been its influence that the hand of the oppressor, even in the old world, has been lightened —tyrants have been made to tremble, and oppressors of mankind have been filled with fear. Thrones, if they have not been cast down, have been stripped of their terror, and the oppressed subject has been measurably delivered from his bondage. Having been rocked in the cradle

in boasting, and bidding defiance to the mob; but he may be measurably excused when we consider how much persecu-

of liberty and educated in the school of freedom, all our prejudices and prepossessions are deeply rooted in favor of this superlative excellence of a government from which all our privileges and enjoyments have flown. We are wedded to it by the greatest ties,—bound to it by cords as strong as death,—to preserve which should be our thought and our aim, in all our pursuits, to maintain its constitution inviolable, its institutions uncorrupted, its laws unviolated, and its order unchanged.

There is one thing, in the midst of our political differences, which ought to create feelings of joy and gratitude in every heart, and in the bosom of every well-wisher of mankind, that all parties in politics express the strongest desire to preserve both the Union and the Constitution unimpaired and unbroken, and only differ about the means to accomplish this object—so desirable, as expressed by all parties. And while this, indeed, is the object of parties in this republic, there is nothing to fear: the prospects for the future will be as flattering as the past, in celebrating this the anniversary of our independence: all party distinctions should be forgotten—all religious differences should be laid aside. We are members of our common republic, equally dependent on a faithful execution of its laws for our protection in the enjoyment of our civil, political, and religious privileges; all have a common interest in the preservation of the Union, and in the defense and support of the Constitution. Northern, southern, and western interests ought to be forgotten, or lost, for the time being, in the more noble desire to preserve the Union;—we cannot, by rending it to pieces. In the former there is hope; in the latter, there is fear;—in one, peace; in the other, war. In times of peace it ought to be our aim and our object to strengthen the bonds of the Union, by cultivating peace and good will among ourselves; and in times of war, to meet our foes sword in hand, and defend our rights at the expense of life. For what is life when freedom has fled? It is a name—a bubble: "better far sleep with the dead, than be oppressed among the living." All attempts on the part of religious aspirants to unite church and state ought to be repelled with indignation, and every religious society supported in its rights, and in the exercise of its conscientious devotions—the Mohammedan, the pagan, and the idolater not excepted—and be partakers equally in the benefits of the government; for if the Union is preserved, it will be endearing the people to it; and this can only be done by securing to all their most sacred rights. The least deviation from the strictest rule of right, on the part of any portion of the people, or their public servants, will create dissatisfaction; that dissatisfaction will end in strife,—strife, in war,—war, in the dissolution of the Union. It is on the virtue of the people that depends the existence of the government, and not in the wisdom of legislators. Wherefore serveth laws (it matters not how righteous in themselves) when the people, in violation of them, tear those rights from one another, which they (the laws) were designed to protect? If we preserve the nation from ruin and the people from war it will be by securing to others what we claim ourselves, and being as zealous to defend another's rights as to secure our own. If, on this day, our fathers pledged their fortunes, their lives, and their sacred honors to one another, and to the claims which they represented, to be free, or to lose all earthly inheritance (not life and honor excepted), so ought we to follow their example, and pledge our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, as their children and their successors, in maintaining inviolable what they obtained by their treasure and their blood. With

tion and oppression they had been subjected to; and how they had been driven from place to place, robbed, and

holy feelings, sacred desires, and grateful hearts to our divine Benefactor, ought we to perform the duties of this day, and enjoy the privileges which, as saints of the living God, we enjoy in this land of liberty and freedom, where our most sacred rights, even that of worshiping our God according to his will, is secured unto us by law; and our religious rights so identified with the existence of the nation that to deprive us of them will be to doom the nation to ruin and the Union to dissolution!

It is now threescore and two years since the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, caused the proclamation to go forth among the people of the continents that the people of this nation should be free, and that over them "Kings should not rule and princes decree authority;" and all this preparatory to the great purpose which he had designed to accomplish in the last days, in the face of all people, in order that the Son of God, the Savior of the world, should come down from heaven and reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem; and before his ancients gloriously, according to the testimony of the holy prophets since the world began: and it is eight years, two months, and twenty-eight days since this church of the last days was organized by the revelations of that same Jesus, who is coming to reign before his ancients gloriously —then consisting of six members only. At its first appearance excitement began to prevail among the people where it made its appearance; and as it increased in members the excitement increased. The first attack made upon it by its enemies was false representations and foul slander. By this engine it was assailed from ever quarter, and by all classes of men, religious and irreligious. Misrepresentation followed misrepresentation—falsehood after falsehood followed each other in rapid succession, until there must have been multitudes of them created in a minute, by those employed in it, or else they could not have gotten so many put in circulation. This scheme not succeeding, the enemies had recourse to persecutions, which were multiplied continually, apparently with determination to destroy every person who united to aid and assist in bringing forth the work of the Lord. But all this not succeeding according to the expectations of the presenters, they united to all this power that of mobs, driving men, women, and children from their houses; dragging them, in the dead hours of the night, out of their beds; whipping, tarring and feathering, and otherwise shamefully treating them. Nor were those means the only ones resorted to in this work of persecution; but being determined to put an end to the church forever, they added to all the rest of the means used—stealing the property of the saints; also burning houses and charging it on their (the saints') heads, in order to raise public indignation against them; and also false swearing; and, indeed, we may add, all other means which the adversary had in his power to use,—nothing seems to be left undone that could be done, by men and demons, in order that the purpose of God might fail; but still the object so much desired has not yet been obtained. Under all this fire of persecution the cause has rolled on with a steady course; the increase has been gradual, but constant; and the church at this time numbers many thousands. Some in the old world have become obedient to the faith; multitudes in the Canadas, as well as most parts of the United States. During their scenes of persecution a number of the saints have lost their lives, and others are missing, and it is unknown what has become of them; but the presumption is, they have been secretly murdered. No country of which we have any knowledge has offered so fair an opportunity for determining the great hostility which

despoiled of their homes, possessions, and sacred rights. And even at that time they were hearing the mutterings of

exists naturally in the human heart against God and against his work, as this one. In other countries persecutions were carried on under pretext of law; but in this country, where the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of every State in the Union guarantees unto every person the rights of conscience and the liberty of worshiping as he pleases, to witness such scenes of persecution as those which have followed this church from the beginning, in despite of law, justice, equity, and truth, and at war with the very genius of republican institutions; and contrary to the design of our government, surely evinces the depravity of the human heart, and the great hostility there exists in the hearts of the human family against the work and purposes of God; and fully confirms the apostles, that the carnal mind is at enmity against God.

But notwithstanding all this violence we even say, as did Paul to the Corinthians, "We are troubled on every side, yet not destroyed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." We have, until this time, endured this great weight of affliction, and kept the faith. If the ancient saints had to endure as seeing him who is invisible, so have we; if they had to suffer the contradiction of sinners against themselves, so have we; if they had to suffer stripes and imprisonments for their religion's sake, so have we; if they were journeying in perils of water, in perils among robbers, in perils by their own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings, often in hunger and thirst, in fastings, often in cold and nakedness—so are we. If they had to commend themselves to God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonment, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, they lived; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things;—so have we. If they went up through much tribulation and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, so have we to go through as great a tribulation; and we trust in so doing we will also wash our robes and make them white in the blood of the Lamb.

One cause of our heavy persecution is the influence which those have in the world whom we have separated from the fellowship of the church for their wickedness; who attempt to gratify their vengeance on us, and also to hide their own shame, by foul slanders and base calumny. We were at one time represented by them as having all things common; at another as being enemies to the government; and in other places we were represented to be abolitionists; and, indeed, anything they thought best calculated to stir up the public mind, and to excite public indignation and, if possible, put an end to the work, by sacrificing some of those who were considered as most active in supporting and defending the cause. But, through the mercy of God we are still in existence, and have the opportunity of joining with you in the privileges of this day.

In assembling on this occasion our object is not only to comply with the custom of our nation in celebrating the birthday of our liberties, but also to lay the corner stone of the edifice about to be built in this place

the mob, who bent on plunder was threatening their peace. Naturally they might be expected to resent any further

in honor of our God, to whom we ascribe the glory of our freedom as well as our eternal salvation, and whose worship we esteem of more consequence than we do the treasures of Missouri; ready at all times to offer unto him the sacrifice of our firstfruits; and by uniting perseverance, patient industry, and faithful devotion to the cause of God, rear this building to his name, designed for the double purpose of a house of worship and an institution of learning. The first floor will be for sacred devotion, and the two others for the purpose of education. The building to be one hundred and ten feet by eighty, with three floors, and not far from thirty feet between the floors; all to be finished according to the best style of such buildings in our country; the entire expense calculated at not far from one hundred thousand dollars; all, when finished, to stand as a monument of the power of union, of effort, and concert of action.

Next to the worship of our God we esteem the education of our children and of the rising generation; for what is wealth without society, or society without intelligence? And how is intelligence to be obtained? By education. It is that which forms the youthful mind; it is that alone which renders society agreeable, and adds interest and importance to the worship of God. What is religion without intelligence? An empty sound. Intelligence is the root from which all true enjoyments flow. Intelligence is religion; and religion is intelligence, if it is anything. Take intelligence from it, and what is left? A name—a sound, without meaning. If a person desires to be truly pious in the sight of God, he must be purely intelligent. Piety without intelligence is fanaticism, and devotion without understanding is enthusiasm.

The object of our religion is to make us more intelligent than we could be without it; not so much to make us acquainted with what we do see, as with what we do not see. It is designed to evolve the faculties—to enlighten the understanding—and, through this medium, purify the heart. It is calculated to make men better by making them wiser; more useful, by making them more intelligent; not intelligent on some subjects only, but on all subjects on which intelligence can be obtained. And when science fails, revelation supplies its place and unfolds the secrets and mysteries of the unseen world—leads the mind into knowledge of the future existence of men—makes it acquainted with God, its Redeemer, and its associates in the eternal mansions; so that, when science fails and philosophy vanishes away, revelation, more extensive in its operations, begins where they (science and philosophy) end, and feasts the mind with intelligence, pure and holy, from the presence of God,—tells of eternal mansions of immortal glories, of everlasting dominions, of angelic throngs, of heavenly hosts, of flaming seraphs, of crowns of glory, of palms of victory, of the saints' eternal triumph through a glorious resurrection, of songs of everlasting joy; of God, the Father of all; of Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, and the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of righteous Abel.

It not only acquaints us with these eternal things, but it makes known unto us the future history of man, time of the purposes of God, which have to be accomplished before the end of all things comes. It warns and forewarns of the wars, the pestilence, the famines, the earthquakes, and the desolations which are coming on the earth; the rising and falling of the nations, and also the desolations of the earth itself; the falling of the mountains, the rising of the valleys, the melting of the rocks, the purifying of the elements by fire; of the sun's veiling his face, the

aggressions and with patriotic courage to defend their homes and loved ones. The only legitimate criticism that can be

moon's turning to blood, the stars of heaven falling; of the heavens rolling away, as a scroll; of Christ's descending from heaven with a shout of the archangel and the trump of God; and of the wicked's fearing and trembling, of their faces gathering blackness, and of their seeking refuge under the mountains, and of their calling upon the rocks to hide them from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for the great day of his wrath has come, and who shall be able to stand?

All this mass of important intelligence, together with the final end of all thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers, and governments, which nothing else but revelation could make known (for science, with all her powers, could never declare it—neither could philosophy, with all her utmost stretch, reach it), we obtain by our holy religion; for this is her province; it is the theater where she acts; it is the business we have for her; it is to tell us things which nothing else could tell; it is to fill us with that kind of wisdom which cometh down from above, and which alone is obtained by revelation, and by the powers which our holy religion confers, and by nothing else.

In view then of what we have already obtained, and of what there is to be obtained, we have assembled ourselves together in this remote land to prepare for that which is coming on the earth; and we have this day laid the corner stones of this temple of God, and design, with as little delay as possible, to complete it; and to rear up to the name of our God, in this city, Far West, a house which shall be a house of prayer, a house of learning, a house of order, and a house of God, where all the sciences, languages, etc., which are taught in our country, in schools of the highest order, shall be taught; and the object is to have it on a plan accessible to all classes, the poor as well as the rich, that all persons in our midst may have an opportunity to educate their children, both male and female, to any extent they please, so that all the talents in our midst may be called forth, in order that we may avail ourselves of all the means God puts into our hands, and put into the power of all, to deliver themselves from the impositions and frauds which are practicing upon the more illiterate part of the community, by those who have had superior advantages, or as far, at least, as learning can go to obtain this object.

One part of the house shall be set apart for a place of worship, where we shall invoke our God for revelations, when we have gone as far as human skill can carry us, that by revelations, visions, etc., we may fill the vacuum still left, after science and philosophy have done all they can do; so that we may have that understanding and that wisdom which brings salvation, and that knowledge which is unto eternal life. That whether there are wars, or famines, or pestilences, or earthquakes, or distress of nations, or whatever may come according to the purposes of our God, that we may know it beforehand, and be prepared for it, so that none of these things shall overtake us as a thief in the night, and while we are enjoying peace and safety, sudden destruction come upon us. The Savior of the world himself, while he was here with his disciples, said that as it was in the days of Noah, so should it be at the coming of the Son of Man; they were eating and drinking, they were marrying and giving in marriage, and knew not until the flood came and swept them all away; so shall it be at the coming of the Son of Man. And Paul declared to the saints of his day, that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night; that when the people are crying peace

made is that, considering their profession they should have been governed more by the spirit of the gospel and less by

and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, and they shall not escape; and that wicked men and seducers would wax worse and worse, "deceiving and being deceived." "They will," says Peter, "say, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." Such is to be the state of the world, and the most important period in the existence of man's earthly residence.

The description given by Isaiah is tremendous in the extreme: "Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him. The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled: for the Lord hath spoken this word. The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away, the haughty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are desolate: therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left."

The Prophet Malachi, describing the same scene and the same period of calamity, says: "For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch."

The psalmist David, in the majesty of his prophetic power, has left us a warning also, when he says: "The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof. Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people. Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God is judge himself."

Having, then, knowledge of these things, and the voice of God being unto us to meet together, and make a covenant with our God by sacrifice, we have given heed thereunto, and are here this day as witnesses for God, that he has not spoken in vain, neither has he said in vain. But the day and hour of his judgment sleepeth not, neither do they slumber; and whether men believe or do not believe, it alters not the word which God has caused to be spoken, but come it must and come it will, and that to their astonishment, the confusion and the dismay of thousands who believe not; neither will they regard until overtaken by it as a thief in the night, and sudden destruction come upon them, and there be none to deliver. Knowing therefore the terrors of the Lord, we warn our fellow men, not only by precept, but example also, by leaving our former house, to which we were bound by the strongest ties, suffering a sacrifice of the greatest share of our earthly possessions. Many of us in times past were rich; but for Jesus' sake and the command of our God we have become poor; as he (Christ) became poor for our sakes, so in like manner we follow his example, and become poor for his sake.

their natural inclinations. We acknowledge the strength of this criticism, yet as men we can but admire the manhood, patriotism, and heroism that strikes in defense of home and liberty. While we acknowledge, with regret, the weaknesses of our fathers, we hope we shall always honor them for the strength and virtue they displayed in these dark hours when harassed by foes and betrayed by friends.

And as Moses left Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king, and refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, having respect to the recompense of reward, so do we. We choose to suffer affliction with the people of God rather than enjoy the flatteries of the world for a season. It is not because we cannot if we were so disposed enjoy both the honors and flatteries of the world, but we have voluntarily offered them in sacrifice, and the riches of the world also, for a more durable substance. Our God has promised us a reward of eternal inheritance, and we have believed his promise; and though we wade through great tribulations, we are in nothing discouraged, for we know he that has promised is faithful. The promise is sure and the reward is certain. It is because of this that we have taken the spoiling of our goods. Our cheeks have been given to the smiters, and our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitten on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it again and again, until we are wearied of being smitten and tired of being trampled upon. We have proved the world with kindness; we have suffered their abuse without cause, with patience, and have endured without resentment until this day, and still their persecutions and violence do not cease.

But, from this day and this hour we will suffer it no more. We take God and all the holy angels to witness this day that we warn all men, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come on us no more forever; for, from this hour, we will bear it no more: our rights shall no more be trampled on with impunity; the man, or the set of men, who attempts it, does it at the expense of their lives. And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them a war of extermination; for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us; for we will carry the seat of war to their own houses and to their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed. Remember it, then, all men! We will never be the aggressors; we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death.

We claim our own rights, and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs. No man shall be at liberty to come into our streets to threaten us with mobs, for if he does, he shall atone for it before he leaves the place; neither shall he be at liberty to vilify and slander any of us, for suffer it we will not in this place. We therefore take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty this day, as did our fathers; and we pledge this day to one another, our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honors, to be delivered from the persecutions which we have had to endure for the last nine years, or nearly that time. Neither will we indulge any man or set of men in instituting vexatious lawsuits against us, to cheat us out of our rights; if they attempt it, we say woe be unto them! We this day, then, proclaim ourselves free, with a purpose and a determination that never can be broken,—"no, never! no, never!! no, never!!!"—Hunt's Mormon War, pp. 167–180.

On July 8, 1838, the revelation on tithing was received.[6]

According to *Millennial Star* two other revelations were given on the same day; one to William Marks, N. K. Whitney, and Oliver Granger; and one on the filling up of the Quorum of Twelve, naming John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, and Willard Richards to fill the places of William E. McLellin, Lyman Johnson, Luke Johnson, and J. F. Boynton, who had apostatized;[7] but these last two revelations are not found in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

On July 26, 1838, a council composed of the First Presidency, the High Council, and the Bishop's court passed the following resolution:—

"That we use our influence to put a stop to the selling of

[6]In answer to the question, O Lord, show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing?

1. Verily, thus saith the Lord, I require all their surplus property to put into the hands of the bishop of my church of Zion, for the building of mine house, and for the laying the foundation of Zion, and for the priesthood, and for the debts of the presidency of my church; and this shall be the beginning of the tithing of my people; and after that, those who have thus been tithed, shall pay one tenth of all their interest annually; and this shall be a standing law unto them forever, for my holy priesthood, saith the Lord.

2. Verily I say unto you, It shall come to pass that all those who gather unto the land of Zion shall be tithed of their surplus properties, and shall observe this law, or they shall not be found worthy to abide among you. And I say unto you, If my people observe not this law, to keep it holy, and by this law sanctify the land of Zion unto me, that my statutes and my judgments may be kept thereon, that it may be most holy, behold, verily I say unto you, It shall not be a land of Zion unto you; and this shall be an ensample unto all the stakes of Zion. Even so. Amen.

[7]Verily, thus saith the Lord, let a conference be held immediately, let the Twelve be organized, and let men be appointed to supply the place of those who are fallen. Let my servant Thomas remain for a season in the land of Zion, to publish my word. Let the residue continue to preach from that hour, and if they will do this in all lowliness of heart, in meekness and humility, and long-suffering, I, the Lord, give unto them a promise that I will provide for their families, and an effectual door shall be opened for them, from henceforth; and next spring let them depart to go over the great waters, and there promulgate my gospel, the fullness thereof, and bear record of my name. Let them take leave of my saints in the city Far West, on the 26th day of April next, on the building spot of my house, saith the Lord.

Let my servant John Taylor, and also my servant John E. Page, and also my servant Wilford Woodruff, and also my servant Willard Richards, be appointed to fill the places of those who have fallen, and be officially notified of their appointment.

liquors in the city Far West, or in our midst, that our streets may not be filled with drunkenness; and that we use our influence to bring down the price of provisions."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 204.

Selling liquor.

On May 21, Apostles Kimball and Hyde arrived at Kirtland from their mission to England, and in the following July arrived in Far West. On July 29, 1838, they preached in Far West.

Kimball and Hyde arrive.

The third number of the *Elders' Journal* was published, with T. B. Marsh, Editor, about this time. On Sunday, August 5, several were confirmed, among them F. G. Williams, who had been rebaptized.

F. G. Williams rebaptized.

On August 6, at a mass meeting of the citizens, Elder Sidney Rigdon was recommended to the Postmaster General for appointment as postmaster at Far West, in place of W. W. Phelps, resigned. The same day it was resolved to start a weekly newspaper, to be edited by Sidney Rigdon. There was also a petition circulated to locate the county seat at Far West.

There was an election held August 6, 1838, at Gallatin, in Daviess County, at which an attempt was made to prevent the "Mormons" from voting; which resulted in a conflict, and was the beginning of the hostilities which finally resulted in so much suffering and the expulsion of the saints from the State.

Trouble at Gallatin.

Joseph Smith's account is as follows:—

"Some two weeks previous to this, Judge Morin, who lived at Millport, informed John D. Lee and Levi Stewart that it was determined by the mob to prevent the 'Mormons' from voting at the election on the sixth day of August, and thereby elect Colonel William P. Peniston, who led the mob in Clay County. He also advised them to go prepared for an attack, to stand their ground and have their rights.

"The brethren, hoping better things, gave little heed to Judge Morin's friendly counsel, and repaired to the polls at Gallatin, the shire town of Daviess County, without weapons.

"About eleven o'clock a. m. William P. Peniston ascended the head of a barrel and harangued the electors for the purpose of exciting them against the 'Mormons,' saying that the

'Mormon' leaders were a set of horse thieves, liars, counterfeiters, etc.; 'and you know they profess to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc.; and you know that is a damned lie;' that the members of the church were dupes, and not too good to take a false oath on any common occasion; that they would steal, and he did not conceive property safe where they were; that he was opposed to their settling there; and if they suffered the 'Mormons' to vote, the people would soon lose their suffrage; 'and,' said he, addressing the saints, 'I headed a mob to drive you out of Clay County, and would not prevent your being mobbed now:' when Richard (called Dick) Welding, the mob bully, just drunk enough for the occasion, began a discussion with Brother Samuel Brown by saying 'The Mormons were not allowed to vote in Clay County, no more than the damned negroes,' and attempted to strike Brown, who gradually retreated, parrying the blow with his umbrella, while Welding continued to press upon him, calling him a damned liar, etc., and attempting to repeat the blow on Brown.

"Perry Durphy attempted to suppress the difficulty by holding Dick's arm, when five or six of the mobbers seized Durphy and commenced beating him with clubs, boards, etc., and crying, '*Kill him, kill him, God damn him, kill him,*' when a general scuffle commenced with fist and clubs, the mobbers being about ten to one of the saints. Abraham Nelson was knocked down and had his clothes torn off, and while trying to get up was attacked again, when his brother, Hyram Nelson, ran in amongst them and knocked the mobbers down with the butt of his whip. Riley Stewart struck Dick Welding on the head, which brought him to the ground. The mob cried out, 'Dick Welding's dead, by God; who killed Dick?' And they fell upon Riley, knocked him down, kicked him, and hallooed, 'Kill him, God damn him, kill him; shoot him, by God,' and would have killed him, had not John L. Butler sprung in amongst them and knocked them down. During about five minutes it was one continued knockdown, when the mob dispersed to get firearms.

"Very few of the brethren voted. Riley, escaping across the river, had his wounds dressed and returned home.

"Butler called the brethren together and made a speech, saying, 'We are American citizens; our fathers fought for their liberty, and we will maintain the same principles,' etc.; when the authorities of the county came to them and requested them to withdraw, stating that it was a premeditated thing to prevent the 'Mormons' voting.

"The brethren held a council about one fourth of a mile out of town, where they saw mobbing recruits coming in, in small parties, from five and ten to twenty-five in number, armed with clubs, pistols, dirks, knives, and some guns, cursing and swearing.

"The brethren not having arms, thought it wisdom to return to their farms, collect their families, and hide them in a thicket of hazel bush, which they did, and stood sentry around them through the night, while the women and children lay on the ground in the rain.

"Tuesday morning, 7th. A report came to Far West, by way of those not belonging to the church, that at the election at Gallatin yesterday two or three of our brethren were killed by the Missourians, and left upon the ground, and not suffered to be interred; that the brethren were prevented from voting, and a majority of the inhabitants of Daviess County were determined to drive the saints from the county.

"On hearing this report I started for Gallatin to assist the brethren, accompanied by President Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith, and fifteen or twenty others, who were armed for their own protection; and the command was given to George W. Robinson.

"On our way we were joined by the brethren from different parts of the country, some of whom were attacked by the mob, but we all reached Colonel Wight's that night in safety, where we found some of the brethren who had been mobbed at Gallatin, with others, waiting for our counsel. Here we received the cheering intelligence that none of the brethren were killed, although several were badly wounded.

"From the best information about one hundred and fifty Missourians warred against from six to twelve of our brethren, who fought like lions. Several Missourians had their skulls cracked. Blessed be the memory of those few breth-

ren who contended so strenuously for their constitutional rights and religious freedom, against such an overwhelming force of desperadoes.

"Wednesday, 8th. After spending the night in counsel at Colonel Wight's, I rode out with some of the brethren to view the situation of affairs in that region, and, among others, called on Adam Black, justice of the peace and judge elect of Daviess County, who had some time previous sold his farm to Brother Vinson Knight, and received part pay according to aggreement, and afterwards united himself with a band of mobbers to drive the saints from and prevent their settling in Daviess County. On interrogation he confessed what he had done, and in consequence of this violation of his oath as magistrate we asked him to give us some satisfaction so that we might know whether he was our friend or enemy, whether he would administer the law in justice; and politely requested him to sign an agreement of peace. But being jealous, he would not sign it, but said he would write one himself to our satisfaction, and sign it, which he did, as follows:—

"'I, Adam Black, a Justice of the Peace of Davies county, do hereby Sertify to the people, *coled Mormin*, that he is bound to *suport* the Constitution of this State, and of the United State, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will not attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them. This the 8th day of August, 1838.

"'Adam Black, J. P.'

"Hoping he would abide his own decision and support the law, we left him in peace, and returned to Colonel Wight's at Adam-ondi-ahman.

"In the evening some of the citizens from Millport called on us, and we agreed to meet some of the principal men of the county in council at Adam-ondi-ahman the next day at twelve o'clock. . . .

"The committee assembled at Adam-ondi-ahman at twelve, according to previous appointment; viz., on the part of citizens, Joseph Morin, senator elect; John Williams, representative elect; James B. Turner, clerk of the circuit court,

and others; on the part of the saints, Lyman Wight, Vinson Knight, John Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and others. At this meeting both parties entered into a covenant of peace, to preserve each other's rights, and stand in their defense; that if men should do wrong, neither party should uphold them or endeavor to screen them from justice, but deliver up all offenders to be dealt with according to law and justice. The assembly dispersed on these friendly terms, myself and friends returning to Far West, where we arrived about midnight and found all quiet. . . .

"The spirit of mobocracy continued to stalk abroad, notwithstanding all our treaties of peace, as will be seen by the following affidavit:—

" 'State of Missouri, Ray County.

" 'Personally appeared before me, the undersigned, judge of the fifth judicial circuit, William P. Peniston, and makes oath that he has good reason to believe, and that he verily does believe, that there is now collected and embodied in the county of Daviess, a large body of armed men, whose movements and conduct are of a highly insurrectionary and unlawful character; that they consist of about five hundred men, and that they, or a part of them, to the number of one hundred and twenty, have committed violence against Adam Black, by surrounding his house and taking him in a violent manner, and subjecting him to great indignities, by forcing him under threats of immediate death to sign a paper writing of a very disgraceful character, and by threatening to do the same to all the old settlers and citizens of Daviess County; and that they have, as a collected and armed body, threatened to put to instant death this affiant on sight; and that he verily believes they will accomplish that act without they are prevented; and also they have threatened the same to William Bowman and others; and this affiant states that he verily believes all the above facts to be true, and that the body of men now assembled do intend to commit great violence to many of the citizens of Daviess County, and that they have already done so to Adam Black; and this affiant verily believes, from information of others, that Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight are the leaders of this body of armed men,

and the names of others thus combined are not certainly known to this affiant; and he further states the fact to be that it is his opinion, and he verily believes, that it is the object of this body of armed men to take vengeance for some injuries, or imaginary injuries, done to some of their friends, and to intimidate and drive from the county all the old citizens, and possess themselves of their lands, or to force such as do not leave to come into their measures and submit to their dictation.

"'WILLIAM P. PENISTON.

"'Sworn to and subscribed before me the undersigned judge as aforesaid, this 10th day of August, 1838.

"'AUSTIN A. KING.'

"The above was also sworn to by William Bowman, Wilson McKinney, and John Netherton. So it is that when men's hearts become so hard and corrupt as to glory in devising, robbing, plundering, mobbing, and murdering innocent men, women, and children by wholesale, they will more readily swear to lies than speak the truth.

"At this time some of the brethren had removed with their families from the vicinity of Gallatin, to Diahman and Far West, for safety.

"Saturday, 11th. This morning I left Far West with my council and Elder Almon W. Babbitt, to visit the brethren on the forks of Grand River, who had come from Canada with Elder Babbitt, and settled at that place contrary to counsel.

"In the afternoon, after my departure, a committee from Ray County arrived at Far West, to inquire into the proceedings of our society in going armed into Daviess County, complaint having been entered in Ray County by Adam Black, William P. Peniston, and others. The committee from Ray requested an interview with a committee of Caldwell, and a general meeting was called at the city hall at six in the evening, when it was stated that they were assembled to take into consideration the doings of the citizens of Ray County, wherein they have accused the 'Mormons' of this place of breaking the peace, in defending their rights and

those of their brethren in the county of Daviess; and the meeting organized by appointing Bishop E. Partridge chairman and George W. Robinson clerk.

" 'Resolved 1st. That a committee of seven be appointed to confer with the committee from Ray.

" 'Resolved 2d. That this committee with their secretary be authorized to answer such questions as may be offered by the committee from Ray, and as are named in the document presented this meeting, purporting to be the preamble and resolutions of the citizens of Ray.

" 'Resolved 3d. That whereas the document referred to has no date or signature, our committee judge of the fact, and act accordingly.

" 'Resolved 4th. That our committee report their proceedings to this meeting as soon as possible.

" 'EDWARD PARTRIDGE, Chairman.
" 'GEO. W. ROBINSON, Clerk.'

. . . "Sunday, 12th. I continued with the brethren at the forks of Grand River, offering such counsel as their situation required. . . .

"Monday, 13th. I returned with my council to Far West. We were chased by some evil designing men, ten or twelve miles, but we eluded their grasp. When within about eight miles of home we met some brethren, who had come to inform us that a writ had been issued by Judge King for my arrest and that of Lyman Wight, for attempting to defend our rights against the mob. . . .

"Thursday, 16th, I spent principally at home.

"The sheriff of Daviess, accompanied by Judge Morin, called and notified me that he had a writ for to take me to Daviess County, on trial, for visiting that county on the seventh instant.

"It had been currently reported that I would not be apprehended by legal process, and that I would not submit to the laws of the land; but I told the sheriff that I calculated always to submit to the laws of our country, but I wished to be tried in my own county, as the citizens of Daviess County were highly exasperated at me, and that the laws of the country gave me this privilege. Upon hearing this the

sheriff declined serving the writ, and said he would go to Richmond and see Judge King on the subject. I told him I would remain at home until his return.

"The sheriff returned from Richmond and found me at home (where I had remained during his absence), and informed me very gravely that I was out of his jurisdiction, and that he could not act in Caldwell, and retired."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 222, 229-231.

Of these events Parley P. Pratt writes:—

"Soon after these things the war clouds began again to lower with dark and threatening aspect. The rebellious party in the counties around had long watched our increasing power and prosperity with greedy and avaricious eyes, and they had already boasted that as soon as we had made some fine improvements and a plentiful crop they would drive us from the State and again enrich themselves with the spoils. Accordingly at an election held in Daviess County the robbers undertook to drive our people from the poll box, and threatened to kill whoever should attempt to vote.

"But some were determined to enjoy their right or die; they therefore went forward to vote, but were seized by the opposing party and attacked, and thus a fight commenced. But some of our people knocked down several of the robbers, and thus cleared the ground and maintained their rights, though vastly unequal in numbers. The news of this affair soon spread far and wide, and caused the people to rally, some for liberty and some to support the robbers in their daring outrages. About one hundred and fifty of our people went the next day to the residence of the leaders in this outrage, and soon an agreement was signed for peace. But this was of short duration, for the conspirators were stirred up throughout the whole State, being alarmed for fear the Mormons, as they called them, should become so formidable as to maintain their rights and liberties, insomuch that they could no more drive and plunder them. About this time meetings were held by the robbers in Carroll, Saline, and other counties, in which they openly declared their treasonable and murderous intentions of driving the citizens who belonged to our society from their counties, and

if possible from the State. Resolutions to this effect were published in the journals of upper Missouri, and this without a single remark of disapprobation."—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 58, 59.

"The History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri," has the following:—

"At the August election, 1838, a riot occurred at Gallatin between the Mormons and the Gentiles. The latter would not allow the Mormons to vote, and it is admitted were the aggressors. Two Gentiles were killed and half a dozen more wounded. Both parties then armed to defend themselves, and a sort of guerrilla warfare was kept up in the county for some weeks. The people of Daviess and Livingston petitioned Gov. Boggs to remove the Mormons from the State.

"Early in September a number of the citizens of Daviess assembled at Millport, near Adam-ondi-ahman, and began a raid on the Mormons. According to the journal of Hyrum Smith, their conduct was outrageous. It says the Gentiles 'took away our hogs and cattle, threatened us with extermination or utter extinction, saying that they had a cannon, and that there should be no compromise only at its mouth. They frequently took our men, women, and children prisoners, whipping them and lacerating their bodies with hickory withes, and tying some of them to trees and leaving them in most uncomfortable positions without food and water for two or three days.' Much worse offenses were also charged.

"Down in Ray County, along the northern border, the Gentile settlers were (or pretended to be) apprehensive of forays upon them from the Mormons in Caldwell. Captain Samuel Bogart went to Major General D. R. Atchison, at Liberty, who was then in command of this military division, and presented a petition to be allowed to form a company to 'clean out' the Mormons if they should invade Ray County territory, and to patrol the country along the northern border of Ray and keep watch and ward against the 'Joe Smithites.'

"The Mormons of Daviess dispatched messengers to General Atchison and to Judge Austin A. King, at Richmond,

then the judge of this circuit, demanding assistance. General Atchison returned with the messengers, went immediately to Diahman, and from thence to Millport, and found the facts substantially true as they had been reported to him—that the Gentile citizens of Daviess County, to the number of two hundred and fifty or three hundred, were assembled in a hostile attitude and threatening the utter extermination of the Mormons. He also found that the Mormons had settled in the county with the full permission of the resident citizens at the time.

"General Atchison hastily returned to Clay and ordered out certain detachments of the militia of his division to proceed to Daviess County and protect the Mormons and preserve the peace generally. Perhaps five hundred troops marched to Diahman. Among these were some companies from Carroll and Saline Counties, who had marched up Grand River, camping the first night out in Daviess near the old blockhouse on Splawn's ridge, in the central part of Daviess, east of Gallatin, near Millport, and the next night at Diahman. Though the troops were sent out to protect the Mormons, they were heartily opposed to them and in sympathy with their enemies, and had matters come to a fight would most certainly have taken sides with the latter. General Atchison, seeing this, determined to evacuate the country as soon as a fair semblance of peace could be observed. He remained in camp a few days near Diahman, and then marched his troops away, fearing every hour that they would unite with those he had come to put down.

"Even before the militia had disbanded or left Daviess County, the Gentiles declared and began open warfare against the Mormons, firing upon them whenever they met them, burning a number of their houses, and taking possession of their horses, and driving off their cattle. The Mormons soon retaliated. 'The prophet,' Joseph Smith, sent them from Far West a reinforcement of fifty men under Captain Seymour Brunson (or Brownson). Colonel Lyman Wight called out every able-bodied Mormon man or boy capable of carrying and handling a gun."—Pp. 126, 127.

Thus was inaugurated what is known as the "Mormon

War." By both "Mormon" and "Gentile" writers it is admitted that the Missourians were the aggressors. Whether the "Mormons" were justified in resisting or not we leave the reader to judge.

CHAPTER 10.

1838.

SEVENTIES MOVE IN A BODY—THEIR JOURNEY—D. C. SMITH AND COMPANY—SEVENTY'S CAMP—COMPANY UNDER J. E. PAGE.

AT Kirtland the year began, as we have seen, with dark and gloomy prospects. After the departure of Joseph Smith we have but meager accounts of what was going on there, until the Seventies took measures to move in a body to Missouri. Soon afterward another company left Norton, Ohio.

Seventies move in a body.

Of these two companies Joseph Smith writes:—

"The Seventies assembled in the Lord's house in Kirtland on the sixth of March to devise the best means of removing their quorum to Missouri, according to the revelations; and on the tenth it was made manifest, by vision and prophecy, that they should go up in a camp, pitching their tents by the way.

"On the 13th they adopted a constitution and laws to govern them on their journey, which were soon signed by one hundred and seventy-five of the brethren.

"The privilege was given for anyone to go who did not belong to the Seventies, provided they would abide the constitution; and all the faithful who could improved the opportunity, for fearful sights and great signs were shown forth in and around Kirtland, clearly manifesting to the honest heart that God was not unmindful of his word, and that he would bring upon the place those judgments he had declared by his servants.

"Elders James Foster, Zerah Pulsipher, Joseph Young, Henry Herriman, Josiah Butterfield, Benjamin Wilber, and Elias Smith were commissioners to lead the camp, which was divided into companies of tens, with a captain over each.

Elias Smith was chosen clerk and historian, and Jonathan H. Hale treasurer.

"On the 5th of July they met about a quarter of a mile south of the Lord's house and pitched their tents in form of a hollow square.

"On the 6th, at noon, they struck their tents and began to move toward the south, and in thirty minutes the whole camp was under motion, consisting of five hundred and fifteen souls—two hundred and forty-nine males, two hundred and sixty-six females, twenty-seven tents, fifty-nine wagons, ninety-seven horses, twenty-two oxen, sixty-nine cows, and one bull. Jonathan Dunham was engineer. The camp traveled to Chester, seven miles, the first day, and pitched their tents in the form of a hollow square formed by their wagons.

Their journey.

"This day I received a letter from Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, dated at Kirtland, Ohio, expressive of their good feelings, firmness in the faith, prosperity, etc. Also another letter from my brother, as follows:—

"'Nine miles from Terre Haute, Indiana.

"'*Brother Joseph:*—I sit down to inform you of our situation at the present time. I started from Norton, Ohio, the 7th of May, in company with Father, William, Jenkins Salisbury, William McClary, and Lewis Robbins, and families, also Sister Singly. We started with fifteen horses, seven wagons, and two cows. We have left two horses by the way sick, and a third horse (as it were our dependence) was taken same last evening, and is not able to travel, and we have stopped to doctor him. We were disappointed on every hand before we started in getting money. We got no assistance whatever, only as we have taken in Sister Singly, and she has assisted us as far as her means extended. We had when we started $75.00 in money. We sold the two cows for $13.50 per cow. We have sold of your goods to the amount of $45.74, and now we have only $25.00 to carry twenty-eight souls and thirteen horses five hundred miles.

D. C. Smith and company.

"'We have lived very close and camped out at night, notwithstanding the rain and cold, and my babe only two weeks

old when we started. Agnes is very feeble; Father and Mother are not well and very much fatigued; Mother has a severe cold, and in fact it is nothing but the prayer of faith and the power of God that will sustain them and bring them through. Our courage is good, and I think we shall be brought through. I leave it with you and Hyrum to devise some way to assist us to some more expense money. We have unaccountable bad roads, had our horses down in the mud, and broke one wagon tongue and thills, and broke down the carriage twice; and yet we are all alive and encamped on a dry place for almost the first time. Poverty is a heavy load, but we are all obliged to welter under it.

"'It is now dark and I close. May the Lord bless you all and bring us together, is my prayer. Amen. All the arrangements that Brother Hyrum left for getting money failed; they did not gain us one cent.

"'DON C. SMITH.'

"Saturday, 7th. The Kirtland camp moved forward to Aurora, thirteen miles, and encamped for the Sabbath.

"Sunday, 8th. There was some sickness in the camp. They held a public meeting, and the leaders informed them that the destroyer was in their midst, and some would fall victims unless they adhered strictly to the covenant they had made, laid aside all covetousness, and lived by every word that proceeded out of the mouth of the Lord. They were threatened this night with tar and feathers from the mob of the place, and were obliged to keep a close watch to keep their horses from being stolen by the mob, who threw a club and hit Elder Tyler on the breast."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 182, 183.

Seventies' camp.

On July 10, while enroute, the Seventies' Camp adopted rules for the government of the camp.[1]

[1] 1. The engineer shall receive advice from the counselors concerning his duties.

2. At four o'clock a. m. the horn shall blow for rising, and at twenty minutes past four for prayers, at which time each overseer shall see that the inmates of his tent are ready for worship.

3. The head of each division shall keep a roll of all his able-bodied men to stand guard in turn, as called for by the engineer; one half in the former, the other half in the latter part of the night.

On Monday, July 16, while at Mansfield, Ohio, they were met by the sheriff, who produced warrants and arrested Josiah Butterfield, Jonathan Dunham, and Jonathan H. Hale, on charges connected with the failure of the "Kirtland Safety Society" Bank. They were lodged in jail in Mansfield, where they were kept until next day, when the jury failing to find bills against them they were discharged at one o'clock p. m. on the 17th, and overtook the camp the same night.

While in camp on the night of July 22, when about one hundred and eighty miles from Kirtland, they relate having seen a wonderful phenomenon: "Sometime during this night a luminous body, about the size of a cannon ball, came down over the encampment near the ground, then whirled around some forty or fifty times and moved off in a horizontal direction, passing out of sight."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 203.

The company remained in camp the 24th of July, the women washing, while the men cleared seven acres of land, and reaped and bound three acres of wheat, for which they were paid nineteen dollars.

On August 8 they were yet in Ohio, many of them afflicted with diseases. Elders Dunham, Carter, Knight, Pettingill, Brown, and Perry continued all night in "rebuking diseases and foul spirits."

Company under J. E. Page.

Sunday, August 12, the Seventies' Camp having fallen in with another camp from Canada, under charge of John E. Page, held services conjointly with them, when Elder Page addressed them.

On September 9 the camp had reached a point near the west line of Edgar County, Illinois, where on account of means getting scarce it was agreed that some would stop

4. Each company of the camp is entitled to an equal proportion of the milk, whether it owns the cows or not.

5. Thomas Butterfield shall be appointed herdsman, to drive the cows and stock and see that they are taken care of, and call for assistance when needed.

6. That in no case at present shall the camp move more than fifteen miles per day, unless circumstances absolutely require it.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 184.

and seek employment for the winter, but that the Seventies should go on and locate their families in Missouri and be ready to go out and preach the gospel. Nine or ten families therefore obtained places and stopped.

September 14, 1838, the camp passed through Springfield, Illinois. Food was very scarce with them, which resulted in some suffering.[2]

On the 20th they crossed the Mississippi River, at the town of Louisiana.

Joseph writes of the suffering and distress of the camp as follows:—

"Monday, 24th. The camp was called together and the council informed them of their scanty means, and that there had been a delinquency in consecrating their moneys and goods according to the pattern; that the council had hired large sums of money, for which they were bound, and liable to imprisonment in case of failure, and must wait on the brethren for their pay, and these sums had been expended for the benefit of the camp. They were required to bring forward their goods, which they did, and Elders B. Wilber and D. Carter went forward with the commissary's wagon to sell them.

"The camp went on, and passing through Madisonville (where they were assailed with all kinds of bugbear stories about the 'Mormons,' war, etc.), tented on the west side of the north branch of Salt River, on the encampment that Elder John E. Page had left on Saturday with his Canada Camp. The brethren were told that the Governor was just

[2] The camp is sometimes short of food, both for man and beast, and they know what it is to be hungry. Their living for the last one hundred miles has been boiled corn and shaving pudding, which is made of new corn ears shaved upon a jointer or fore plane. It is excellent with milk, butter, or sweetening, and with an occasional mixture of pork, flour, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, etc., makes a comfortable living. The cobs and remaining corn are given to the horses, so that nothing is lost; hence the proverb goes forth in the world, "The Mormons would starve a host of enemies to death, for they will live where everybody else would die."

The camp numbers about two hundred and sixty. There were five hundred and fifteen, but they have been scattered to the four winds; and it is because of selfishness, covetousness, murmurings, and complainings, and not having fulfilled their covenants that they have been thus scattered.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 267.

ahead, with a military force, to stop them, to which they gave no heed."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 295.

On account of rumors concerning the troubles in Far West and Adam-ondi-ahman, the camp was in doubt as to the advisability of going up in a body, some thinking it would be wiser to scatter and go up separately.

Of this Joseph writes:—

"Wednesday, 26th. This morning Elder James Foster, one of the counselors, proposed to the council to stop and break up the camp, on account of existing circumstances; so much excitement, so many moving west, and in large bodies too; it was wisdom for them to go to work, and provide for their families, until the difficulties should be settled, or they heard from Far West. Four of the seven counselors were present and three absent. Elder Young had stopped by the way. A silence prevailed. Shortly it was manifest that it was the desire of the camp collectively to go forward, notwithstanding their deference always to the will of the Lord through the council. Elder McArthur said, in a low tone, that it was his impression that we might go up in righteousness, keeping the commandments, and not be molested. Some others manifested the same, in concurrence with his feelings. Silence again. Here our faith was tried, and here the Lord looked down and beheld us, and lo, a gentleman who was directly from Far West and was returning to the East where he belonged, left his carriage and came among us, although we were a good distance from the road, and he told us that there was no trouble in Far West and Adam-ondi-ahman, but that we might go right along without danger of running into anybody's difficulties; and further, said he, 'The one hundred and ten volunteers are to be discharged this day at twelve o'clock, at Keytsville.' The council replied, 'We believe you, sir, and we thank you for your kindness.' A vote of the camp was called for, whether we should proceed, and instantly all hands were raised towards heaven!

"We pursued our journey, and in crossing a seven mile prairie we stopped in a hollow to bait the teams and herd, and here the volunteers passed us on their homeward bound

passage, according to the man's word. One of the platoon officers said, as he passed us, 'Well, friends, we will let you go this time, but the next time we will give you the Devil up to the handle.' The bugler gave a blast and said, 'You'll soon reach the promised land, don't you hear Gabriel's trump?' "—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 296.

The company from Canada under John E. Page arrived at De Witt during the last week of September, 1838.

The Seventies' Camp arrived at Far West, October 2. On the 3d they left Far West, arriving at their destination—Adam-ondi-ahman—on the 4th. The company under D. C. Smith arrived some time previous to this; the date we have not learned.

CHAPTER 11.

1838.

UNHOLY CRUSADE—AFFIDAVIT OF JOSEPH SMITH—BOUND OVER TO COURT—EXCITEMENT—FIREARMS CAPTURED—TRIAL—THE GOVERNOR PETITIONED—DONIPHAN'S REPORT—ATCHISON'S REPORT—GOVERNOR BOGGS CULPABLE—PARKS AND ATCHISON REPORT—MOB PROCEED AGAINST DE WITT—PETITION THE GOVERNOR—OTHER OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS—DISREPUTABLE ACTS—FORCED TO LEAVE DE WITT—MOB RETURN TO DAVIESS COUNTY.

THE great majority of the church was now in Missouri, where troublesome times awaited them.

As we have seen in a former chapter, that unholy crusade against the church, which has passed into history as "the Mormon war," began in the summer of 1838. We shall not take space to give all the details, but will give the leading events from the pens of participants, so that our readers can judge of the merits of the contention.

Unholy crusade.

Adam Black, justice of the peace, who on August 8 had agreed to do all he could to promote peace in Daviess County, tried to stir up feeling against the church, contrary to his agreement. On August 28 he made the following affidavit:—

"STATE OF MISSOURI, } ss.
"County of Daviess. }

"Before me, William Dryden, one of the justices of the peace of said county, personally came Adam Black, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith; that on or about the 8th day of August, 1838, in the county of Daviess, there came an armed force of men, said to be one hundred and fifty-four, to the best of my information, and surrounded his house and family, and threatened him with instant death if he did not sign a certain instrument of writing, binding himself, as a justice of the peace for said county of Daviess, not to molest the people called Mormons; and threatened the lives of myself and other individuals, and did

say they intended to make every citizen sign such obligation, and further said they intended to have satisfaction for abuse they had received on Monday previous, and they could not submit to the laws: and further saith, that from the best information and his own personal knowledge, that Andrew Ripley, George A. Smith, Ephraim Owens, Harvey Humstead, Hiram Nelson, A. Brown, John L. Butler, Cornelius Lott, John Wood, H. Redfield, Riley Stewart, James Whitaker, Andrew Thor, Amos Tubbs, Dr. Gourze, and Abram Nelson was guilty of aiding and abetting in committing and perpetrating the above offense.

"ADAM BLACK.

"Sworn to and subscribed this the 28th of August, 1838.

"W. DRYDEN,

"Justice of the Peace of the county aforesaid."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 243.

An item of history from Joseph Smith's pen, also his opinion of and determined action in these troubles, will be interesting. He writes:—

"There is great excitement at present among the Missourians, seeking if possible an occasion against us. They are continually chafing us and provoking us to anger, if possible—one sign of threatening after another; but we do not fear them, for the Lord God the Eternal Father is our God, and Jesus the Mediator is our Savior, and in the great I AM is our strength and confidence.

"We have been driven time after time, and that without cause, and smitten again and again, and that without provocation, until we have proved the world with kindness, and the world proved us that we have no designs against any man or set of men; that we injure no man; that we are peaceable with all men, minding our own business, and our business only. We have suffered our rights and our liberties to be taken from us; we have not avenged ourselves of those wrongs; we have appealed to magistrates, to sheriffs, to judges, to Government and to the President of the United States, all in vain; yet we have yielded peaceably to all these things. We have not complained at the great God; we murmured not, but peaceably left all, and retired into the back

country, in the broad and wild prairie, in the barren and desolate plains, and there commenced anew; we made the desolate places to bud and blossom as the rose; and now the fiend-like race are disposed to give us no rest. Their father, the Devil, is hourly calling upon them to be up and doing, and they, like willing and obedient children, need not the second admonition; but in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God we will endure it no longer, if the great God will arm us with courage, with strength and with power, to resist them in their persecutions. We will not act on the offensive, but always on the defensive; our rights and our liberties shall not be taken from us and we peaceably submit to it, as we have done heretofore; but we will avenge ourselves of our enemies, inasmuch as they will not let us alone.

"But to return again to our subject. We found the place for the city, and the brethren were instructed to gather immediately into it, and soon they should be organized according to the laws of God. A more particular history of this city may be expected hereafter, perhaps at its organization and dedication. We found a new route home, saving, I should think, three or four miles. We arrived at Far West about the close of daylight. . . .

"Sunday, 2d. . . . The First Presidency attended meeting as usual in the morning. I tarried at home in the evening to examine the church records, and spent a part of the time in company with a gentleman from Livingston County, who had become considerably excited on account of a large collection of people, as they said, to take Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight for going to one Adam Black's in Daviess County; and as they said, President Smith and Colonel Wight had resisted the officer who had endeavored to take them, etc.; and accordingly these men are assembling to take them, as they say. They are collected from every part of the country to Daviess County. Report says they are collecting from eleven counties, to help take two men who had never resisted the law or officer, neither thought of doing so, and this they knew at the same time, or many of them at least. This looks a little too much like mobocracy;

it foretells some evil intentions. The whole upper Missouri is in an uproar and confusion.

"This evening I sent for General Atchison, of Liberty, Clay County, who is the Major General of this division, to come and counsel with us, and to see if he could not put a stop to this collection of people, and to put a stop to hostilities in Daviess County. I also sent a letter to Judge King containing a petition for him to assist in putting down and scattering the mob, which are collecting at Daviess.

"Monday, 3d. Nothing of importance transpired this day, only reports concerning the collection of a mob in Daviess County, which has been collecting ever since the election in Daviess on the sixth of August last. I was at home most of the day.

"This evening General Atchison arrived in Far West. . . .

"Tuesday, 4th. . . . This day I spent in council with General Atchison. He says he will do all in his power to disperse the mob, etc. We employed him and Doniphan (his partner) as our lawyers and counselors in law. They are considered the first lawyers in upper Missouri.

"President Rigdon and myself commenced this day the study of law, under the instruction of Generals Atchison and Doniphan. They think by diligent application we can be admitted to the bar in twelve months.

"The result of the council was that myself and Colonel Wight volunteer, and be tried by Judge King in Daviess County. Colonel Wight was present, having been previously notified to attend the council. Accordingly Thursday next was appointed for the trial, and word to that amount was sent to Judge King (who had previously agreed to volunteer and try the case) to meet all at Bro. Littlefield's, near the county line in the southern part of Daviess. I was at home in the evening after six o'clock.

"Wednesday, 5th. I gave the following affidavit, that the truth might appear before the public in the matter in controversy.

"'STATE OF MISSOURI, } ss.
"'Caldwell County, }

"'Before me, Elias Higbee, one of the justices of the

county court, within and for the county of Caldwell afore-
Affidavit of Joseph Smith. said, personally came Joseph Smith, Jr., who, being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith: That on the seventh day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, being informed that an affray had taken place in Daviess County, at the election in the town of Gallatin, in which two persons were killed, and one person was badly wounded, and fled to the woods to save his life; all of which were said to be persons belonging to the society of the Church of Latter Day Saints; and further, said informant stated that those persons who committed the outrage would not suffer the bodies of those who had been killed to be taken off the ground and buried.

" 'These reports with others, one of which was that the saints had not the privilege of voting at the polls as other citizens; another was that those opposed to the saints were determined to drive them from Daviess County, and also that they were arming and strengthening their forces and preparing for battle; and that the saints were preparing and making ready to stand in self-defense;—these reports having excited the feelings of the citizens of Far West and vicinity, I was invited by Dr. Avard and some others to go out to Daviess County to the scene of these outrages; they having previously determined to go out and learn the facts concerning said reports.

" 'Accordingly some of the citizens, myself among the number, went out, two, three, and four, in companies, as they got ready. The reports and excitement continued until several of those small companies through the day were induced to follow the first, who were all eager to learn the facts concerning this matter. We arrived in the evening at the house of Lyman Wight, about three miles from Gallatin, the scene of the reported outrages. Here we learned the truth concerning the said affray, which had been considerably exaggerated, yet there had been a serious outrage committed. We there learned that the mob was collected at Millport, to a considerable number; that Adam Black was at their head; and were to attack the saints the next day, at the place we then were, called Adam-ondi-ahman. This re-

port we were still inclined to believe might be true, as this Adam Black, who was said to be their leader, had been but a few months before engaged in endeavoring to drive those of the society who had settled in that vicinity, from the county. This had become notorious from the fact that said Black had personally ordered several of said society to leave the county.

" 'The next morning we dispatched a committee to said Black's to ascertain the truth of these reports, and to know what his intentions were; and as we understood he was a peace officer, we wished to know what we might expect from him. They reported that Mr. Black instead of giving them any assurance of peace, insulted them and gave them no satisfaction. Being desirous of knowing the feelings of Mr. Black for myself, and being in want of good water, and understanding that there was none nearer than Mr. Black's spring, myself with several others mounted our horses and rode up to Mr. Black's fence.

" 'Dr. Avard, with one or two others who had rode ahead, went into Mr. Black's house; myself and some others went to the spring for water. I was shortly after sent for by Mr. Black, and invited into the house, being introduced to Mr. Black by Dr. Avard. Mr. Black wished me to be seated. We then commenced a conversation on the subject of the late difficulties and present excitement. I found Mr. Black quite hostile in his feelings towards the saints; but he assured us he did not belong to the mob, neither would he take any part with them; but said he was bound by his oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the State of Missouri. Deponent then asked him if he would make said statement in writing so as to refute the arguments of those who had affirmed that he (Black) was one of the leaders of the mob. Mr. Black answered in the affirmative. Accordingly he did so, which writing is in possession of the deponent. The deponent further saith that no violence was offered to any individual in his presence or within his knowledge; and that no insulting language was given by either party, except on the part of Mrs. Black, who, while Mr. Black was engaged in making out the above-

named writing (which he made with his own hand), gave to this deponent and others of this society highly insulting language and false accusations, which were calculated in their nature to greatly irritate, if possible, the feelings of the bystanders belonging to said society, in language like this; Being asked by the deponent if she knew anything in the "Mormon" people derogatory to the character of gentlemen, she answered in the negative, but said she did not know but the object of their visit was to steal something from them. After Mr. Black had executed the writing deponent asked Mr. Black if he had any unfriendly feelings towards the deponent, and if he had not treated him genteelly. He answered in the affirmative. Deponent then took leave of said Black and repaired to the house of Lyman Wight. The next day we returned to Far West, and further this deponent saith not.

" 'JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

" 'Sworn to and subscribed, this fifth day of September, A. D. 1838.

" 'ELIAS HIGBEE, J. C. C. C. C.'

"Judge King arrived at Far West on his way to Daviess to meet the proposed trial. General Atchison had gone before Judge King arrived, and the Judge tarried all night. I was at home after six o'clock in the evening. . . .

"Thursday, 6th. . . . At half past seven this morning I started on horseback, accompanied by several brethren, among whom were my brother Hyrum and Judge E. Higbee, to attend my trial at Brother Littlefield's. I thought it not wisdom to make my appearance before the public in that place, in consequence of the many threats made against me, and the high state of excitement. The trial could not proceed on account of the absence of the plaintiff and lack of testimony, and the court adjourned until to-morrow at ten o'clock in the morning, at a Mr. Raglin's, some six or eight miles further south, and within half a mile of the line of Caldwell. Raglin is a regular mob character. We all returned to Far West, where we arrived before dark.

"Friday, 7th. About sunrise I started with my friends, and arrived at Mr. Raglin's at the appointed hour. We did

not know but there would be a disturbance among the mob characters to-day; we accordingly had a company of men placed at the county line, so as to be ready at a minute's warning, if there should be any difficulty at the trial.

"The trial commenced. William P. Peniston, who was the prosecutor, had no witnesses but Adam Black, who contrived to swear a great many things that never had an existence until he swore them, and I presume never entered the heart of any man to conceive; and in fine, I think he swore by the job, and that he was employed so to do by Peniston.

"The witnesses on the part of the defense were Dimick B. Huntington, Gideon Carter, Adam Lightner, and George W. Robinson.

"The Judge bound Colonel Wight and myself over to court in a five hundred dollar bond. There was no proof against us to criminate us, but it is supposed he did it to pacify as much as possible the feelings of the mobbers. The Judge stated afterwards, in the presence of George W. Robinson, that there was nothing proven against us worthy of bonds; but we submitted without murmuring a word, gave the bonds with sufficient securities, and all returned home the same evening.

Bound over to court.

"We found two persons in Daviess at the trial, which gentlemen were sent from Chariton County as a committee to inquire into all this matter, as the mobbers had sent to that place for assistance, they said to take Smith and Wight; but their object was to drive the brethren from the county of Daviess, as was done in Jackson County. They said the people in Chariton did not see proper to send help without knowing for what purpose they were doing it, and this they said was their errand. They accompanied us to Far West to hold a council with us, in order to learn the facts of this great excitement, which is, as it were, turning the world upside down. We arrived home in the evening. . . .

"Saturday, 8th. . . . The Presidency met in council with the committee from Chariton County, together with General Atchison, where a relation was given of the whole matter, the present state of excitement, and the cause of all this

confusion. These gentlemen expressed their fullest satisfaction upon the subject, considering they had been outrageously imposed upon in this matter. They left this afternoon, apparently perfectly satisfied with the interview."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 244–248, 266.

Excitement.

After this there was much excitement and some skirmishing. There were rumors afloat and widely circulated damaging to both parties. It is quite impossible to learn the exact truth of these details.

Firearms captured.

Early in September, upon information that there was a wagonload of firearms being transported from Richmond, Missouri, to the mob in Daviess County, the civil authorities of Far West concluded to intercept them as they passed through Caldwell County; accordingly they issued a writ and intrusted it in the hands of William Allred, who with ten mounted men succeeded in capturing the guns, and three men supposed to be the smugglers, whose names were J. B. Comer, W. L. McHoney, and Allen Miller, and brought prisoners and guns to Far West.

Trial.

The three men were tried on September 12, 1838, when they were held to bail for their appearance at the circuit court; Comer for an attempt to smuggle arms to a mob, the other men as accomplices.

The Governor petitioned.

Both parties petitioned the Governor; the saints asking for protection, and the mob asking that all Mormons be driven from the State.

On September 11, General Atchison ordered the militia to march "immediately to the scene of excitement and insurrection."

Doniphan's report.

The following report of General Doniphan will show how promptly this order was complied with, and also show the respective dispositions manifested by the commanders of the two hostile forces:—

"Headquarters, 1st Brigade, 3d Division Missouri Militia.
"Camp at Grand River, September 15, 1838.

"*Major General David R. Atchison, Commanding 3d Division Missouri Militia; Sir:*—In pursuance of your orders, dated 11th instant, I issued orders to Colonel William A. Dunn,

commanding the 28th regiment, to raise four companies of mounted riflemen, consisting of fifty men each; also to Colonel John Boulware, commanding 70th regiment, to raise two companies of mounted riflemen, consisting each of like number, to start forthwith for service in the counties of Caldwell and Daviess.

"On the same day Colonel Dunn obtained the four companies of volunteers required from the 28th regiment, and on the morning of the 12th I took the command in person, and marched to the line of Caldwell, at which point I ordered the colonels to march the regiments to the timber on Crooked River. I then started for Far West, the county seat of Caldwell, accompanied by my aid alone.

"On arriving at that place, I found Comer, Miller, and McHoney, the prisoners mentioned in your order. I demanded of the guard who had them in confinement to deliver them over to me, which was promptly done. I also found that the guns that had been captured by the sheriff and citizens of Caldwell had been distributed and placed in the hands of the soldiery and scattered over the country; I ordered them to be immediately collected and delivered up to me. I then sent an express to Colonel Dunn to march the regiment by daylight for that place, where he arrived about seven a. m., making forty miles since ten o'clock a. m. on the previous day.

"When my command arrived the guns were delivered up, amounting to forty-two stand; three stand could not be produced, as they had probably gone to Daviess County. I sent these guns under a guard to your command in Ray County, together with the prisoner Comer; the other two being citizens of Daviess, I retained, and brought with me to this county, and released them on parole of honor, as I conceived their detention illegal.

"At eight o'clock a. m. we took up the line of march and proceeded through Millport in Daviess County, thirty-seven miles from our former encampment, and arrived at the camp of the citizens of Daviess and other adjoining counties, which amounted to between two and three hundred, as their commander, Dr. Austin, of Carroll, informed me. Your

order requiring them to disperse, which had been forwarded in advance of my command, by your aid, James M. Hughes, was read to them, and they were required to disperse. They professed that their object for arming and collecting was solely for defense, but they were marching and countermarching guards out; and myself and others who approached the camp were taken to task and required to wait the approach of the sergeant of the guard. I had an interview with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they still continue in arms, marching and countermarching.

"I then proceeded with your aid, J. M. Hughes, and my aid, Benjamin Holliday, to the Mormon encampment commanded by Colonel Wight. We held a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband, and surrender up to me every one of the Mormons accused of crime, and required in return that the hostile forces, collected by the other citizens of the county, should also disband. At the camp commanded by Dr. Austin I demanded the prisoner demanded in your order, who had been released on the evening after my arrival in their vicinity.

"I took up line of march and encamped in the direct road between the two hostile encampments, where I have remained since, within about two and a half miles of Wight's encampment, and sometimes the other camp is nearer, and sometimes farther from me. I intend to occupy this position until your arrival, as I deem it best to preserve peace and prevent an engagement between the parties, and if kept so for a few days they will doubtless disband without coercion. I have the honor to be, yours with respect,

"A. W. Doniphan,
"Brig. General 1st Brigade, 3d Division Missouri Militia."
—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 268, 269.

Subsequently Major General Atchison arrived, and his report to Governor Boggs, the commander in chief, will show his view of the situation:—

"Headquarters 3d Division Missouri Militia,
"Grand River, September 17, 1838.

"*To His Excellency, the Commander in Chief; Sir:*—I arrived

at the county seat of this county, Daviess, on the evening of the 15th instant, with the troops raised from the militia of Ray County, when I was joined by the troops from Clay County under the command of General Doniphan. In the same neighborhood I found from two to three hundred men in arms, principally from the counties of Livingston, Carroll, and Saline. These men were embodied under the pretext of defending the citizens of Daviess County against the Mormons, and were operating under the orders of a Dr. Austin from Carroll County. The citizens of Daviess, or a large portion of them, residing on each side of Grand River, had left their farms and removed their families either to the adjoining counties or collected them together at a place called the Camp Ground. The whole county on the east side of Grand River appears to be deserted, with the exception of a few who are not so timid as their neighbors. The Mormons of Daviess County have also left their farms, and have encamped for safety at a place immediately on the east bank of Grand River, called Adam-ondi-ahman. The numbers are supposed to be about two hundred and fifty men, citizens of Daviess County, and from fifty to one hundred men, citizens of Caldwell County. Both parties have been scouting through the country, and occasionally taking prisoners, and threatening and insulting each other; but as yet no blood has been shed. I have ordered all armed men from adjoining counties to repair to their homes; the Livingston County men and others to the amount of one hundred men, have returned, and there remain now about one hundred and fifty who will, I am in hopes, return in a few days. I have been informed by the Mormons, that all of those who have been charged with a violation of the laws will be in to-day for trial; when that is done the troops under my command will be no longer required in this county, if the citizens of other counties will return to their respective homes. I have proposed to leave two companies of fifty men each in this county, and discharge the remainder of the troops; said two companies will remain for the preservation of order, until peace and confidence are restored. I also inclose to your Excellency the report of General

Atchison's report.

Doniphan, and refer you for particulars to Major Rogers.

"I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

"D. R. Atchison,

"Major General 3d Division Missouri Militia."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 282, 283.

On the 18th Governor Boggs, undoubtedly considering the force under Atchison too small, or considering the General too pacific in his measures, ordered the fourth division, under General S. D. Lucas, to the scene of trouble, there to coöperate with the forces under General Atchison. General Atchison again reported to the Governor as follows:—

"*Sir:*—The troops ordered out for the purpose of putting down the insurrection supposed to exist in the counties of Daviess and Caldwell were discharged on the 20th instant, with the exception of two companies of the Ray militia, now stationed in the county of Daviess, under the command of Brigadier General Parks. It was deemed necessary in the state of excitement in that county that those companies should remain there for a short period longer, say some twenty days, until confidence and tranquility should be restored. All the offenders against the law in that county, against whom process was taken out, were arrested and brought before a court of inquiry, and recognized to appear at the circuit court. Mr. Thomas C. Birch attended to the prosecuting on the part of the State. The citizens of other counties who came in armed to the assistance of the citizens of Daviess County, have dispersed and returned to their respective homes, and the Mormons have also returned to their homes; so that I consider the insurrection, for the present at least, to be at an end. From the best information I can get there are about two hundred and fifty Mormon familes in Daviess County, nearly one half of the population, and the whole of the Mormon forces in Daviess, Caldwell, and the adjoining counties, is estimated at from thirteen to fifteen hundred men, capable of bearing arms. The Mormons of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-ondi-ahman, and are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skillful, and I may add, a desperate man; they appear to be acting on the defensive,

and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the Mormons, and prisoners, were also given up upon demand, with seeming cheerfulness."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 294.

Gov. Boggs culpable.

After all this it seems to us that Governor Boggs was guilty of maliciously fostering the spirit of insurrection, and striving to provoke the Mormons to deeds of violence by sending their old Jackson County enemy, S. D. Lucas, to the scene, at the head of an armed force, when there was no reasonable demand for it. But we leave these facts with the reader.

On September 25 General Parks, who was left in command, wrote the Governor, as follows:—

Parks reports.

"Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called Mormons, before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance they have shown no disposition to resist the laws, or of hostile intentions. There has been so much prejudice and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining, armed and in the field for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities.

"P. S.—Since writing the above, I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the Mormons with powder and lead."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 295.

He also wrote General Atchison on the same date, thus:—

"I am happy to be able to state to you that the deep excitement existing between the parties has in a great degree ceased; and so far I have had no occasion to resort to force in assisting the constables. On to-morrow a committee from Daviess County meets a committee of the Mormons at Adam-ondi-ahman, to propose to them to buy or sell, and I expect to be there.[1]"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 295.

[1] The mob committee met a committee of the brethren, and the brethren entered into an agreement to purchase all the lands and possessions of those who desired to sell and leave Daviess County.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 295.

Mob proceed against De Witt.

The forces dispersed by order of General Atchison in Daviess and Caldwell Counties, or many of them, instead of going quietly to their homes as instructed to do, proceeded to De Witt, Carroll County, and began hostilities against the saints there.

The following petition will show the condition of affairs:—

"De Witt, Carroll County, State of Missouri,
"September 22, 1838.

Petition the Governor.

"*To His Excellency, Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of the State of Missouri:*—Your petitioners, citizens of the county of Carroll, do hereby petition Your Excellency, praying for relief: That whereas, your petitioners have on the 20th instant been sorely aggrieved by being beset by a lawless mob, [of] certain inhabitants of this and other counties, to the injury of the good citizens of this and the adjacent places; that on the aforesaid day came from one hundred to one hundred and fifty armed men, and threatened with force and violence to drive certain peaceable citizens from their homes, in defiance of all law, and threatened then to drive said citizens out of the county, but on deliberation concluded to give them, said citizens, till the first of October next to leave said county; and threatened, if not gone by that time, to exterminate them, without regard to age or sex, and destroy their chattels by throwing them in the river.

"We therefore pray you to take such steps as shall put a stop to all lawless proceeding; and we your petitioners will ever pray, etc.

"Benj. Kendrick.	Smith Humphrey.	Franklin N. Thayer.
"H. G. Sherwood.	John Tilford.	Dudley Thomas.
"John Kendrick.	Wm. P. Lundow.	John Murdock.
"James Valance.	G. M. Hinkle.	Thos. Dehart.
"Albert Loree.	Francis Brown.	Jabez Lake.
"D. Thomas (no Mormon).	H. M. Wallace.	Samuel Lake.
	Asu Manchester.	Wm. Winston.
"Nathan Harrison.	John Clark.	Elizabeth Smith.
"Thos. Hollingshead.	Henry Root.	Asa W. Barnes.
"A. L. Caldwell.	Elijah T. Rogers.	Rufus Allen.
"John Dougherty.	Ezekiel Barnes.	Moses Harris.
"D. H. Barns.	Perry Thayer.	Wm. S. Smith.
"B. B. Bartley.	James Hampton.	Jonathan Harris.
"Robert Hampton.	Wm. J. Hatfield.	Jonathan Hampton.

"Oliver Olney.	George Peacock.	John Thorp.
"Daniel Clark.	H. T. Chipman.	John Proctor.
"David Dixon.	James McGuin.	Benj. Hensley."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 294, 295.

Other official documents.

On Tuesday, October 2, 1838, a mob fired on the saints in De Witt. The following affidavit was sent to General Parks, and was forwarded to General Atchison with the accompanying note:—

"*Dear Sir:*—I received this morning an affidavit from Carroll County. The following is a copy: 'Henry Root, on his oath, states, that on the night of the first of October there was collected in the vicinity of De Witt an armed force, consisting of from thirty to fifty persons, and on the morning of the second of October came into the town of De Witt and fired on the civil inhabitants of that place. Thirteen of said individuals were seen by me in that place, and I believe there is actually an insurrection in that place.

" 'Henry Root.

" 'Subscribed and sworn to this 3d day of October, 1838.

" 'William B. Morton, J. P.'

"In consequence of which information, and belief of an attack being made on said place, I have ordered out the two companies raised by your order, to be held in readiness under the commands of Captains Bogart and Houston, to march for De Witt, in Carroll County, by eight o'clock tomorrow morning, armed and equipped as the law directs, with six days provisions and fifty rounds of powder and ball. I will proceed with these troops in person, leaving Colonel Thompson in command on Grand River. As soon as I reach De Witt I will advise you of the state of affairs more fully. I will use all due precaution in the affair, and deeply regret the necessity of this recourse.

"H. G. Parks,
"Brigadier-General 2d Brigade, 3d Division."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 318.

On the 4th the mob again fired on the citizens of De Witt, and they returned the fire, which furnished an excuse for the too anxious General Lucas to offer his willing services. He wrote the Governor as follows:—

"BOONVILLE, Missouri, October 4, 1838.

"*Dear Sir:*—As we passed down the Missouri River on Monday last, we saw a large force of Mormons at De Witt, in Carroll County, under arms. Their commander, Colonel Hinkle, formerly of Caldwell County, informed me that there were two hundred, and that they were hourly expecting an attack from the citizens of Carroll County, who he said were then encamped only six miles from there, waiting for a reinforcement from Saline County. Hinkle said they had determined to fight. News had just been received at this place, through Dr. Scott, of Fayette, that a fight took place on yesterday, and that several persons were killed. Dr. Scott informed me that he got his information from a gentleman of respectability, who had heard the firing of their guns as he passed down. If a fight has actually taken place, of which I have no doubt, it will create excitement in the whole of upper Missouri, and those base and degraded beings will be exterminated from the face of the earth. If one of the citizens of Carroll should be killed, before five days I believe that there will be from four to five thousand volunteers in the field against the Mormons, and nothing but their blood will satisfy them. It is an unpleasant state of affairs. The remedy I do not pretend to suggest to your Excellency. My troops of the fourth division were only dismissed, subject to further orders, and can be called into the field at an hour's warning.

"SAMUEL D. LUCAS."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 318.

The comment of Joseph Smith on this letter is so appropriate that we give it place:—

"'*Base and degraded beings!*' Who ever heard, before, of high-minded and honorable men condescending to sacrifice their honor by stooping to wage war, without cause or provocation, against 'base and degraded beings.' But General Lucas is ready with his whole division, at an 'hour's warning,' to enter the field of battle on such degrading terms, if his own statement is true. But Lucas knew better. He knew the saints were an innocent, unoffending people, and would not fight, only in self-defense, and why write such a

letter to the Governor to influence his mind? Why not keep truth and justice on your side, poor Lucas? The annals of eternity will unfold to you who are the 'base beings,' and what it will take to 'satisfy' for the shedding of 'Mormon blood.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 318.

Joseph Smith went to De Witt, and the following is his account of the situation:—

"Saturday, 6th. I arrived at De Witt, and found that the accounts of the situation of that place were correct; for it was with much difficulty, and by traveling unfrequented roads, that I was able to get there, all the principal roads being strongly guarded by the mob, who refused all ingress as well as egress. I found my brethren, who were only a handful in comparison to the mob by which they were surrounded, in this situation, and their provisions nearly exhausted and no prospect of obtaining any more. We thought it necessary to send immediately to the Governor to inform him of the circumstances, hoping from the executive to raise the protection which we needed; and which was guaranteed to us in common with other citizens. Several gentlemen of standing and respectability who lived in the immediate vicinity, who were not in any way connected with the Church of Latter Day Saints, who had witnessed the proceedings of our enemies, came forward and made affidavits to the treatment we had received, and concerning our perilous situation; and offered their services to go and present the case to the Governor themselves."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 342.

About the 6th of October General Parks wrote General Atchison concerning affairs at De Witt, as follows:—

"*Sir:*—Immediately after my express to you by Mr. Warder was sent, I proceeded to this place, which I reached yesterday, with two companies of mounted men from Ray. I ordered Colonel Jones to call out three companies from this county to hold themselves in readiness to join me at Carrollton on the 5th instant, which order has not been carried into effect. None of Carroll regiment is with me.

"On arriving in the vicinity of De Witt I found a body of

armed men under the command of Dr. Austin,[2] encamped near De Witt, besieging that place, to the number of two or three hundred, with a piece of artillery ready to attack the town of De Witt. On the other side Hinkle has in that place three or four hundred Mormons to defend it, and says he will die before he is driven from thence.

"On the 4th instant they had a skirmish—fifteen or thirty guns fired on both sides, one man from Saline wounded in the hip.

"The Mormons are at this time too strong, and no attack is expected before Wednesday or Thursday next, at which time Dr. Austin hopes his forces will amount to five hundred men, when he will make a second attempt on the town of De Witt, with small arms and cannon. In this posture of affairs I can do nothing but negotiate between the parties until further aid is sent me.

"I received your friendly letter on the 5th instant, by Mr. Warder, authorizing me to call on General Doniphan, which call I have made on him for five companies from Platte, Clay, and Clinton, with two companies I ordered from Livingston, of which I doubt whether these last will come; if they do, I think I will have a force sufficient to manage these belligerents. Should these troops arrive here in time, I hope to be able to prevent bloodshed. Nothing seems so much in demand here (to hear the Carroll County men talk) as Mormon scalps; as yet they are scarce. I believe Hinkle with the present force and position will beat Austin with five hundred of his troops. The Mormons say they will die before they will be driven out, etc. As yet they have acted on the defensive as far as I can learn. It is my settled opinion the Mormons will have no rest until they leave; whether they will or not, time only can tell.

"H. G. Parks."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 375.

Joseph's account of the surrender of De Witt and the suffering there is as follows:—

"Under the same date, from the camp near De Witt,

[2] The same who led the mob in Daviess County.

eleven bloodthirsty fellows; viz., Congreve Jackson, Larkin H. Woods, Thomas Jackson, Rolla M. Davies, James Jackson, Jr., Johnson Jackson, John L. Tomlin, Sidney S. Woods, George Crigler, W. L. Banks, and Whitfield Dicken, wrote a most inflammatory, lying, and murderous communication to the citizens of Howard County, calling upon them as friends and fellow citizens to come to their immediate rescue, as the 'Mormons' were then firing upon them, and they would have to act on the defensive until they could procure more assistance.

Disreputable acts.

"A. C. Woods, a citizen of Howard County, made a certificate to the same lies, which he gathered in the mob camp; he did not go into De Witt, or take any trouble to learn the truth of what he certified. While the people will lie and the authorities will uphold them, what justice can honest men expect?

"Tuesday, 9th. General Clark wrote the Governor, from Boonville, that the names subscribed to the inclosed paper (as before-stated, 7th instant) are worthy, prudent, and patriotic citizens of Howard County; men who would leave their families and everything dear, and go to a foreign county to seek the blood of innocent men, women, and children! If this constitute 'worth, prudence, and patriotism,' let me be worthless, imprudent, and unpatriotic.

"The messenger, Mr. Caldwell, who had been dispatched to the Governor for assistance, returned, but instead of receiving any aid or even sympathy from his Excellency, we were told that 'the quarrel was between the Mormons and the mob,' and that 'we might fight it out.'

"About this time a mob commanded by Hyrum Standly took Smith Humphrey's goods out of his house, and said Standly set fire to Humphrey's house and burned it before his eyes, and ordered him to leave the place forthwith, which he did by fleeing from De Witt to Caldwell County. The mob had sent to Jackson County and got a cannon, powder, and balls, and bodies of armed men had gathered in to aid them from Ray, Saline, Howard, Livingston, Clinton, Clay, Platte, and other parts of the State, and a man by the name of Jackson from Howard County was appointed their leader.

"The saints were forbid to go out of the town, under pain of death, and were shot at when they attempted to go out to get food, of which they were destitute. As fast as their cattle, horses, or other property got where the mob could get hold of it, it was taken as spoil. By these outrages the brethren were obliged, most of them, to live in wagons or tents. . . .

"General Parks informed us that a greater part of his men under Captain Bogart had mutinied, and that he should be obliged to draw them off from the place, for fear they would join the mob; consequently he could offer us no assistance.

"We had now no hopes whatever of successfully resisting the mob, who kept constantly increasing; our provisions were entirely exhausted, and we being wearied out by continually standing on guard, and watching the movements of our enemies, who during the time I was there fired at us a great many times. Some of the brethren died for the common necessaries of life, and perished from starvation; and for once in my life I had the pain of beholding some of my fellow creatures fall victims to the spirit of persecution, which did then and has since prevailed to such an extent in upper Missouri; men, too, who were virtuous, and against whom no legal process could for one moment be sustained, but who in consequence of their love to God, attachment to his cause, and their determination to keep the faith, were thus brought to an untimely grave.

"In the meantime Henry Root and David Thomas, who had been the sole cause of the settlement being made, solicited the saints to leave the place. Thomas said he had assurances from the mob that if they would leave the place they would not be hurt, and that they would be paid for all losses which they had sustained, and that they had come as mediators to accomplish this object, and that persons should be appointed to set value on the property which they had to leave, and that they should be paid for it. They finally, through necessity, had to comply and leave the place. Accordingly the committee was appointed—Judge Erichson was one of the committee, and

Forced to leave De Witt.

Major Florey, of Rutsville, another; the names of the others not recollected. They appraised the real estate; that was all.

"When the people came to start, their horses, oxen, and cows were gone, many of them, and could not be found; it was known at the time, and the mob boasted of it, that they had killed the oxen and lived on them. A great number of cows, oxen, and horses have never been seen since, which doubtless the mob took and kept, and that was all the brethren ever received of the promised pay for all their losses at De Witt. Many houses belonging to my brethren were burned, their cattle driven away, and a great quantity of their property was destroyed by the mob.

"Seeing no prospect of relief, the Governor having turned a deaf ear to our entreaties, the militia having mutinied, and the greater part of them being ready to join the mob, the brethren came to the conclusion to leave that place and seek a shelter elsewhere; and gathering up as many wagons as could be got ready, which was about seventy, with a remnant of the property they had been able to save from their matchless foes, left De Witt and started for Caldwell on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1838. They traveled that day about twelve miles and encamped in a grove of timber near the road.

"That evening a woman who had some short time before given birth to a child (in consequence of the exposure occasioned by the operations of the mob, and having to move her before her strength would admit), died, and was buried in the grove, without a coffin.

"During our journey we were continually harassed and threatened by the mob, who shot at us several times, whilst several of our brethren died from the fatigue and privations which they had to endure, and we had to inter them by the wayside, without a coffin, and under circumstances the most distressing. We arrived in Caldwell on the twelfth.

"No sooner had the brethren left De Witt than Sashiel Woods called the mob together and made a speech to them, that they must hasten to assist their friends in Daviess County. The land sales, he said, were coming on, and if

they could get the Mormons driven out, they could get all the lands entitled to preëmptions, and that they must hasten to Daviess in order to accomplish their object; that if they would join and drive them out they could get all the lands back again, as well as all the pay they had received for them. He assured the mob that they had nothing to fear from the authorities in so doing, for they had now full proof that the authorities would not assist the Mormons, and that they might as well take their property from them as not. His request was complied with, and accordingly the whole banditti started, taking with them their cannon, for Daviess County.

"In the meantime Cornelius Gillium was busily engaged in raising a mob in Platt and Clinton counties, to aid Woods in his effort to drive peaceable citizens from their homes and take their property.

"On my arrival in Caldwell I was informed by General Doniphan, of Clay County, that a company of mobbers eight hundred strong were marching toward a settlement of our people in Daviess County. He ordered out one of the officers to raise a force and march immediately to what he called Wight's Town, and defend our people from the attacks of the mob, until he should raise the militia in his and the adjoining counties to put them down. A small company of militia, who were on their route to Daviess County, and who had passed through Far West, he ordered back again, stating that they were not to be depended upon, as many of them were disposed to join the mob, and, to use his own expression, were 'damned rotten-hearted.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 375, 376, 394, 395.

The History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties has this to say about the De Witt trouble:—

"Troubles thickened and multiplied. Down in Carroll County the citizens, under Col. W. W. Austin, attempted the expulsion of the six hundred Mormons at De Witt, under Hinkle. At the August election a vote was taken to decide whether or not they should be allowed to remain, and it was practically unanimous that they should not. In time the citizens were reinforced by their neighbors from Ray, Clay,

Jackson, Saline, Howard, and Chariton, and De Witt was regularly besieged for two or three days. Congreve Jackson was elected a brigadier-general commanding the forces. September 21, the Mormons (who in the meantime had been reinforced by a company from Far West, led by Col. Lyman Wight[3]) surrendered and agreed to leave the county. The citizens paid them back the money they had given for the town site,[4] allowing nothing for building or other improvements, and the Mormons, wretched and miserable, and stripped of nearly all their earthly possessions, left for Caldwell County, many families, even women and children, making the journey on foot."—Page 129.

Mob return to Daviess Co.

Thus ended the trouble in Carroll County, but the mob, not satisfied, returned to Daviess County, determined to despoil the Mormons.

[3]This is a mistake. Lyman Wight was not at De Witt.

[4]This is doubtful.

CHAPTER 12.

1838.

QUARTERLY CONFERENCE—MARCH TO ADAM ONDI AHMAN—INFLAMMATORY AFFIDAVITS — MARSH AND HYDE APOSTATIZE — FALSE REPORTS — MOVEMENTS OF THE MOB — PATTEN AND O'BANION KILLED—GOVERNOR'S ORDER — EXTERMINATING ORDER—ATCHISON REVOLTS — PERILOUS SITUATION — DANITES — THE MOB APPROACHING.

ON October 5 and 6 there was a quarterly conference held at Far West. On the last day of this conference Stephen Chase was ordained President of the Elders' Quorum in Far West; and Isaac Laney, Horace Alexander, and Albert Sloan were ordained elders. Samuel Bent and Isaac Higbee were appointed to fill the places of John Murdock and George M. Hinkle in the council, they having removed to De Witt.

Quarterly conference.

Joseph writes concerning the thrilling events following the abandonment of De Witt, as follows:—

"Monday, 15th. The brethren assembled on the public square and formed a company of about one hundred, who took up a line of march for Adam-ondi-ahman; and here let it be distinctly understood that this company were militia of the county of Caldwell, acting under Lieutenant-Colonel Hinkle, agreeable to the order of General Doniphan, and the brethren were very careful in all their movements to act in strict accordance with the constitutional laws of the land.

March to Adam-ondi-ahman.

"The special object of this march was to protect Adam-ondi-ahman and repel the attacks of the mob in Daviess County. Having some property in that county and having a house building there, I went up at the same time. While I was there a number of houses belonging to our people were burned by the mob, who committed many other depredations,

such as driving off horses, sheep, cattle, hogs, etc. A number of those whose houses were burned down as well as those who lived in scattered and lonely situations fled into the town for safety, and for shelter from the inclemency of the weather, as a considerable snowstorm took place on the 17th and 18th. Women and children, some in the most delicate situations, were thus obliged to leave their homes and travel several miles in order to effect their escape. My feelings were such as I cannot describe when I saw them flock into the village, almost entirely destitute of clothes, and only escaping with their lives.

"During this state of affairs General Parks arrived at Daviess County and was at the house of Colonel Lyman Wight on the 18th, when the intelligence was brought that the mob were burning houses; and also when women and children were fleeing for safety, among whom was Agnes M. Smith, wife of my brother, Don Carlos Smith, who was absent on a mission in Tennessee, her house having been plundered and burned by the mob, she having traveled nearly three miles, carrying her two helpless babes, and having had to wade Grand River.

"Colonel Wight, who held a commission in the 59th regiment under his (General Parks') command, asked what was to be done. He told him that he must immediately call out his men and go and put them down. Accordingly a force were immediately raised for the purpose of quelling the mob, and in a short time were on their march, with a determination to drive the mob or die in the attempt; as they could bear such treatment no longer.

"The mob, having learned the orders of General Parks, and likewise being aware of the determination of the oppressed, broke up their encampment and fled. The mob seeing that they could not succeed by force now resorted to stratagem; and after removing their property out of their houses, which were nothing but log cabins, they fired them, and then reported to the authorities of the State that the 'Mormons' were burning and destroying all before them. . . .

"About this time William Morgan, sheriff of Daviess County, Samuel Bogart, Colonel William P. Peniston, Doc-

tor Samuel Venable, Jonathan J. Dryden, James Stone, and Thomas J. Martin, made communications or affidavits of the most inflammatory kind, charging upon the 'Mormons' those depredations which had been committed by the mob, endeavoring thereby to raise the anger of those in authority, rally a sufficient force around their standard, and produce a total overthrow, massacre, or banishment of the 'Mormons' from the State. These and their associates were the ones who fired their own houses and then fled the county, crying 'fire and murder.'

Inflammatory affidavits.

"It was reported in Far West to-day that Orson Hyde had left that place the night previous, leaving a letter for one of the brethren which would develop the secret.

"Monday, 22d. On the retreat of the mob from Daviess I returned to Caldwell with a company of the brethren, and arrived at Far West about seven in the evening, where I had hoped to enjoy some respite from our enemies, at least for a short time; but upon my arrival there I was informed that a mob had commenced hostilities on the borders of that county, adjoining to Ray County, and that they had taken some of our brethren prisoners, burned some houses, and had committed depredations on the peaceable inhabitants.

"Tuesday, 23d. News came to Far West this morning that the brethren had found the cannon which the mob brought from Independence, buried in the earth, and had secured it by order of General Parks. The word of the Lord was given several months since for the saints to gather into the cities, but they have been slow to obey until the judgments were upon them, and now they are gathering by flight and haste, leaving all their effects, and are glad to get off at that. The city of Far West is literally crowded, and the brethren are gathering from all quarters.

"Fourteen citizens of Ray wrote the Governor an inflammatory epistle, one of which was Mr. Hudgins, postmaster; and Thomas C. Burch, of Richmond, wrote a similar communication. Also the citizens of Ray, in public meeting, appealed to the Governor of the State to give the people of upper Missouri protection from this fearful body of 'thieves and robbers,' when the saints were all minding their own

business, only as they were driven from it by those who were crying 'thieves and robbers.'

"The mail came in this evening, but not a single letter to anybody, from which it is evident there is no deposit sacred to those murderers who are infesting the country and trying to destroy the saints.

"Wednesday, 24th. Austin A. King and Adam Black renewed their inflammatory communications to the Governor, as did other citizens of Richmond; viz., C. R. Morehead, William Thornton, and Jacob Gudgel, who manifested no scruples at any falsehood or exaggeration to raise the Governor's anger against us.

"Thomas B. Marsh, formerly President of the Twelve, having apostatized, repaired to Richmond and made affidavit before Henry Jacobs, justice of the peace, to all the vilest calumnies, aspersions, lies, and slanders, towards myself and the church that his wicked heart could invent. He had been lifted up in pride by his exaltations and the revelations of heaven concerning him, until he was ready to be overthrown by the first adverse wind that should cross his track, and now he has fallen, lied and sworn to it, and is ready to take the lives of his best friends. Let all men take warning by him, and learn that he who exalteth himself God will abase.

Marsh and Hyde apostatize.

"Orson Hyde was also at Richmond, and testified to most of Marsh's statements.

"The following letter being a fair specimen of the truth and honesty of a multitude of others which I shall notice, I give it in full:—

"'CARROLLTOWN, Missouri, October 24, 1838.

"'*Sir:*—We were informed, last night, by an express from Ray County, that Captain Bogart and all his company, amounting to between fifty and sixty men, were massacred by the Mormons at Buncombe, twelve miles north of Richmond, except three. This statement you may rely on as being true, and last night they expected Richmond to be laid in ashes this morning. We could distinctly hear cannon, and we know the Mormons had one in their possession. Richmond is about twenty-five miles west of

False reports.

this place, on a straight line. We know not the hour or minute we will be laid in ashes—our country is ruined—for God's sake give us assistance as quick as possible.

"'Yours, etc.,

"'SASHIEL WOODS.
"'JOSEPH DICKSON.'

"These mobbers must have had very acute ears to hear cannon (a six-pounder) thirty-seven miles. So much for the lies of a priest of this world. Now for the truth of the case. This day about noon, Captain Bogart with some thirty or forty men called on Brother Thoret Parsons, where he was living, at the head of the east branch of Log Creek, and warned him to be gone before next day at ten in the morning, declaring also that he would give Far West thunder and lightning before next day at noon if he had good luck in meeting Neil Gillium, who would camp about six miles west of Far West that night, and that he should camp on Crooked Creek, and departed towards Crooked Creek.

Movements of the mob.

"Brother Parsons dispatched a messenger with this news to Far West, and followed after Bogart to watch his movements. Brothers Joseph Holbrook and —— Judith, who went out this morning to watch the movements of the enemy, saw eight armed mobbers call at the house of Brother Pinkham, where they took three prisoners (Nathan Pinkham, Brothers William Seely, and Addison Green) and four horses, arms, etc., and departed, threatening Father Pinkham if he did not leave the State immediately they 'would have his damned old scalp;' and having learned of Bogart's movements, returned to Far West near midnight and reported their proceedings and those of the mob.

"On hearing the report, Judge Higbee, the first judge of the county, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Hinkle, the highest officer in command in Far West, to send out a company to disperse the mob and retake their prisoners, whom, it was reported, they intended to murder that night. The trumpet sounded and the brethren were assembled on the public square about midnight, when the facts were stated, and about seventy-five volunteered to obey the Judge's order,

under command of David W. Patten, who immediately commenced their march on horseback, hoping to surprise and scatter the camp, retake the prisoners, and prevent the attack threatened upon Far West without the loss of blood.

"Thursday, 25th. Fifteen of the company were detached from the main body, while sixty continued their march till they arrived near the ford of Crooked River (or Creek), where they dismounted, tied their horses, and leaving four or five men to guard them, proceeded towards the ford, not knowing the location of the encampment. It was just at the dawning of light in the east when they were marching quietly along the road, and near the top of the hill which descends to the river, when the report of a gun was heard, and young O'Banion reeled out of the ranks and fell mortally wounded. Thus the work of death commenced, when Captain Patten ordered a charge and rushed down the hill on a fast trot, and when within about fifty yards of the camp formed a line. The mob formed a line under the bank of the river, below their tents. It was yet so dark that little could be seen by looking at the west, while the mob, looking towards the dawning light, could see Patten and his men, when they fired a broadside, and three or four of the brethren fell. Captain Patten ordered the fire returned, which was instantly obeyed, to great disadvantage in the darkness which yet continued. The fire was repeated by the mob, and returned by Captain Patten's company, and gave the watchword, 'God and liberty,' when Captain Patten ordered a charge, which was instantly obeyed. The parties immediately came in contact, with their swords, and the mob were soon put to flight, crossing the river at the ford and such places as they could get a chance. In the pursuit one of the mob fled from behind a tree, wheeled, and shot Captain Patten, who instantly fell mortally wounded, having received a large ball in his bowels.

Patten and O'Banion killed.

"The ground was soon cleared, and the brethren gathered up a wagon or two and making beds therein of tents, etc., took their wounded and retreated towards Far West. Three brethren were wounded in the bowels, one in the neck, one

in the shoulder, one through the hips, one through both thighs, one in the arms, all by musket shot. One had his arm broken by a sword. Brother Gideon Carter was shot in the head and left dead on the ground, so defaced that the brethren did not know him. Bogart reported that he had lost one man. The three prisoners were released and returned with the brethren to Far West. Captain Patten was carried some of the way in a litter, but it caused so much distress he begged to be left, and was carried into Brother Winchester's, three miles from the city, where he died that night. O'Banion died soon after, and Brother Carter's body was also brought from Crooked River, when it was discovered who he was.

"I went with my Brother Hyrum and Amasa Lyman to meet the brethren on their return, near Log Creek, where I saw Captain Patten in a most distressing condition. His wound was incurable.

"Brother David W. Patten was a very worthy man, beloved by all good men who knew him. He was one of the Twelve Apostles, and died as he lived, a man of God and strong in the faith of a glorious resurrection in a world where mobs will have no power or place. One of his last expressions to his wife was, 'Whatever you do else, O, do not deny the faith.'

"How different his fate from that of the apostate, Thomas B. Marsh, who this day vented all the lying spleen and malice of his heart towards the work of God, in a letter to Brother and Sister Abbot, to which was annexed an addenda by Orson Hyde."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 395, 405–408.

On October 26, 1838, the following order was issued by Governor Boggs:—

"Friday, Headquarters of the Militia,
"City of Jefferson, Oct. 26, 1838.

"General John B. Clark, 1st Division, Missouri Militia.

Governor's order.

"*Sir:*—Application has been made to the Commander in Chief, by the citizens of Daviess County, in this State, for protection and to be restored to their homes and property, with intelligence that the Mormons with an armed force have expelled the inhabitants of that county

from their homes, have pillaged and burnt their dwellings, driven off their stock, and were destroying their crops; that they (the Mormons) have burnt to ashes the towns of Gallatin and Millport in said county; the former being the county seat of said county, and including the clerk's office and all the public records of the county, and that there is not now a civil officer within said county. The Commander in Chief therefore orders, that there be raised, from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 12th divisions of the militia of this State, four hundred men each, to be mounted and armed as infantry or riflemen, each man to furnish himself with at least fifty rounds of ammunition and at least fifteen days' provisions. The troops from the 1st, 5th, 6th, and 12th will rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, on Saturday, the 3d day of next month (November), at which point they will receive further instructions as to their line of march. You will therefore cause to be raised the quota of men required of your division (four hundred men), without delay, either by volunteer or drafts, and rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, on Saturday, the 3d day of next month (November), and there join the troops from the 5th, 6th, and 12th divisions. The troops from the 4th division will join you at Richmond, in Ray County. You will cause the troops raised in your division to be formed into companies, according to law, and placed under officers already in commission. If volunteer companies are raised they shall elect their own officers. The preference should always be given to volunteer companies already organized and commissioned. You will also detail the necessary field and staff officers. For the convenience of transporting the camp equipage, provisions, and hospital stores for the troops under your command, you are authorized to employ two or three baggage wagons.

"By order of the Commander in Chief,

"B. M. LISLE, Adj.-General."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 445.

On the following day the famous "exterminating order" was issued, which is as follows:—

"Headquarters Militia, City of JEFFERSON, Oct. 27, 1838.

"*Sir:*—Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to cause four hundred mounted men to be raised within your division, I have received by Amos Rees, Esq., and Wiley E. Williams, Esq., one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and *must be exterminated* or driven from the State, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major-General Wallock, of Marion County, to raise five hundred men, and to march them to the northern part of Daviess, and there to unite with General Doniphan, of Clay, who has been ordered with five hundred men to proceed to the same point, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express; you can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding, as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier-General Parks, of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred men of his brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command.

Exterminating order.

"L. W. BOGGS,
"Governor and Commander in Chief.

"To General Clark."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 446.

This was just what such men as Generals Clark, Lucas, and the lawless element of upper Missouri desired, and they proceeded to satisfy their bloodthirsty inclinations. General Atchison, however, revolted at this inhuman order.

Atchison revolts.

The author of the "History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties," Missouri, writes:—

"General Doniphan states to the writer hereof that at this time he also received an order and a letter from Governor Boggs. The order, General Doniphan says, commanded him to obey the orders of Gen. John B. Clark, when he should arrive and assume command, as he had been ordered to do, and the letter was very denunciatory of the Mormons, and declared, among other things, that 'they must all be driven from the State or exterminated.'

"It is asserted that General Atchison's orders or directions from the Governor were to the same purport as Doniphan's letter from the Governor, and that thereupon General Atchison withdrew from the military force, declaring that he would be no party to the enforcement of such inhuman commands. On the other hand, it is asserted that the Governor's orders to Atchison relieved him from command, directing him to turn over his command to General Lucas. At any rate, General Atchison left the militia at Log Creek on receipt of the Governor's orders and returned to his home at Liberty, and General Lucas was left in sole command."—P. 133.

This information, coming from General Doniphan, is without doubt correct.

Perilous situation.

The saints were now at the mercy of a mob under command of an officer who had himself been one of the leaders of the mob in Jackson County and who was sustained by an Executive who had aided the mob in robbing them. Nothing was left but to complete the work of destruction.

As the news reached Far West that the Governor had ordered them expelled or exterminated, all hopes of peace fled. If when they thought of their pleasant homes and fruitful farms, made beautiful through sacrifice and toil—if when they thought of wives and children soon to be laid low by the assassin's hand or driven out destitute in the face of the winter's storm, they felt resentful and desperate, can we be surprised? If when they felt that all appeals to the courts and to the Executive had failed to give them relief,

and they saw a horde of marauders marching upon them by the Governor's order; they resolved to die in defense of homes and loved ones, can we blame them? It is just what brave men would have done and what brave men will now excuse them for doing.

Danites.

It was some time before this that the order known as "Danites" was organized. This, as will be seen, was not done with the knowledge of the church authorities, nor by their order. It was a secret organization, which was severely condemned by the leaders of the church as soon as it became known to them. The chief instigator was not only reprimanded, but he was expelled from the church, and it was supposed the movement was effectually killed; but it was in after years revived by wicked and evil designing men, and has since been the cause of much evil. Joseph Smith in his history as published in the *Millennial Star* speaks very explicitly regarding this movement and the evils of it. He writes:—

"Lilburn W. Boggs had become so hardened by mobbing the saints in Jackson County, and his conscience so 'seared with a hot iron,' that he was considered a fit subject for the gubernatorial chair; and it was probably his hatred to truth and the 'Mormons,' and his bloodthirsty, murderous disposition, that raised him to the station he occupied. His *exterminating order* of the twenty-seventh aroused every spirit in the State of the like stamp of his own; and the Missouri mobocrats were flocking to the standard of General Clark from almost every quarter.

"Clark, although not the ranking officer, was selected by Governor Boggs as the most fit instrument to carry out his murderous designs; for bad as they were in Missouri, very few commanding officers were yet sufficiently hardened to go all lengths with Boggs in this contemplated inhuman butchery, and expulsion from one of the should-be free and independent States of the Republic of North America, where the Constitution declares that '*every man shall have the privilege of worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience;*' and this was all the offense the saints had been guilty of.

"And here I would state, that while the evil spirits were raging up and down in the State to raise mobs against the 'Mormons,' Satan himself was no less busy in striving to stir up mischief in the camp of the saints; and among the most conspicuous of his willing devotees was one Doctor Sampson Avard, who had been in the church but a short time, and who, although he had generally behaved with a tolerable degree of external decorum, was secretly aspiring to be the greatest of the great, and become the leader of the people. This was his pride and his folly, but as he had no hopes of accomplishing it by gaining the hearts of the people in open strife, he watched his opportunity with the brethren at a time when mobs oppressed, robbed, whipped, burned, plundered, and slew, till forbearance seemed no longer a virtue and nothing but the grace of God without measure could support men under such trials, to form a secret combination by which he might rise a mighty conqueror, at the *expense of the overthrow of the church;* and this he tried to accomplish by his smooth, flattering, and winning speeches, which he frequently made to his associates, while his room was well guarded by some of his pupils, ready to give him the wink on the approach of anyone who would not approve of his measures.

"In this situation he stated that he had the sanction of the heads of the church for what he was about to do; and by his smiles and flattery persuaded them to believe it, and proceeded to administer to the few under his control an oath, binding them to everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself. Thus Avard initiated members into his band, firmly binding them by all that was sacred in the protecting of each other in all things that were lawful; and was careful to picture out a great glory that was then hovering over the church, and would soon burst upon the saints as a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, and would soon unveil the slumbering mysteries of heaven, which would gladden the hearts and arouse the stupid spirits of the saints of the latter day, and fill their hearts with that love which is unspeakable and full of glory, and arm them with power that the gates of hell

could not prevail against them; and would often affirm to his company that the principal men of the church had put him forward as a spokesman and a leader of this band, which *he* named *Danites*.

"Thus he duped many, which gave him the opportunity of figuring largely. He held his meetings daily and carried on his work of craft in great haste, to prevent a mature reflection upon the matter, and had them bound under the penalties of death to keep the secrets and certain signs, which they had to know each other by, by day and night.

"After those performances he held meetings to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, appointing a captain over each company. After this organization he went on to teach them their duty in compliance with the orders of their captains; he then called his captains together and taught them in a secluded place, as follows:—

" 'My brethren, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here to-day to teach you and instruct you in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are and what they soon will be. Know ye not, brethren, that it soon will be your privileges to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? for it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel; and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth. For this is the very way that God destines to build up his kingdom in the last days. If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. [The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued.] Why do you startle at this, brethren? As the Lord liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this

would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian; and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up his kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs *cannot bite him.*'

"At this lecture all of the officers revolted and said it would not do, they should not go into any such measures, and it would not do to name any such things; 'such proceedings would be in open violation to the laws of our country, and would be robbing our fellow citizens of their rights, and are not according to the language and doctrine of Christ, of the Church of Latter Day Saints.'

"This modern Sampson replied and said there were no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, a dispensation of the fullness of times; 'in this dispensation I learn from the Scriptures that the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and he himself was to reign, and his laws alone were the only laws that would exist.'

"Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all. Avard then said that they had better drop the subject; although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdon the evening before. The meeting then broke up; the eyes of those present were then opened, his craft was no longer in the dark, and but very little confidence was placed in him, even by the warmest of the members of his Danite scheme.

"When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the church, he was cut off from the church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations; but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob.

"And here let it be distinctly understood, that these com panies of tens and fifties got up by Avard were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self-defense, in case of an

attack from the mob, and more particularly that in this time of alarm no family or person might be neglected, therefore, one company would be engaged in drawing wood, another in cutting it, another in gathering corn, another in grinding, another in butchering, another in distributing meat, etc., etc., so that all should be employed in turn, and no one lack the necessaries of life. Therefore let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the church for good and righteous purposes with the organization of the Danites, of the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had existence.

"The mob began to encamp at Richmond on the twenty-sixth, and by this time amounted to about two thousand five hundred, all ready to fulfill the exterminating order and join the standard of the Governor. They took up a line of march for Far West, traveling but part way, where they encamped for the night.

Mob approaching.

"Tuesday, 30th. Their advance guard were patroling the country and taking many prisoners, among whom were Brother Winchester and Brother Carey, whose skull they laid open by a blow from a rifle barrel. In this mangled condition the mob laid him in their wagon and went on their way, denying him every comfort, and thus he remained that afternoon and night.

"General Clark was in camp at Chariton under a forced march to Richmond, with about a thousand men and the Governor's *exterminating* order." — *Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 458-460, 507.

CHAPTER 13.

1838.

HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE—GOVERNOR BOGGS RESPONSIBLE—BURR JOYCE'S ACCOUNT—HISTORY OF CALDWELL COUNTY—STATEMENT OF J. W. YOUNG—STATEMENT OF AMANDA SMITH—STATEMENT OF HYRUM SMITH—OF NATHAN KNIGHT.

IN this chapter we record one of the most cruel deeds of blood known to the history of the age. We would gladly draw the curtain and say nothing regarding this horrible affair, but we have no right to cover up or conceal the facts of history. Nor can we resist the conclusion that this butchery was the direct and legitimate result of the exterminating order of the chief executive of the State of Missouri. By this were these desperate, cruel, and bloodthirsty men impelled to this deed that causes humanity to blush. The horrible consequences of this awful deed must by the faithful historian be laid at the door of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs.

Haun's Mill massacre.

Boggs responsible.

We might compile an account of this from church records, but we prefer to present it to our readers from the pens of men who were not connected with it, and who dispassionately viewed the matter after years had dispelled the intense feeling of the time.

The following is the account as written by Burr Joyce, and published in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for October 6, 1887, and reproduced in the *Saints' Herald* for October 22, 1887:—

Burr Joyce's account.

"THE HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE.

"AN INCIDENT OF THE 'MORMON WAR' IN MISSOURI.

"Special Correspondence of the *Globe-Democrat*.

"BRECKENRIDGE, Missouri, September 27, 1887.

"In the afternoon of Tuesday, October 30, 1838, during the Mormon war in Missouri, there occurred in Caldwell

County a dreadful incident, generally termed 'The Haun's Mill Massacre.' From official documents and other records, from affidavits of witnesses, and from statements made by actual participants, I have prepared the following account. If any newspaper publication of the affair has ever before been made, I am not aware of the fact.

"The Mormons made their first settlement in Missouri, in Jackson County, in the year 1832, under the leadership of their 'prophet,' Joseph Smith. I have not the space here to describe their experiences in that county, their expulsion therefrom, their sojourn in Clay and Ray, the 'treaty' by which they were given Caldwell County as a sort of reservation, the founding of the city of Far West, nor can I narrate the circumstances leading to the Mormon war (so called), and finally the banishment of these unhappy people from the State. All these incidents may form the subject of a future paper. I may state, however, that the massacre was perpetrated on the very day that the militia, under Generals Lucas and Doniphan, arrived at Far West, with orders from Governor Boggs to 'expel the Mormons from the State or exterminate them.'

"At Jacob Haun's mill, on Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell County, about eight miles south of Breckenridge, there had collected about twenty Mormon families. Haun himself was a Mormon and had come to the site from Wisconsin a few years before. He had a very good mill, and clustered around it were a blacksmith shop and half a dozen small houses. The alarm that the troops were moving against them had driven nearly all the Mormon families in the county to Far West for safety. A dozen or more living in the vicinity repaired to Haun's mill, which was twenty miles to the eastward of Far West. As there were not enough houses to accommodate all of the fugitives, a number were living in tents and temporary shelters. A few families, perhaps four, had come in on the evening of the 29th, from Ohio, and were occupying their emigrant wagons. Not one member of the little community had ever been in arms against the 'Gentiles,' or taken any part whatever in the preceding disturbances.

"Word that the militia of the State had been ordered to expel them from the country had reached the Mormons of the Haun's mill settlement, and following this intelligence came a report that a considerable number of men in Livingston County, together with some from Daviess, had organized in the forks of Grand River, near Spring Hill, in Livingston, and were preparing to attack them. Whereupon a company of about twenty-five men and boys, indifferently armed with shotguns and squirrel rifles, was organized at the mill, and David Evans was chosen captain. It was resolved to defend the place against the threatened assault. Some of the older men urged that no resistance should be made, but that all should retreat to Far West. The day after the skirmish on Crooked River (October 25), Haun himself went to Far West to take counsel of Joe Smith. 'Move here, by all means, if you wish to save your lives,' said the prophet. Haun replied that if the settlers should abandon their homes, the Gentiles would burn their houses and other buildings and destroy all of the property left behind. 'Better lose your property than your lives,' rejoined Smith. Haun represented that he and his neighbors were willing to defend themselves against what he called 'the mob,' and Smith finally gave them permission to remain. Others at the mill opposed a retreat, and when an old man named Myers reminded them how few they were, and how many the 'Gentiles' numbered, they declared that the Almighty would send his angels to their help when the day of battle should come. Some of the women, too, urged the men to stand firm, and offered to mold bullets and prepare patching for the rifles if necessary.

"North of the mill was a body of timber half a mile in width, skirting Shoal Creek; beyond was a stretch of prairie. For a day or two Capt. Evans kept a picket post in the northern border of the timber, but on the 28th he entered into a sort of truce with Capt. Nehemiah Comstock, commanding a company of Livingston 'Gentiles' from the settlements near Mooresville and Utica, and the post was withdrawn. By the terms of this truce, which was effected by a messenger who rode between Evans and Comstock, the

Gentiles were to let the Mormons alone as long as the latter were peaceable, and vice versa. Each party, too, was to disband its military organization. But on the morning of the 29th the Mormons learned that a company of Livingston militia, a few miles to the eastward, were menacing them, and so they maintained their organization and that night set watches. The latter company was commanded by Captain William Mann, and for some days had been operating at and in the vicinity of Whitney's mill, on Lower Shoal Creek (where the village of Dawn now stands), stopping Mormon emigrants on their way from the East to Caldwell County, turning them back in some instances, taking their arms from them in others, etc.

"On the 29th, at Woolsey's, northeast of Breckenridge, an agreement was reached by the Gentiles for an attack upon Haun's mill. There companies, numbering in the aggregate about two hundred men, were organized. They were commanded by Captains Nehemiah Comstock, William O. Jennings, and William Gee. The command of the battalion was given to Col. Thomas Jennings, an old militia officer, then living in the Forks. Nearly all of the men were citizens of Livingston County. Perhaps twenty were from Daviess, from whence they had been driven by the Mormons during the troubles in that county a few weeks previously. The Daviess County men were very bitter against the Mormons, and vowed the direst vengeance on the entire sect. It did not matter whether or not the Mormons at the mill had taken any part in the disturbances which had occurred; it was enough that they were Mormons. The Livingston men became thoroughly imbued with the same spirit, and all were eager for the raid. The Livingston men had no wrongs to complain of themselves, for the Mormons had never invaded their county, or injured them in any way; but they seemed to feel an extraordinary sympathy for the outrages suffered by their neighbors.

"Setting out from Woolsey's after noon on the 30th, Col. Jennings marched swiftly out of the timber northwest of the present village of Mooresville, and out on the prairie stretching down southwards towards the doomed hamlet at Haun's

Mill. The word was passed along the column, 'Shoot at everything wearing breeches, and shoot to kill.'

"All of the Gentiles were mounted, and they had with them a wagon and two Mormon prisoners. Within two miles of the mill the wagon and prisoners were left, in charge of a squad, and the remainder of the force pressed rapidly on. Entering the timber north of the mill, Colonel Jennings passed through it, unobserved, right up to the borders of the settlement, and speedily formed his line for the attack. Capt. W. O. Jennings' company had the center, Capt. Comstock's the left, and Capt. Gee's the right.

"The Mormon leader had somehow become apprehensive of trouble. He communicated his fears to some of the men, and was about sending out scouts and pickets. It had been previously agreed that in case of attack the men should repair to the blacksmith shop and occupy it as a fort or blockhouse. This structure was built of logs, with wide cracks between them, was about eighteen feet square, and had a large wide door. The greater portion of the Mormons were, however, unsuspicious of any imminent peril. Children were playing on the banks of the creek, women were engaged in their ordinary domestic duties, the newly arrived immigrants were resting under the trees, which were clad in the scarlet, crimson, and golden leaves of autumn. The scene was peaceful and Acadian. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, and the sun hung low and red in a beautiful Indian summer sky.

"Suddenly, from out of the timber north and west of the mill the Gentiles burst upon the hamlet. The air was filled with shouts and shots, and the fight was on. It cannot fairly be called a fight. Taken wholly by surprise, the Mormons were thrown into extreme confusion. The women and children cried and screamed in excitement and terror, and the greater number, directed by some of the men, ran across the milldam to the south bank of the creek and sought shelter in the woods. Perhaps twenty men, Captain Evans among them, ran with their guns to the blacksmith shop and began to return the fire. Some were shot down in their attempts to reach the shop.

"The fire of the Mormons was wild and ineffective; that of the militia was accurate and deadly. The cracks between the logs of the shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet which entered the shop killed or wounded a man. Firing was kept up all the while on the fleeing fugitives, and many were shot down as they ran.

"Realizing very soon that he was placed at a decided disadvantage, Captain Evans gave orders to retreat, directing every man to take care of himself. The door of the shop was thrown open, and all of the able-bodied survivors ran out, endeavoring to reach the woods. Some were shot before reaching shelter. Captain Evans was much excited, and ran all the way to Mud Creek, seven miles south, with his gun loaded, not having discharged it during the fight. The Gentiles advanced, and began to use their rough, homemade swords, or corn knives, with which some of them were armed. The fugitives were fired on until they were out of range, but not pursued, as the few who escaped scattered in almost every direction.

"Coming upon the field after it had been abandoned, the Gentiles perpetrated some terrible deeds. At least three of the wounded were hacked to death with the 'corn knives' or finished with a rifle bullet. William Reynolds, a Livingston County man, entered the blacksmith shop and found a little boy, only ten years of age, named Sardius Smith, hiding under the bellows. Without even demanding his surrender, the cruel wretch drew up his rifle and shot the little fellow as he lay cowering and trembling. Reynolds afterward boasted of his exploit to persons yet living. He described with fiendish glee how the poor child 'kicked and squealed' in his dying agonies, and justified his inhuman act by the old Indian aphorism, 'Nits will make lice.' Charley Merrick, another little boy only nine years old, had hid under the bellows. He ran out, but did not get far until he received a load of buckshot and a rifle ball, in all three wounds. He did not die, however, for nearly five weeks. Esquire Thomas McBride was seventy-eight years of age,

and had been a soldier under Gates and Washington in the Revolution. He had started for the blacksmith shop, but was shot down on the way, and lay wounded and helpless, but still alive. A Daviess County man named Rogers, who kept a ferry across Grand River, near Gallatin, came upon him and demanded his gun. 'Take it,' said McBride. Rogers picked up the weapon and finding that it was loaded deliberately discharged it into the old veteran's breast. He then cut and hacked the body with his 'corn knife' until it was frightfully gashed and mangled.

"After the Mormons had all been either killed, wounded, or driven away, the Gentiles began to loot the place. Considerable property was taken, much of the spoil consisting of household articles and personal effects. At least three wagons and perhaps ten horses were taken. Two emigrant wagons were driven off with all their contents. The Mormons claim that there was a general pillage, and that even the bodies of the slain were robbed. The Gentiles deny this, and say that the wagons were needed to haul off their three wounded men, and the bedding was taken to make them comfortable, while the other articles taken did not amount to much. Two of the survivors have stated to me that the place was 'pretty well cleaned out.'

"Colonel Jennings did not remain at the mill more than two hours. Twilight approaching, he set out on his return to his former encampment. He feared a rally and return of the Mormons with a large reinforcement, and doubtless he desired to reflect leisurely on his course of future operations. Reaching Woolsey's, he halted his battalion and prepared to pass the night. But a few hours later he imagined he heard cannon and a great tumult in the direction of Haun's Mill, betokening, as he thought, the advance of a large Mormon force upon him. Rousing his men from their sweet dreams of the victory, he broke camp, moved rapidly eastward, and never halted until he had put the West Fork of Grand River between him and his imaginary pursuers. He and his men had won glory enough for one day, anyhow! They had not lost a man killed and only three wounded. John Renfrow had his thumb shot

off, Allen England was shot in the thigh, and —— Hart in the arm.

"The Mormon killed and mortally wounded numbered seventeen. Here are the names:—

Thomas McBride,	Augustine Harmer,
Levi N. Merrick,	Simon Cox,
Elias Benner,	Hiram Abbott,
Josiah Fuller,	John York,
Benjamin Lewis,	John Lee,
Alexander Campbell,	John Byers,
George S. Richards,	Warren Smith,
William Napier,	Charles Merrick, aged 9,

Sardius Smith, aged 10.

"The severely wounded numbered eleven men, one boy (Alma Smith, aged 7), and one woman, a Miss Mary Stedwell. The latter was shot through the hand and arm as she was running to the woods.

"*Dies iræ!* Bloody work and woeful. What a scene did Colonel Jennings and his men turn their backs upon as they rode away in the gloaming from the little valley once all green and peaceful! The wounded men had been given no attention, and the bodies of the slain had been left to fester and putrefy in the Indian summer temperature, warm and mellowing. A large red moon rose, and a fog came up from the stream and lay like a facecloth upon the pallid countenances of the dead. Timidly and warily came forth the widows and orphans from their hiding places, and as they recognized one a husband, one a father, another a son, and another a brother among the slain, the wailings of grief and terror were most pitiful. All that night were they alone with their dead and wounded. There were no physicians, but if there had been many of the wounded were past all surgery. Dreadful sights in the moonlight, and dreadful sounds on the night winds. In the hamlet the groans of the wounded, the moans and sobs of the grief-stricken, the bellowing of cattle, and the howling of dogs, and from the black woods the dismal hooting of owls.

"By and by, when the wounded had been made as comfortable as possible, the few men who had returned gathered the women and children together, and all sought consolation

in prayer. Then they sang from the Mormon hymn book a selection entitled 'Moroni's Lamentation,' a dirge-like composition, lacking in poesy and deficient in rhythm, but giving something of comfort, let us hope, to the choristers. And so in prayer and song and ministration the remainder of the night was passed.

"The next morning the corpses had changed, and were changing fast. They must be buried. There were not enough men left to make coffins or even dig graves. It could not be determined when relief would come or when the Gentiles would return. There was a large unfinished well near the mill, which it was decided should be used as a common sepulcher. Four men, one of whom was Joseph W. Young, a brother of Brigham Young, gathered up the bodies, the women assisting, and bore them, one at a time, on a large plank to the well, and slid them in. Some hay was strewn upon the ghastly pile and then a thin layer of dirt thrown upon the hay.

"The next day Captain Comstock's company returned to the mill, as they said, to bury the dead. Finding that duty had been attended to, they expressed considerable satisfaction at having been relieved of the job, and, after notifying the people that they must leave the State, or they would all be killed, they rode away. The pit was subsequently filled by Mr. C. R. Ross, now a resident of Black Oak, Caldwell County.

"A day or two after the massacre, Colonel Jennings started with his battalion to join the State forces at Far West. He had not proceeded far when he met a messenger who informed him that the Mormons at Far West had surrendered, and gave him an order to move to Daviess County and join the forces under Gen. Robert Wilson, then operating against the Mormons at Adam-ondi-ahman. The battalion was present at the surrender at 'Diamon,' as it is generally called, and a day or two thereafter Captain Comstock's company was ordered to Haun's mill, where it remained in camp for some weeks. Herewith I give an extract from an affidavit made by Mrs. Amanda Smith, whose husband and little son were killed in the massacre,

and who resided at the mill during the stay of Comstock's company:—

"'. . . The next day the mob came back. They told us we must leave the State forthwith or be killed. It was bad weather, and they had taken our teams and clothes; our men were all dead or wounded. I told them they might kill me and my children, and welcome. They said to us, from time to time, if we did not leave the State they would come and kill us. We could not leave then. We had little prayer meetings; they said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. We had spelling schools for our little children; they pretended they were "Mormon meetings," and said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. . . . I started the 1st of February, very cold weather, for Illinois, with five small children and no money. It was mob all the way. I drove the team, and we slept out of doors. We suffered greatly from hunger, cold, and fatigue; and for what? For our religion. In this boasted land of liberty, "Deny your faith or die," was the cry.'

"While in camp at the mill, according to the statements to me of two of its members, Comstock's company lived off the country, as did the State troops at Far West. The Mormon cattle and hogs had been turned into the fields and were fine and fat. The mill furnished flour and meal, and other articles of provision were to be had for the taking. The Mormon men were either prisoners or had been driven from the country. By the 1st of April following all had left the State. Many of them had been killed, their houses burned, their property taken, their fields laid waste, and the result was called peace.

"Burr Joyce."

Of this event Bancroft writes:—

"Meanwhile was being matured the bloody tragedy which occurred on the 30th of October, near Haun's mill, on Shoal Creek, about twenty miles below Far West. Besides the Mormons living there were a number of emigrants awaiting the cessation of hostilities before proceeding on their journey. It had been agreed between the Mormons and Mis-

sourians of that locality that they would not molest each other, but live together in peace. But the men of Caldwell and Daviess Counties would not have it so. Suddenly and without warning, on the day above-mentioned, mounted and to the number of two hundred and forty, they fell upon the fated settlement. While the men were at their work out of doors, the women in the house, and the children playing about the yards, the crack of a hundred rifles was heard, and before the firing ceased eighteen of these unoffending people were stretched dead upon the ground, while many more were wounded. I will not enter upon the sickening details, which are copious and fully proven; suffice it to say that never in savage or other warfare was there perpetrated an act more dastardly and brutal. Indeed, it was openly avowed by the men of Missouri that it was no worse to shoot a Mormon than to shoot an Indian, and killing Indians was no worse than killing wild beasts."—Bancroft's History of Utah, p. 128.

Mrs. Olive Ames, a survivor of the tragedy now residing at San Bernardino, California, wrote the following account in October, 1896:—

"HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE.

"This dreadful massacre occurred October 30, 1838. There was quite a settlement of saints at Haun's mill, there being some dozen families or more. We had been living there a year or so prior to the cruel treatment the saints received during this massacre.

"People came from far and near to the mill for the purpose of getting their wheat and corn ground. We were living in peace and quiet when word reached our ears that a mob was coming to destroy Haun's mill. There being some thirty men of the brethren, they began immediately to make arrangements as to what would be best to do, so a few of the brethren went to Far West to seek assistance, and found they would be able to get some help if needed. But lo! one evening while I was busily engaged getting supper, and two of the brethren, Mr. Rial Ames (my husband's brother) and Hyrum Abbott were sitting just outside the door, one cutting

the other's hair, they rose from the chair and remarked, 'I see some of the brethren coming from Far West,' when suddenly the party that was approaching began firing. Then said Mr. Ames, 'It's the mob right on us.' The party consisted of two hundred men.

"When I call this scene to mind it makes my poor old heart ache. Men, women, and poor little children running in every direction, not knowing what minute their lives would be taken. The mob continued firing, shooting at anyone they could see amidst the smoke. I rushed out of the house, crying, 'Where are my children?' They gathered around me, then, with my babe, but one month old, in my arms, I started to hide, not knowing where to go or what to do, so frightened was I, but anxious to conceal my little ones somewhere. I soon found myself and little ones hidden away down under the bluff in a little nook by the creek. No sooner had I concealed myself there than my husband, Mr. Ames, and old Father McBride ran past hunting a place of concealment. He called to me as he passed, 'Have you all the children?' 'Yes,' said I, 'all four.' As Rial Ames fled he remarked, 'I guess Ellis's folks [that is myself and husband] are all murdered.'

"Isaac Laney crossed the creek above me. The mob saw him and began firing. I saw him fall, then rise and climb the hill. He escaped death, but carried a great many wounds. How he suffered that night!

"Poor old Father McBride was overtaken by one of the mob, who took his gun, and not then being satisfied, he took a corn knife and hacked the poor old man on the head, then turned back to his company. As he passed my place of concealment I was crying, talking, and feeling oh! so dreadful after seeing such a dreadful sight as these two. He remarked to me while passing, 'Don't be scared; you shan't be hurt.'

"By this time the firing ceased and they went to plundering. I came out from my place of concealment, crossed the creek, and went to Mrs. Haun's, finding there women crying, heart-broken, their husbands killed; others, their innocent little children were missing. Not knowing my husband's

whereabouts, I was much worried; but word soon came saying he was safe.

"While at Mrs. Haun's I could see them go into the houses and tents, carrying out clothing and bedding, etc., and pile it on Mr. Ames' horse, then they led him off. Of course money was what they were hunting for. What little money we had was hid away in my old clock. I supposed that too would be taken, with all my bedding.

"Such a dreadful night we spent! men, women, and children lying here and there. Such mourning for their dear ones! Everything was in an uproar. Words cannot describe the awful scene. The wounded were numerous. Some were groaning; others we would refresh by moistening their mouths with a little cold water. It was an awful sad time.

"The brethren came home in the night and buried the dead in the old well and cared for the wounded as best they could. During the night I persuaded a lady to go over home with me, as I was anxious to see if my money was safe in the old clock. Sure enough, there it was, but everything had been turned upside down and things carried off. We returned again to Mrs. Haun's and remained until morning.

"On returning home next morning it was with heavy hearts we stepped in our doors, not knowing when the same scenes would be repeated. The sound of a horn was a signal they were coming.

"After two days they again returned painted like Indians, and took possession of the mill. They had two prisoners with them. Part of the mob gathered the crops while others did the grinding, and then they sent the product home to their families, while we had to do without. They kept possession nine days, until they had stripped the fields. We had a number of hogs. They killed nine of ours while there. During their stay we were visited with a heavy snowstorm; soon after this they left. We took possession of the mill. (This mill was purchased by Mr. Haun and Mr. Ames from a Mr. Myers.) During their stay the brethren were all hid away.

"A few months after this I went to Far West to visit Mother. She, too, was undergoing her share of trouble.

Father was put in jail at Richmond. Mother ground her buckwheat in a coffee mill to make bread. After a short visit I returned home, where we remained until next spring. During the winter we underwent a great many hardships. Abbey Ames (my stepdaughter) remained with me all winter. She was six years old the day that fearful massacre happened. She is now living in Los Angeles.

"In the spring we began moving from one place to another, until we finally settled at Nauvoo.

"I was born February 13, 1815, at Rutland, Rutland County, Vermont, and am now living in San Bernardino, California.

"OLIVE AMES.

"I would like to mention about the cap my husband had on that day. He was a great hand to go hunting, so I made a cap for him and he happened to have it on that day. That saved him from being killed, so we thought after we talked it over. The mob thought he was one of them because of the red stripes in his cap. But there was a bullet hole in his coat tail. "O. A."

The foregoing statements are fully verified by the account given in the History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, with affidavits attached:—

"In the afternoon of October 30, 1838, the day the militia arrived at Far West, occurred what has since been generally known as 'the Haun's Mill Massacre.' Following is perhaps the first complete and correct account of this affair ever published.

"At Jacob Haun's mill, on the north bank of Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of the county in what is now Fairview Township (nw. ¼ ne. ¼, section 17–56–26), were besides the mill, a blacksmith shop and half a dozen or more houses, and perhaps twenty Mormon families. Some of these families were living in tents and covered wagons, having recently come into the country, or having lived elsewhere in the county had become alarmed at the aspect of affairs, and had come to the mill for safety. News that the militia of the State had been ordered to expel them had reached the Mormons, and following these tidings word was brought that a

considerable number of men living in Livingston County, together with some from Daviess, had organized near Spring Hill, in Livingston County, and were preparing to attack them. A company of about thirty men, indifferently armed with shot guns and squirrel rifles, was organized, and David Evans, a Danite, was chosen captain. It was determined to defend the place.

"Learning that the force organizing against them numbered some hundreds, some of the older men among the Mormons urged that no resistance should be made, but that all should retreat to Far West. It seems that the Prophet had advised this, but nevertheless had given them permission to remain if they thought they could protect themselves.

"Others opposed retreating and the abandonment of their property to the 'mob of Gentiles,' and when an old man named Myers reminded them how few they were, and how many the Gentiles numbered, they declared that the Lord would send his angels to help them when the day of battle should come. Some of the women, too, urged the men to stand firm, and offered to mold bullets and prepare patching for the rifles if necessary.

"North of Haun's mill, a short distance, was a body of timber and brush, and north of this, towards where Breckenridge now stands, was a stretch of prairie for miles. For a day or two Captain Evans kept a picket post in the northern edge of the timber, but having entered into a truce with Captain Nehemiah Comstock, commanding one of the Livingston County companies, and no other enemy appearing, this post was withdrawn.

"This truce was effected by means of a messenger, who rode between Comstock and Evans, and its terms were that the Gentiles were to let the Mormons alone as long as they were peaceable, and vice versa. The Mormons agreed also to disband their military organization if the Gentiles would disband theirs, and this it is claimed was agreed to. But the Mormons heard that over in Livingston, directly east of them, another company of Gentiles, under Captain William Mann, was menacing them; and so they did not disband; for while they confided in Comstock's company, they had no

confidence in Mann's, which for some time had been operating at and near Whitney's mill, on Shoal Creek (where Dawn now is), stopping Mormons on their way to Caldwell from the East, turning them back in some instances, taking their arms from them in others, etc. The Gentile force in Livingston County numbered about two hundred men, and was under the command of Colonel William O. Jennings, then the sheriff of that county. Three companies composed it, led by Captain Nehemiah Comstock, Thomas R. Bryan, and William Mann. It took the field in earnest about the 25th of October, and for a few days prior to the 30th was encamped about three miles northeast of Breckenridge, at least Comstock's company was. Perhaps Mann's was employed in the southern portion of the county until the 29th.

"Learning that the Mormons at Haun's mill had not disbanded, and yielding to the almost universal desire of his men, who were eager to seize upon any pretext for a fight, Colonel Jennings set out from his camp last-mentioned, after noon of the 30th of October, intending to attack and capture Haun's mill, and encamp there that night. The route lay via where Mooresville now stands, or between Mooresville and Breckenridge, and on across the prairie, and the march was made swiftly and without interruption.

"Within two miles of the mill Colonel Jennings left his wagons and two Mormon prisoners, captured some days before, in charge of a squad of men, of whom James Trosper, now of Breckenridge, was one, and pressed rapidly on. Entering the timber north of the town, Jennings' men passed through it unobserved right up to the borders of the hamlet. Captain Nehemiah Comstock's company had the advance.

"The Mormon leader, David Evans, had become apprehensive of an attack, and was about sending out scouts and pickets. It was arranged to use the blacksmith shop as a fort or blockhouse. This structure was of logs, with wide cracks between them, and had a large door. The greater portion of the Mormons were unsuspicious of imminent danger, and the women and children were scattered about. Nearly every house contained two or more families. There

were two or three small houses on the south bank of the creek thus occupied. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon of a warm and beautiful Indian summer day.

"Suddenly from out of the timber north of the mill the Livingston militia burst upon the hamlet. In a few seconds the air was filled with wild shouts and shots, and the fight was on. It can scarcely be called a fight. The Mormons were thrown into confusion and many of them ran wildly and aimlessly about. The women and children cried and screamed in excitement and terror, and the greater number, directed by the men, ran across the milldam to the south bank and sought shelter in the woods south of the creek. Perhaps half of the men, Evans among them, ran with their guns to the blacksmith shop and began to return the fire. Some were shot down in an effort to reach the shop or as they were trying to escape.

"The fire of the Mormons was for the most part wild and ineffective; that of the militia was accurate and deadly. The cracks between the logs of the shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet that entered the shop killed or wounded a man. Firing was kept up all the while on the fleeing fugitives, many of whom were shot down.

"Seeing that he was placed at a decided disadvantage, Captain Evans gave orders to retreat, ordering every man to take care of himself. The door of the shop was thrown open and all the able-bodied survivors ran out, endeavoring to reach the wood. Some were shot before they got to shelter. Captain Evans was somewhat excited, and, as he afterwards related, ran all the way to Mud Creek with his gun loaded, not having fired it during the fight. The militia fired at the fugitives until they were out of range, but did not pursue them, as the few who escaped scattered in almost every direction.

"After the engagement was over and all the able-bodied male Mormons had been killed, wounded, or driven away, some of the militiamen began to 'loot' the houses and stables at the mill. A great deal of property was taken, much of it

consisting of household articles and personal effects, but just how much cannot now be stated. The Mormons claim there was a general pillage and that in two or three instances the bodies of the slain were robbed. Some of the militia or their friends say only two or three wagons were taken, one to haul off the three wounded, and sufficient bedding to make their ride comfortable; but on the other hand two of those who were in a position to know say that the Mormon hamlet was pretty thoroughly rifled. One man carried away an empty ten gallon keg, which he carried before him on his saddle and beat as a drum. Another had a woman's bonnet, which he said was for his sweetheart. Perhaps a dozen horses were taken.

"Colonel Jennings did not remain at Haun's mill, in all, more than an hour or an hour and a half. Twilight approaching, he set out on his return to his former camp, for one reason fearing a rally and return of the Mormons with a large reinforcement, and doubtless desiring to reflect leisurely on his course of future operations.

"Reaching his camp near Woolsey's, northeast of Breckenridge, Colonel Jennings halted his battalion and prepared to pass the night. But a few hours later he imagined he heard cannon and a great tumult in the direction of Haun's mill, betokening the presence of a large Mormon force, and rousing up his men he broke camp, and moving rapidly eastward never halted until he had put the west fork of Grand River between him and his imaginary pursuers!

"From the records of the Mormon Church it seems that seventeen men of the Mormons were either killed outright or mortally wounded. Their names, as kindly furnished for this history by Rev. F. D. Richards, assistant historian and custodian of the church records at Salt Lake, are:—

"Thos. McBride,	Alex. Campbell,	Hiram Abbott,
"Levi N. Merrick,	Geo. S. Richards,	John York,
"Elias Benner,	Wm. Napier,	John Lee,
"Josiah Fuller,	Augustine Harmer,	John Byers,
"Benj. Lewis,	Simon Cox,	Warren Smith,

"Sardius Smith, aged 10, and Chas. Merrick, aged 9.

"Esq. Thomas McBride was an old soldier of the Revolution. He was lying wounded and helpless, his gun by his

side. A militiaman named Rogers came up to him and demanded it. 'Take it,' said McBride. Rogers picked up the weapon, and finding that it was loaded, deliberately discharged it into the old man's breast. He then cut and hacked the old veteran's body with a rude sword, or 'corn knife,' until it was frightfully mangled. William Reynolds, a Livingston County man, killed the little boy Sardius Smith, ten years of age. The lad had run into the blacksmith shop and crawled under the bellows for safety. Upon entering the shop the cruel militiaman discovered the cowering, trembling little fellow, and without even demanding his surrender fired upon and killed him, and afterwards boasted of the atrocious deed to Charles R. Ross and others. He described, with fiendish glee, how the boy struggled in his dying agony, and justified his savage and inhuman conduct in killing a mere child by saying, 'Nits will make lice, and if he had lived he would have become a Mormon.'

"Charlie Merrick, another little Mormon boy, was mortally wounded by another militiaman. He too was hiding under the bellows.

"The Mormons wounded, according to the Mormon records, numbered twelve, as follows:—

"Isaac Laney,	Wm. Yokum,	Jacob Potts,
"Nathan K. Knight,	Tarlton Lewis,	Chas. Jimison,
"Jacob Myers,	Jacob Haun,	John Walker,
"George Myers,	Jacob Foutz,	Alma Smith, aged 7.

"A young Mormon woman, Miss Mary Stedwell, was shot through the hand, as she was running to the woods. Doubtless this shooting was accidental.

"The militia, or Jennings' men, had but three men wounded, and none killed. John Renfrow, now living in Ray County, had a thumb shot off. Allen England, a Daviess County man, was severely wounded in the thigh, and the other wounded man was named Hart.

"*Dies iræ!* What a woeful day this had been to Haun's Mill! What a pitiful scene was there when the militia rode away upon the conclusion of their bloody work! The wounded men had been given no attention, and the bodies of the slain were left to fester and putrefy in the Indian sum-

mer temperature, warm and mellowing. The widows and orphans of the dead came timidly and warily forth from their hiding places as soon as the troops left, and as they recognized one a husband, another a father, another a son, another a brother among the bloody corpses, the wailings of grief and terror that went up were pitiful and agonizing. All that night they were alone with their dead. A return visit of Jennings' men to complete the work of 'extermination' had been threatened and was expected. Verily the experience of the poor survivors of the Haun's Mill affair was terrible; no wonder that they long remembered it.

"The next morning the bodies had changed, and were changing fast. They must be buried. There were not enough men in the place to dig graves, and it could not be determined when relief would come. There was a large unfinished well at the place, and the bodies were gathered up, the women assisting, and borne, one at a time, all gory and ghastly, to this well and slid in from a large plank. All of the corpses were disposed of in this way; then some hay or straw was strewn over the ghastly piles and then a thin layer of dirt thrown on the hay.

"Soon after the burial was over, the same day, Comstock's company was sent back to give the dead a decent sepulture. Seeing what had been done already, they rode away, glad to be relieved from the job. The next February Mr. Charles R. Ross moved into the house and occupied the property to which the well belonged. Soon after his arrival some warm days came, and an offensive smell arose from the well. Mr. Ross at once set to work and filled up the loathsome sepulcher, even making a good sized mound over it. In time this mound was leveled, and now it is almost impossible to fix the exact location of the pit.

"Whatever of merit there was in the attack on Haun's Mill, and whatever of glory attaches to the famous victory, must be given to Colonel William O. Jennings mainly. He made the attack on his own responsibility, without orders from Governor Boggs, or any other superior authority, although the Governor afterwards approved what was done. True, Jennings' subordinates must be given their share, in

proportion to the part they bore, but Colonel Jennings stands among them all as a Saul among his fellows, the Ajax Telamon of the contest, the Hector of the fight!

"It is but proper that both sides of the story of the affair at Haun's Mill—fight, skirmish, massacre, or butchery, whatever it was—should be given. The best Mormon account extant is embodied in an affidavit of Joseph Young, a brother of Brigham Young, made at Quincy, Illinois, the June following the occurrence. This affidavit, much of which is undoubtedly true, is yet among the Mormon records, and a copy has been furnished for use in this history by F. D. Richards, the Mormon custodian of records. Following is the copy:—

" 'SWORN STATEMENT OF JOSEPH W. YOUNG.

" 'On the 6th day of July last I started with my family from Kirtland, Ohio, for the State of Missouri, the county of Caldwell, in the upper part of the State, being the place of my destination. On the thirteenth day of October I crossed the Mississippi at Louisiana, at which place I heard vague reports of the disturbances in the upper country, but nothing that could be relied upon.

Statement of J. W. Young.

" 'I continued my course westward till I crossed Grand River, at a place called Compton's Ferry, at which place I heard, for the first time, that if I proceeded any further on my journey I would be in danger of being stopped by a body of armed men. I was not willing, however, while treading my native soil and breathing republican air, to abandon my object, which was to locate myself and family in a fine healthy country, where we could enjoy the society of our friends and connections. Consequently I prosecuted my journey till I came to Whitney's Mills, situated on Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of Caldwell County. [Southwestern part of Livingston.—Compiler.]

" 'After crossing the creek and going about three miles, we met a party of the mob, about forty in number, armed with rifles, and mounted on horses, who informed us that we could go no farther west, threatening us with instant death if we proceeded any farther. I asked them the reason of

this prohibition; to which they replied that we were "Mormons;" that every one who adhered to our religious faith would have to leave the State in ten days or renounce their religion. Accordingly they drove us back to the mills above-mentioned. Here we tarried three days, and on Friday, the 26th, we recrossed the creek, and following up its banks we succeeded in eluding the mob for the time being, and gained the residence of a friend in Myers' settlement.

" 'On Sunday, the 28th of October, we arrived about twelve o'clock at Haun's Mill, where we found a number of our friends collected together, who were holding a council and deliberating upon the best course for them to pursue to defend themselves against the mob, who were collecting in the neighborhood under the command of Colonel Jennings, of Livingston, and threatening them with house burning and killing. The decision of the council was that our friends should place themselves in an attitude of self-defense. Accordingly about twenty-eight of our men armed themselves and were in constant readiness for an attack of any small body of men that might come down upon them.

" 'The same evening, for some reason best known to themselves, the mob sent one of their number to enter into a treaty with our friends, which was accepted, on the condition of mutual forbearance on both sides, and that each party, as far as their influence extended, should exert themselves to prevent any further hostilities upon either party. At this time, however, there was another mob collecting on Grand River, at William Mann's, who were threatening us, consequently we remained under arms.

" 'Monday passed away without molestation from any quarter. On Tuesday, the 30th, that bloody tragedy was acted, the scenes of which I shall never forget. More than three fourths of the day had passed in tranquility, as smiling as the preceding one. I think there was no individual of our company that was apprised of the sudden and awful fate that hung over our heads like an overwhelming torrent, which was to change the prospect, the feelings and circumstances of about thirty families. The banks of Shoal Creek on either side teemed with children sporting and playing,

while their mothers were engaged in domestic employments, and their fathers employed in guarding the mills and other property, while others were engaged in gathering in their crops for the winter consumption. The weather was very pleasant, the sun shone clear, all was tranquil, and no one expressed any apprehension of the awful crisis that was near us—even at our doors.

"'It was about four o'clock, while sitting in my cabin with my babe in my arms, and my wife standing by my side, the door being open, I cast my eyes on the opposite bank of Shoal Creek, and saw a large company of armed men on horses, directing their course towards the mills with all possible speed. As they advanced through the scattering trees that stood on the edge of the prairie they seemed to form themselves into a three square position, forming a vanguard in front.

"'At this moment, David Evans, seeing the superiority of their numbers (there being two hundred and forty of them according to their own account), swung his hat and cried for "peace." This not being heard, they continued to advance, and their leader, Mr. Nehemiah Comstock, fired a gun, which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once, they discharged about one hundred rifles, aiming at a blacksmith's shop into which our friends had fled for safety; and charged up to the shop, the cracks of which between the logs were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the bodies of those who had there fled for refuge from the fire of their murderers. There were several families tented in rear of the shop, whose lives were exposed, and who amidst a shower of bullets fled to the woods in different directions.

"'After standing and gazing on this bloody scene for a few minutes, and finding myself in the uttermost danger, the bullets having reached the house where I was living, I committed my family to the protection of heaven, and leaving the house on the opposite side I took a path which led up the hill, following in the trail of three of my brethren that had fled from the shop. While ascending the hill we were discovered by the mob, who immediately fired at us, and

continued so to do till we reached the summit. In descending the hill I secreted myself in a thicket of bushes, where I lay till eight o'clock in the evening, at which time I heard a female voice calling my name in an undertone, telling me that the mob was gone and there was no danger. I immediately left the thicket and went to the house of Benjamin Lewis, where I found my family (who had fled there) in safety, and two of my friends mortally wounded, one of whom died before morning. Here we passed the painful night in deep and awful reflections on the scenes of the preceding evening.

"'After daylight appeared some four or five men, with myself, who had escaped with our lives from the horrible massacre, repaired as soon as possible to the mills to learn the condition of our friends, whose fate we had too truly anticipated. When we arrived at the house of Mr. Haun we found Mr. Merrick's body lying in rear of the house. Mr. McBride's in front was literally mangled from head to foot. We were informed by Miss Rebecca Judd, who was an eye-witness, that he was shot with his own gun after he had given it up, and then cut to pieces with a corn cutter by a Mr. Rogers, of Daviess County, who keeps a ferry on Grand River, and who has since repeatedly boasted of this act of savage barbarity. Mr. York's body we found in the house, and after viewing these corpses we immediately went to the blacksmith's shop, where we found nine of our friends, eight of whom were already dead, the other, Mr. Cox, of Indiana, struggling in the agonies of death, who expired. We immediately prepared and carried them to the place of interment. This last office of kindness, due to the relics of departed friends, was not attended with the customary ceremonies or decency, for we were in jeopardy every moment, expecting to be fired upon by the mob, who we supposed were lying in ambush waiting for the first opportunity to dispatch the remaining few who were providentially preserved from the slaughter of the preceding day. However, we accomplished without molestation this painful task. The place of burying was a vault in the ground, formerly intended for a well, into which we threw the bodies of our friends promiscuously.

Among those slain I will mention Sardius Smith, son of Warren Smith, about twelve years old, who through fear had crawled under the bellows in the shop, where he remained till the massacre was over, when he was discovered by a Mr. Glaze, of Carroll County, who presented his rifle near the boy's head and literally blowed off the upper part of it. Mr. Stanley, of Carroll, told me afterwards that Glaze boasted of this fiend-like murder and heroic deed all over the country.

"'The number killed and mortally wounded in this wanton slaughter was eighteen or nineteen. . . .

"'Miss Mary Stedwell, while fleeing, was shot through the hand, and, fainting, fell over a log, into which they shot upwards of twenty balls.

"'To finish their work of destruction this band of murderers, composed of men from Daviess, Livingston, Ray, Carroll, and Chariton counties, led by some of the principal men of that section of the upper country (among whom, I am informed, were Mr. Ashley, of Chariton, member of the State Legislature, Colonel Jennings, of Livingston County, Thomas R. Bryan, clerk of Livingston County, Mr. Whitney, Dr. Randall, and many others), proceeded to rob the houses, wagons, and tents of bedding and clothing, drove off horses and wagons, leaving widows and orphans destitute of the necessaries of life, and even stripped the clothing from the bodies of the slain. According to their own account they fired seven rounds in this awful butchery, making upwards of one thousand six hundred shots at a little company of men about thirty in number.

"'I hereby certify the above to be a true statement of facts, according to the best of my knowledge.

"'JOSEPH YOUNG.'

"Subscribed and sworn to by Joseph Young, June 4, 1839, before C. M. Woods, clerk of the circuit court of Adams County, Illinois, at Quincy, in said county.

"Let us now hear the story as told by Mrs. Amanda Smith, whose husband, Warren Smith, and little ten year old son, Sardius Smith, both perished in the massacre.

"STATEMENT OF AMANDA SMITH, WIDOW OF WARREN SMITH.

"'*To whom this may concern:*—I do hereby certify that my husband, Warren Smith, in company with several other families, were moving from Ohio to Missouri. We came to Caldwell County. Whilst we were traveling, minding our own business, we were stopped by a mob; they told us that if we went another step they would kill us all. They took our guns from us (as [we] were going into a new country, we took guns along with us); they took us back five miles, placed a guard around us, there kept us three days and let us go.

Statement of Amanda Smith.

"'I thought: Is this our boasted land of liberty? For some said we must deny our faith, or they would kill us; others said we should die at any rate. The names of this mob, or the heads, were Thomas R. Bryan, county clerk, Jefferson Bryan, William Ewell, and James Austin, all of Livingston County. After they let us go we traveled ten miles, came to a small town composed of one grist mill, one saw mill, and eight or ten houses belonging to our brethren; there we stopped for the night.

"'A little before sunset a mob of three hundred came upon us. The men hallooed for the women and children to run for the woods; and they ran into an old blacksmith shop, for they feared if we all ran together they would rush upon us and kill the women and children. The mob fired before we had time to start from our camp. Our men took off their hats and swung them and cried "quarter" until they were shot. The mob paid no attention to their cries nor entreaties, but fired incessantly.

"'I took my little girls—my boys I could not find—and started for the woods. The mob encircled us on all sides but the brook. I ran down the bank, across the mill pond on a plank, up the hill into the bushes. The bullets whistled all the way like hail, and cut down the bushes on all sides of us. One girl was wounded by my side and fell over a log, and her clothes hung across the log; and they shot at them, expecting they were hitting her; and our people afterwards cut out of that log twenty bullets.

" 'I sat down to witness the dreadful scene. When they had done firing they began to howl, and one would have thought that all the infernals had come from the lower region. They plundered the principal part of our goods, took our horses and wagons, and ran off howling like demons.

" 'I came down to witness the awful scene. Oh horrible! what a sight! My husband, and one son ten years old, lifeless upon the ground, and one son seven years old wounded very bad; the ground covered with the dead. These little boys crept under the bellows in the shop; one little boy ten years old had three wounds in him; he lived five weeks and died; he was not mine.

" 'Realize for a moment the scene:—It was sunset; nothing but horror and distress; the dogs, filled with rage, howling over their dead masters; the cattle caught the scent of innocent blood, and bellowed; a dozen helpless widows, thirty or forty fatherless children, screaming and groaning for the loss of their fathers and husbands; the groans of the wounded and dying—all these were enough to have melted the heart of anything but a Missouri mob.

" 'There were fifteen dead and ten wounded; two died the next day. There were no men, or not enough to bury the dead; so they were thrown into a dry well and covered with dirt. The next day the mob came back. They told us we must leave the State forthwith or be killed. It was cold weather and they had our teams and clothes; our men all dead or wounded. I told them they might kill me and my children and welcome. They sent to us from time to time if we did not leave the State they would come and kill us. We had little prayer meetings. They said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. We had spelling schools for our little children; they said if we did not stop them they would kill every man, woman, and child. We did our own milking, got our own wood; no man to help us.

" 'I started the 1st of February for Illinois without money (mob all the way), drove our own team, slept out of doors. I had five small children; we suffered hunger, fatigue, and

cold; for what? For our religion; where in a boasted land of liberty "deny your faith or die" was the cry.

" 'I will mention some of the names of the heads of the mob: Two brothers by the name of Comstock, William Mann, Benjamin Ashley, Robert White, one by the name of Rogers, who took an old scythe and cut an old white-headed man all to pieces.

" 'I wish further also to state that when the mob came there (as I was told by one of them afterwards), their intention was to kill everything belonging to us that had life; and that after our men were shot down by them they went around and shot all the dead men over again, to make sure of their lives.

" 'I now leave it with this honorable government to say what my damages may be, or what they would be willing to see their wives and children slaughtered for, as I have seen my husband, son, and others.

" 'I lost in property by the mob—to goods stolen, $50; one pocketbook and $50 cash, bank notes; damage of horses and team, $100; one gun, $10; in short, my all. Whole damages are more than the whole State of Missouri is worth.

" 'Written by my own hand, this 18th day of April, 1839.

" 'AMANDA SMITH.

" 'QUINCY, Adams County, Illinois.'

"Hyrum Smith, the brother of the 'prophet,' in his 'statement' on record in the archives of the church at Salt Lake makes the following reference to the affair at Haun's Mill:—

Statement of Hyrum Smith.

" 'Immediately after this there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mill, bringing the intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two hundred or three hundred detached from the main body of the army, under the superior command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock, who, the day previous, had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order *to exterminate or to expel*, from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day and surprised and massacred the whole population, and then came on to the town of Far West

and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us that he himself with a few others fled into the thickets, which preserved them from massacre, and on the following morning returned and collected the dead bodies of the people and cast them into a well. There were upwards of twenty (?) who were dead or mortally wounded. One of the name of Yocum has lately had his leg amputated in consequence of wounds he then received. He had a ball shot through his head, which entered near his eye and came out the back part of his head, and another ball passed through one of his arms.'

"Extracts from a statement of Nathan K. Knight.

" '. . . We traveled through the lower part of Missouri without any difficulty, the people treating us kindly and advising us to leave the main road, as mobs were collecting on it. We traveled on byroads and came out at Compton's Ferry, on one fork of Grand River, where we camped. Next day we traveled across a prairie of thirty miles without inhabitants, and arrived at Whitney's mill, on Shoal Creek, Livingston County, Missouri. We crossed over the mill pond next morning in a flat boat and started across to Caldwell County, a distance of fourteen miles. When we were about two miles out we met a party of sixty men, armed and mounted, led by Thomas Bryan, who compelled us to give up our arms and return to Whitney's mill, where we remained a week. . . . While they were drunk and asleep one afternoon we hitched up, recrossed the mill pond, told the women living there that we were going back out of the State, and took the back track for two miles, where we halted a few minutes and requested Elder Joseph Young to take the lead of the company, which now numbered eleven wagons and families. He objected, but appointed Bro. Levi Merrick to take charge. We started on, leaving the main road and taking a dividing ridge without any track and traveled on that afternoon and night and halted just before daybreak to bury a son of mine, sixteen years old, who had just died. . . . The next day Bro. Walker's son-in-law [of Caldwell County] piloted us to Haun's mill, where we arrived in the afternoon, found a

Of Nathan Knight.

number of brethren waiting to get grinding done. We remained until next morning, and, as we had been on short rations for a number of days, we purchased some grain, and, as we could not get it ground until late in the day, we concluded to wait till next morning.

" 'About thirty minutes past three o'clock p. m. that day (October 30) Bro. David Evans, Father Myers, and another brother returned from an appointed meeting with the mob, who agreed in writing to let the saints alone if the saints would let them alone. Bro. Evans said he did not feel like the mob intended to keep their word, and advised the brethren to keep out a double guard, and while he was organizing it and within half an hour after his return his fears were confirmed. . . . I had just finished eating. I caught my gun and hung my powder horn over my neck, when the buckskin string was cut by a ball fired by their leader, which also passed through my vest pocket, taking out my pocket knife. . . . The women and children were so terrified that some of them would run in front of the mob's guns and cry, "Murder! Murder!" . . . As one man was running to help cut him [Esq. McBride] down, swearing as he went, I fired my gun the first time. The ball passed through one hip and lodged in the other. He was always a cripple afterwards. . . . Two men had Bro. Warren Smith stripped of his coat, hat, and boots, and were dragging him around after he was dead and kicking him. . . . The first wound I received was in the finger of my right hand. The next in my left leg, and the next in my body, the ball entering just above the small of my back and lodging just below the pit of my stomach. The last shot brought me to my hands and knees. I recovered myself and tried to escape. . . . I made out to get three quarters of a mile farther through timber and brush, and secreted myself in some fallen tree tops. . . . I remained about three quarters of an hour. A little after sunset I saw Sister Polly Wood (formerly Miss Polly Merrill). I motioned for her to come to me. I could not call her, neither could I stand up. She came and tried to lead me back, but I was too weak. She then kneeled down and placed her hands on my wounds and prayed the Lord to

strengthen and heal me. I never heard a more powerful prayer. The Lord answered her prayer, and I received strength and walked back to Haun's house by resting three or four times. . . . The mob were all gone and had taken with them all our horses, wagons, cows, and all of our property of every description, both belonging to our camp and the settlement, which numbered a half dozen houses or more. Bro. Haun's house escaped their ravages, but his horses were taken from the stable. I had nothing left but a small trunk; the contents were gone excepting a bottle of consecrated oil, which they had left on the ground. Sister Haun and my wife passed the night in dressing the wounds and making comfortable, as far as possible, the wounded and dying. Their groans and shrieks made the night hideous and horrible beyond description, and the women were the only ones to administer comfort during that night of desolation and suffering; I prevailed on them to sing "Moroni's Lamentation," contained in our hymn book. . . .

" 'A few days after the massacre the mob returned to the mill and ground up all the brethren's grain in that region of country. They numbered about one hundred and remained about a month, killing hogs, robbing bee stands and hen houses. I and my family suffered much for food. At the end of six weeks I began to get around a little, and was again fired upon by a mob of fourteen. I escaped into the woods unhurt. . . .

" 'About the first of February I and three or four of the brethren left for Illinois, locating near Lima. The next fall I gathered with the saints at Nauvoo. In September, 1842, my wife died from injuries and hardships received and endured at Haun's mill, and during the Missouri persecution.

" 'NATHAN KINSMAN KNIGHT.' "

—History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, pp. 145-158.

CHAPTER 14.

1838.

TROOPS AT FAR WEST—BETRAYED—COURT MARTIAL AND SENTENCE—CALDWELL MILITIA SURRENDERED—PRISONERS VISIT THEIR FAMILIES — START FOR JACKSON COUNTY — LYMAN WIGHT'S ACCOUNT—NOT SUBJECT TO COURT MARTIAL—ORDER FOR EXECUTION—THE REPLY—HINKLE'S STRANGE ACTION—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL CLARK—CLARK'S SPEECH—STRANGE MILITARY TACTICS—COURT OF INQUIRY IN DAVIESS COUNTY—ORDER OF EXPULSION—SAMPLE PERMIT—AGREEMENT—SOME HUMANITY LEFT—PETITION TO LEGISLATURE—SOUND ADVICE—PAGE AND TAYLOR ORDAINED APOSTLES—LEGISLATIVE ACTION.

OF AFFAIRS at Far West at this time Joseph Smith writes as follows:—

"On the 30th of October a large company of armed soldiery was seen approaching Far West. They came up near to the town, and then drew back about a mile and encamped for the night. We were informed that they were militia, ordered out by the Governor for the purpose of stopping our proceedings, it having been represented to his Excellency, by wicked and designing men from Daviess, that we were the aggressors and had committed outrages in Daviess, etc. They had not yet got the Governor's order of *extermination*, which I believe did not arrive till the next day.[1]

Troops at Far West.

"Wednesday, 31st. The militia of Far West guarded the city the past night, and threw up a temporary fortification of wagons, timber, etc., on the south. The sisters, many of them, were engaged in gathering up their most valuable effects, fearing a terrible battle in the morning, and that the houses might be fired and they obliged to flee, the enemy being five to one against us.

"About eight o'clock a flag was sent, which was met by

[1] This is doubtless a mistake. According to other records the order was received on the 30th.

several of our people, and it was hoped that matters would be satisfactorily arranged after the officers had heard a true statement of all the circumstances. Colonel Hinkle went to meet the flag, and secretly made an engagement—1st, To give up their [the church's] leaders to be tried and punished; 2d, To make an appropriation of their property, all who had taken up arms, to the payment of their debts, and indemnify for damage done by them; 3d, That the balance should leave the State and be protected out by the militia, but be permitted to remain under protection until further orders were received from the Commander in Chief; 4th, To give up the arms of every description, to be receipted for.

"The enemy was reinforced by about one thousand five hundred men to-day, and news of the destruction of property by the mob reached us from every quarter.

"Towards evening I was waited upon by Colonel Hinkle, who stated that the officers of the militia desired to have an interview with me and some others, hoping that the difficulties might be settled without having occasion to carry into effect the exterminating orders which they had received from the Governor. I immediately complied with the request, and in company with Elders Rigdon and Pratt, Colonel Wight and George W. Robinson, went into the camp of the militia. But judge of my surprise when, instead of being treated with that respect which is due from one citizen to another, we were taken as prisoners of war, and were treated with the utmost contempt. The officers would not converse with us, and the soldiers, almost to a man, insulted us as much as they felt disposed, breathing out threats against me and my companions. I cannot begin to tell the scene which I there witnessed. The loud cries and yells of more than one thousand voices, which rent the air and could be heard for miles, and the horrid and blasphemous threats and curses which were poured upon us in torrents, were enough to appall the stoutest heart. In the evening we had to lie down on the cold ground, surrounded by a strong guard, who were only kept back by the power of God from depriving us of life. We petitioned the officers to know why we were thus treated, but they utterly refused

Betrayed.

to give us any answer or to converse with us. After we arrived in the camp Brother Stephen Winchester and eleven other brethren who were prisoners volunteered, with permission of the officers, to carry Brother Carey into the city to his family, he having lain exposed to the weather for a show to the inhuman wretches, without having his wounds dressed or being nourished in any manner. He died soon after he reached home.

"Thursday, November 1. Brothers Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought prisoners into camp. They held a court martial and sentenced us to be shot on Friday morning, on the public square, as an ensample to the 'Mormons.' However, notwithstanding their sentence and determination they were not permitted to carry their murderous sentence into execution. Having an opportunity of speaking to General Wilson, I inquired of him the cause why I was thus treated. I told him I was not sensible of having done anything worthy of such treatment; that I had always been a supporter of the Constitution and of democracy. His answer was, 'I know it, and that is the reason why I want to kill you, or have you killed.'

Court martial and sentence.

"The militia then went into the town and without any restraint whatever plundered the houses and abused the innocent and unoffending inhabitants. They went to my house and drove my family out of doors. They carried away most of my property and left many destitute. General Doniphan declared he would have nothing to do with such cold-blooded murder, and that he would withdraw his brigade in the morning.

"Governor Boggs wrote General Clark from Jefferson City, that he considered full and ample powers were vested in him to carry into effect the former orders. Says Boggs:—

" 'The case is now a very plain one—the Mormons must be subdued and peace restored to the community; you will therefore proceed without delay to execute the former orders. Full confidence is reposed in your ability to do so; your force will be amply sufficient to accomplish the object. Should you need the aid of artillery I would suggest that an application be made to the commanding officer of Fort Leav-

enworth for such as you may need. You are authorized to request the loan of it in the name of the State of Missouri. The ringleaders of this rebellion should be made an example of; and if it should become necessary for the public peace, the Mormons should be exterminated or expelled from the State.'

"This morning General Lucas ordered the Caldwell militia to give up their arms. Hinkle, having made a treaty with the mob on his own responsibility, to carry out his treachery, marched the troops out of the city, and the brethren gave up their arms, their own property, which no government on earth had a right to require.

Caldwell militia surrendered.

"The mob (called Governor's troops) then marched into town, and under pretense of searching for arms, tore up floors, upset haystacks, plundering the most valuable effects they could lay their hands on, wasted and destroyed a great amount of property which could do themselves no good, compelled the brethren to sign deeds of trust at the point of the bayonet, to pay the expenses of the mob even while the chastity of the place was desecrated. About eighty men were taken prisoners, the remainder were ordered to leave the State, and were forbid to be more than three in a place, and if they were the mob would shoot at them.

"Friday, 2d. About this time Sampson Avard was found by the mob secreted in the hazel brush some miles from Far West, and brought into camp, where they were 'hail fellows well met,' for Avard told them that Daniteism was an order of the church, and by his lying tried to make the church a scapegoat for his sins.

"We were taken to the town, into the public square, and before our departure from Far West, we, after much entreaty, were suffered to see our families, being attended all the while with a strong guard. I found my wife and children in tears, who expected we were shot by those who had sworn to take our lives, and that they should see me no more. When I entered my house they clung to my garments, their eyes streaming with tears, while mingled emotions of joy and sorrow were manifest in their countenances. I requested to have a private

Prisoners visit their families.

interview with them a few minutes, but this privilege was denied me. I was then obliged to take my departure, but who can realize my feelings which I experienced at that time, to be torn from my companion, and leaving her surrounded with monsters in the shape of men, and my children too, not knowing how their wants would be supplied; to be taken far from them in order that my enemies might destroy me when they thought proper to do so. My partner wept, my children clung to me, and were only thrust from me by the swords of the guards who guarded me. I felt overwhelmed while I witnessed the scene, and could only recommend them to the care of that God whose kindness had followed me to the present time, and who alone could protect them, and deliver me from the hands of my enemies, and restore me to my family. I was then taken back to the camp, and then I with the rest of my brethren; namely, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman, and George W. Robinson, were started off for Independence, Jackson County, and encamped at night on Crooked River, under a strong guard commanded by Generals Lucas and Wilson."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 510, 523–525.

Start for Jackson County.

The journal of Lyman Wight agrees with this account. He writes:—

"30th October. This morning about two o'clock came into my house two messengers from Far West and informed me that a large body of troops were encamped in half a mile of that place and for what purpose it was unknown. And as I had been the acting commander of that regiment, Joseph Smith and others requested that I would come forthwith to that place. In an hour's time I was mounted upon my favorite horse, Dragon, and one hundred and twenty mounted men by my side, lightly bounding over the vast prairies between this place and Far West, where we arrived about eight o'clock a. m. and found the whole town in an uproar, and twenty-two hundred well-armed men encamped in half a mile of the town, professing to be militia of the State. My advice was to send immediately a flag of truce. This was believed to be a requisite

Lyman Wight's account.

course, and accordingly George M. Hinkle and John Corrill were appointed to be the bearers of this flag. They came back and informed us, Joseph Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, George W. Robinson, and Lyman Wight, that the chief officers of the army desired an interview with us, and that if we were not in the camp previous to six o'clock p. m. they would fall upon and destroy Far West together with its inhabitants; and that if we would come they would pledge their honor that we should be released that night or the next morning early. Accordingly we went and met the whole camp under motion to receive us. Generals Lucas, Wilson, and Doniphan brandished their swords and made a short halt, when George M. Hinkle made his obeisance and said: 'Gentlemen, these are the prisoners whom I agreed to deliver up to you.' We were then hurried into camp in front of the mouth of a six pounder, and placed under a strong guard of ninety soldiers, well armed. This proved to be a dismal night on the account of the rain, and three alarms in the course of the night, which brought every man to his feet, and placed him under arms. The hideous screeches and screaming of this wretched, murderous band would have made a perfect dead silence with the damned in hell. Thus I spent the first night after being imprisoned, for believing the Book of Mormon, and Joseph Smith to be a prophet of God.

"31st. This morning Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were brought into camp to be our fellow prisoners. In suffering the wrath of this unhallowed mob militia, we spent this day, which proved to be rainy, on a small spot of ground snugly inclosed by a guard of ninety men. About seven o'clock I was taken one side by General Moses Wilson, who informed me that they were about to hold a court-martial upon the prisoners, and asked me if I would turn State's evidence and swear to what I knew concerning Joseph Smith. I answered that I would. He then said: 'Wight, we do not wish to kill you or hurt you; we believe you to be an honest man.' After using much more sophistry he asked me what I knew concerning him [Joseph Smith]. I informed him that as far as I was acquainted with him that I

knew no man, 'more honest or more philanthropic, having a greater zeal and love for his country and its laws, or one who would strive more for the peace and happiness of mankind than Joseph Smith.' He then informed the guard that he had no further use for me, and ordered them to place me back with the prisoners.

"Sometime about the hour of eleven o'clock General Doniphan called on me and said to me: 'Wight, your case is a damned hard one; you are all sentenced to be shot to-morrow morning at eight o'clock on the public square in Far West, by fourteen to seven, and for this reason I wash my hands against such cool-blooded and heartless murder.' And also said he should move his troops, numbering three hundred, before sunrise the next morning, and would not suffer them to witness such hard-hearted, cruel, and base murder. He then shook hands with me and bade me farewell."

Not subject to court martial.

We need not remind the reader that those of these prisoners who were not members of any military organization were not subject to a court martial, but if crime was alleged should have been tried before the civil courts. Nor was there any necessity for the military to be called out to make the arrest, as they had not then, nor at any other time had they resisted arrest. There were no warrants for them, nor were they cited to trial. Lyman Wight was, so far as we know, the only military officer among them. There might have been some pretext for trying him before a court martial if he had been guilty of any breach of military discipline. But no claim of this kind was ever made that we are aware of, nor was he ever charged with disobeying his superior officers. So the whole transaction was illegal and uncalled for, both from a military and civil standpoint. Yet did they, in utter disregard of all law, try these men before a military court, and sentence them to death.

General Doniphan was ordered to execute the sentence, but with characteristic courage and manliness he spurned the order, though by doing so he became subject to trial and punishment for insubordination. The following is a copy of the order:—

"*Brigadier-General Doniphan; Sir:* You will take Joseph Smith and the other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Order for execution.

"SAMUEL D. LUCAS,
"Major-General Commanding."

—History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, p. 137.

To the honor of General Doniphan, he dared to take the consequence of returning the following reply to his superior:—

"It is cold-blooded murder. I will not obey your order. My brigade shall march for Liberty to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock; and if you execute those men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God!

The reply.

"A. W. DONIPHAN, Brigadier-General."

—Ibid., p. 137.

This historian continues as follows:—

"The prisoners somehow heard of the order, and kneeled in prayer, and prayed fervently that it might not be executed. And it was not. Flagrantly insubordinate as was General Doniphan's refusal, he was never called to account for it."—Ibid., p. 137.

It may be well here to mention the strange action of George M. Hinkle in delivering his brethren into the hands of the enemy. His act was looked upon by the church as the act of a traitor, he was expelled from the church, and was afterward held in contempt by his brethren; but the writer of the History of Caldwell County gives a different solution, and we here insert it for the consideration of the reader:—

Hinkle's strange conduct.

"Doubtless this officer was actuated by the noble motive of desiring to save the lives of scores if not hundreds of his brethren in his action, but he concealed the real state of affairs from the leaders of the church, and his conduct was marked with something of diplomacy—the Mormons called it duplicity and treachery. He visited the parties designated by General Lucas, and informed them that they were wanted, not for hostages, but to confer with General Lucas

and the other military authorities in arranging a compromise or truce. Doubtless he feared that if he disclosed the real purpose for which they were wanted, they would refuse to surrender themselves, and the most direful results would follow. He knew that the militia against him numbered about 3,000, or about five to one of his own force; that a fight could result but one way, and under the Governor's orders the consequences would be most frightful and terrible—practically wholesale slaughter. 'Gen.' [Col.] Hinkle was a Kentuckian, and personally brave and fearless. He did not fear danger for himself, but for his brethren, and his course, it must be admitted, was certainly for the best. Yet the Mormons ever afterwards regarded him as a traitor, and he was cut off from the church, and spent his last days in Iowa, and died aloof from his former brethren."—History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, pp. 135, 136.

Article 2 of the contract between Hinkle and Lucas, as given on page 256 of this work, was afterward interpreted to hold the saints for the payment of the debts of the war which had been waged against them. This whole procedure has been looked upon by men of fairness as being extraordinary and cruel.

The History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, has this to say upon the subject:—

"What authority General Lucas had to make such a 'treaty' and to impose such conditions, is not clear. It would seem that he regarded the Mormons as composing a foreign nation, or at least as forming an army with belligerent rights, and with proper treaty-contracting powers. The truth was they were and had not ceased to be citizens of Missouri, amenable to and under jurisdiction of its laws. If they had committed any crime they ought to have been punished, just the same as other criminals. There was no authority for taking their arms from them except that they were proved to be militia in a state of insubordination. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to pay the expenses of the war. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to leave the State. It was monstrously illegal and unjust to attempt to punish them for offenses for

which they had not been tried and of which they had not been convicted. It would be a reasonable conclusion that in making his so-called 'treaty' General Lucas was guilty of illegal extortion, unwarranted assumption of power, usurpation of authority, and flagrant violation of the natural rights of man.

"By an act of the legislature approved December 11, 1838, the sum of $2,000 was appropriated, 'for the purpose of relieving the indigent and suffering families in Caldwell and Daviess Counties,' and the following commissioners were appointed to expend the sum and 'distribute food, raiment, and other necessaries' among the deserving: Anderson Martin, Wm. Thornton, and John C. Richardson, of Ray County; Elisha Camron, John Thornton, and Eli Casey, of Clay; Henry McHenry, of Caldwell, and M. T. Green, of Daviess. It is asserted that not a dollar of the appropriation was expended for the benefit of the Mormons, although the act itself did not especially exclude them. The Gentiles were the sole beneficiaries.

"The same legislature also prohibited the publication of 'the orders, letters, evidences, and other documents relating to the Mormon disturbances,' and enjoined the Secretary of the State from 'furnishing or permitting to be taken copies of the same for any purpose whatsoever.' Two years later, however, this prohibition was rescinded. (See Acts 10th Gen. Assembly, p. 334.) Why the act was passed in the first place may better be conjectured than positively asserted."—History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, p. 143.

On November 4 General Clark arrived at Far West and assumed command.

Clark's speech.

The speech he made on the 6th, when he had gathered the people of Far West on the public square, will give the reader an idea of the man and what measures might be expected of him. It was as follows:—

"*Gentlemen:*—You whose names are not attached to this list of names will now have the privilege of going to your fields and providing corn, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken will go from this to prison, be

tried, and receive the due demerit of their crimes. But you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against) are now at liberty, as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the place, which I shall cause to be done immediately. It now devolves upon you to fulfill the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you:—

"The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law; this you have already complied with.

"The second is, that you deliver up your arms; this has been attended to.

"The third stipulation is, that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war; this you have also done.

"Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the State forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me; General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you—I approve of it—I should have done the same, had I been here—I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this State has suffered almost beyond redemption from the character, conduct, and influence that you have exerted; and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the States, by every proper means.

"The orders of the Governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the State; and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes.

"There is a discretionary power vested in my hands which I shall exercise in your favor for a season; for *this* lenity you are indebted to *my* clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again, in case of a noncompliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall act any more as I have done—you need not expect

any mercy, but extermination, for I am determined the Governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for their *fate is fixed*—THEIR DIE IS CAST—THEIR DOOM IS SEALED!

"I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that *Great Spirit*, THE UNKNOWN GOD, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound—that you no longer worship a man.

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule—and my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 555.

About ten thousand of the State militia was called out to march against Far West, and for what purpose? To meet a foreign foe? No. What then? To meet a regiment of State troops—a part of their own force, whose officers were commissioned by the Governor of the State, and who had always acted under orders of their superior officers. They had never failed to report for duty when called upon. In this instance they were not ordered to report for duty. They were simply reserved as a foe that their ten thousand gallant comrades might have an enemy to fight. Strange military tactics were these!

Strange military tactics.

On November 6, 1838, the Governor wrote General Clark, authorizing and directing him to hold a military court of inquiry in Daviess County. The order read as follows:—

"It will also be necessary that you hold a military court of inquiry in Daviess County and arrest the Mormons who

have been guilty of the late outrages committed towards the inhabitants of said county. My instructions to you are to settle this whole matter completely, if possible, before you disband your forces. If the Mormons are disposed voluntarily to leave the State, of course it would be advisable in you to promote that object in any way deemed proper. The *ringleaders of their rebellion, though, ought by no means to be permitted to escape the punishment they merit.*"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 555, 556.

Court of Inquiry in Daviess County.

General Clark ordered Brigadier-General Robert Wilson to Adam-ondi-ahman for the purpose of this inquiry.

General Wilson arrived at Adam-ondi-ahman November 8, 1838, and immediately put a guard around the town, with instruction to allow no person to pass in or out without permission. He then put every man in town under guard, and instituted a court of inquiry with Adam Black, before-mentioned, on the bench, and a soldier of General Clark's command acting as prosecuting attorney. After three days investigation every man was by this court "honorably acquitted."

After this acquittal General Wilson issued an order that every family must be out of town within ten days, with permission to go to Caldwell County for the winter, then to leave the State under pain of extermination. Here is a specimen of the permits granted to men against whom no charge had been sustained:—

Order of expulsion.

"I permit David Holman to remove from Daviess to Caldwell County, there to remain during the winter, or to pass out of the State.

"R. Wilson, Brigadier-General.
"By F. G. Cocknu, Aid.

"November 10, 1838."

There was an agreement made between the mob and the saints by which the latter could obtain their stock with the consent of their opponents. The agreement was as follows:—

Agreement.

"1. That the Mormon committee be allowed to employ, say twenty teamsters for the purpose of hauling off their property.

"2. That the Mormon committee collect whatever stock they may have in Daviess County at some point, and some two or three of the Daviess County committee be notified to attend for the purpose of examining said stock, and convey or attend the Mormon committee out of the limits of the county; and it is further understood that the Mormon committee is not to drive or take from this county any stock of any description at any other time nor under any other circumstances than these mentioned.

"As witness our hands,

"WILLIAM P. PENISTON,
"DR. K. KERR,
"ADAM BLACK,
} Committee.

"The above propositions were made and agreed to by the undersigned committee on the part of the Mormons.

"WILLIAM HUNTINGTON.
"B. S. WILBER.
"J. H. HALE.
"HENRY HERRIMAN.
"Z. WILSON."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 566, 567.

Some humanity left.

There was, however, some humanity left in upper Missouri, and some noble-minded men raised their voices in protest against the outrages of the militia and in defense of justice.

The following letter from a citizen of Clay County to members of the legislature is a case in point:—

"M. Arthur, Esq., to the Representatives from Clay County.

"LIBERTY, November 29, 1838.

"*Respected Friends:*—Humanity to an injured people prompts me at present to address you thus: You were aware of the treatment (to some extent before you left home) received by that unfortunate race of beings called the Mormons, from Daviess, in the form of human beings inhabiting Daviess, Livingston, and a part of Ray County; not being satisfied with the relinquishment of all their rights as citizens and human beings, in the treaty forced upon them by General Lucas, by giving up their arms and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the State and their fellow citizens generally, hoping thereby protection of their lives and

property, are now receiving treatment from those demons that makes humanity shudder, and the cold chills run over any man not entirely destitute of any feeling of humanity. These demons are now constantly strolling up and down Caldwell County, in small companies armed, insulting the women in any and every way, and plundering the poor devils of all the means of subsistence (scanty as it was) left them, and driving off their horses, cattle, hogs, etc., and rifling their houses and farms of everything therein, taking beds, bedding, wardrobe, and all such things as they see they want, leaving the poor Mormons in a starving and naked condition.

"These are facts I have from authority that cannot be questioned, and can be maintained and substantiated at any time. There is now a petition afloat in our town, signed by the citizens of all parties and grades, which will be sent you in a few days, praying the legislature to make some speedy enactment applicable to their case. They are entirely willing to leave our State so soon as this inclement season is over; and a number have already left, and are leaving daily, scattering themselves to the four winds of the earth.

"Now, sirs, I do not want by any means to dictate to you the course to be pursued, but one fact I will merely suggest. I this day was conversing with Mr. George M. Pryer, who is just from Far West, relating the outrages there committed daily. I suggested to him the propriety of the legislature's placing a guard to patrol on the lines of Caldwell County, say of about twenty-five men, and give them, say about one dollar or one and a half per day, each man, and find their provisions, etc., until, say the first day of June next; these men rendering that protection necessary to the Mormons and allowing them to follow and bring to justice any individuals who have heretofore or will hereafter be guilty of plundering or any violation of the laws. I would suggest that George M. Pryer be appointed captain of said guard, and that he will be allowed to raise his own men, if he is willing thus to act. He is a man of correct habits, and will do justice to all sides and render due satisfaction.

"Should this course not be approved of, I would recom-

mend the restoration of their arms for their own protection. One or the other of these suggestions is certainly due the Mormons from the State. She has now their leaders prisoners, to the number of fifty or sixty, and I apprehend no danger from the remainder in any way until they will leave the State.

"M. ARTHUR."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 565, 566.

On December 10, 1838, a committee appointed by the saints petitioned the legislature as follows:—

"*To the Honorable Legislature of the State of Missouri, in Senate and House of Representatives convened:*—

"We the undersigned petitioners and inhabitants of Caldwell County, Missouri, in consequence of the late calamity that has come upon us, taken in connection with former afflictions, feel it a duty we owe to ourselves and our country to lay our case before your honorable body for consideration. It is a well-known fact that a society of our people commenced settling in Jackson County, Missouri, in the summer of 1831, where they, according to their ability, purchased lands and settled upon them, with the intention and expectation of becoming permanent citizens in common with others.

Petition to legislature.

"Soon after the settlement began, persecution began; and as the society increased, persecution also increased, until the society at last was compelled to leave the county; and although an account of these persecutions has been published to the world, yet we feel that it will not be improper to notice a few of the most prominent items in this memorial.

"On the 20th of July, 1833, a mob convened at Independence—a committee of which called upon a few of the men of our church there and stated to them that the store-printing office, and indeed all other mechanic shops, must be closed forthwith, and the society leave the county immediately.

"These propositions were so unexpected that a certain time was asked for to consider on the subject before an answer should be returned, which was refused, and our men being individually interrogated, each one answered that he could not consent to comply with their propositions. One

of the mob replied that he was sorry, for the work of destruction would commence immediately.

"In a short time the printing office, which was a two story building, was assailed by the mob and soon thrown down, and with it much valuable property destroyed. Next they went to the store for the same purpose; but Mr. Gilbert, one of the owners, agreeing to close it, they abandoned their design. Their next move was their dragging of Bishop Partridge from his house and family to the public square, where, surrounded by hundreds, they partially stripped him of his clothes and tarred and feathered him from head to foot. A man by the name of Allen was also tarred at the same time. This was Saturday, and the mob agreed to meet the following Tuesday to accomplish their purpose of driving or massacring the society.

"Tuesday came, and the mob came also, bearing with them a red flag in token of blood. Some two or three of the principal men of the society offered their lives if that would appease the wrath of the mob, so that the rest of the society might dwell in peace upon their lands. The answer was, that unless the society would leave en masse, every man should die for himself. Being in a defenseless situation, to save a general massacre, it was agreed that one half of the society should leave the county by the first of the next January, and the remainder by the first of the following April. A treaty was entered into and ratified, and all things went on smoothly for awhile. But sometime in October the wrath of the mob began again to be kindled, insomuch that they shot at some of our people, whipped others, and threw down their houses, and committed many other depredations; indeed the society of saints were harassed for some time, both day and night; their houses were brickbatted and broken open—women and children insulted, etc. The storehouse of A. S. Gilbert and Co. was broken open, ransacked, and some of the goods strewed in the streets.

"These abuses, with many others of a very aggravated nature, so stirred up the indignant feelings of our people that when a party of them, say about thirty, met a company of the mob of about double their number, a skirmish took

place in which some two or three of the mob and one of our people were killed. This raised as it were the whole country in arms—and nothing would satisfy them but an immediate surrender of the arms of our people and they forthwith to leave the county. Fifty-one guns were given up, which have never been returned or paid for to this day. The next day parties of the mob from fifty to seventy, headed by priests, went from house to house, threatening women and children with death if they were not off before they returned. This so alarmed them that they fled in different directions; some took shelter in the woods, while others wandered in the prairies till their feet bled. In the meantime, the weather being very cold, their sufferings in other respects were very great.

"The society made their escape to Clay County as fast as they possibly could, where the people received them kindly and administered to their wants. After the society had left Jackson County, their buildings, amounting to about two hundred, were either burned or otherwise destroyed; and much of their crops, as well as furniture, stock, etc., which, if properly estimated, would make a large sum, for which they have not as yet received any remuneration.

"The society remained in Clay County nearly three years; when, at the suggestion of the people there, they removed to that section of the country known now as Caldwell County. Here the people purchased out most of the former inhabitants, and also entered much of the wild land. Many soon owned a number of eighties, while there was scarcely a man that did not secure to himself at least a forty. Here we were permitted to enjoy peace for a season; but as our society increased in numbers and settlements were made in Daviess and Carroll Counties, the mob spirit spread itself again. For months previous to our giving up our arms to General Lucas' army, we heard little else than rumors of mobs collecting in different places and threatening our people. It is well known that the people of our church, who had located themselves at De Witt, had to give up to a mob and leave the place, notwithstanding the militia were called out for their protection.

"From De Witt the mob went towards Daviess County, and while on their way there they took two of our men prisoners, and made them ride upon the cannon, and told them that they would drive the 'Mormons' from Daviess to Caldwell, and from Caldwell to hell; and that they would give them no quarter, only at the cannon's mouth. The threats of the mob induced some of our people to go to Daviess to help to protect their brethren who had settled at Diahman, on Grand River. The mob soon fled from Daviess County; and after they were dispersed and the cannon taken, during which time no blood was shed, the people of Caldwell returned to their homes in hopes of enjoying peace and quiet; but in this they were disappointed, for a large mob was soon found to be collecting on the Grindstone (fork of Grand River), from ten to fifteen miles off, under the command of Cornelius Gillium, a scouting party of which came within four miles of Far West and drove off stock belonging to our people, in open daylight.

"About this time word came to Far West that a party of the mob had come into Caldwell County to the south of Far West; that they were taking horses and cattle, burning houses, and ordering the inhabitants to leave their homes immediately; and that they had then actually in their possession three men prisoners. This report reached Far West in the evening and was confirmed about midnight. A company of about sixty men went forth under the command of David W. Patten, to disperse the mob, as they supposed. A battle was the result, in which Captain Patten and two of his men were killed and others wounded. Bogart, it appears, had but one killed, and others wounded. Notwithstanding the unlawful acts committed by Captain Bogart's men previous to the battle, it is now asserted and claimed that he was regularly ordered out as a militia captain to preserve the peace along the line of Ray and Caldwell Counties. That battle was fought four or five days previous to the arrival of General Lucas and his army. About the time of the battle with Captain Bogart a number of our people who were living near Haun's Mills, on Shoal Creek, about twenty miles below Far West, together with a number of emigrants

who had been stopped there in consequence of the excitement, made an agreement with the mob which was about there that neither party should molest the other, but dwell in peace. Shortly after this agreement was made a mob party of from two to three hundred, many of whom are supposed to be from Chariton County, some from Daviess, and also those who had agreed to dwell in peace, came upon our people there, whose number in men was about forty, at a time they little expected any such thing, and without any ceremony, notwithstanding they begged for quarter, shot them down as they would tigers or panthers. Some few made their escape by fleeing. Eighteen were killed, and a number more were severely wounded.

"This tragedy was conducted in the most brutal and savage manner. An old man, after the massacre was partially over, threw himself into their hands and begged for quarter, when he was instanty shot down; that not killing him, they took an old corn-cutter and literally mangled him to pieces. A lad of ten years of age, after being shot down, also begged to be spared, when one of them placed the muzzle of his gun to his head and blew out his brains. The slaughter of these not satisfying the mob, they then proceeded to rob and plunder. The scene that presented itself after the massacre to the widows and orphans of the killed, is beyond description. It was truly a time of weeping, of mourning, and of lamentation.

"As yet we have not heard of any being arrested for these murders, notwithstanding there are men boasting about the county that they did kill on that occasion more than one 'Mormon;' whereas all our people who were in the battle with Captain Patten against Bogart, that can be found, have been arrested, and are now confined in jail to await their trial for murder.

"When General Lucas arrived near Far West and presented the Governor's order we were greatly surprised; yet we felt willing to submit to the authorities of the State. We gave up our arms without reluctance. We were then made prisoners and confined to the limits of the town for about a week, during which time the men from the country were not

permitted to go to their families, many of whom were in a suffering condition for the want of food and firewood, the weather being very cold and stormy.

"Much property was destroyed by the troops in town during their stay there, such as burning house logs, rails, corn cribs, boards, etc.; the using of corn and hay, the plundering of houses, the killing of cattle, sheep, and hogs, and also the taking of horses not their own; and all this without regard to owners, or asking leave of anyone. In the meantime, men were abused, women insulted, and abused by the troops; and all this while we were kept prisoners.

"Whilst the town was guarded we were called together by the order of General Lucas and a guard placed close around us, and in that situation were compelled to sign a deed of trust for the purpose of making our individual property all holden, as they said, to pay all the debts of every individual belonging to the church, and also to pay for all damages the old inhabitants of Daviess may have sustained in consequence of the late difficulties in that county.

"General Clark had now arrived and the first important move made by him was the collecting of our men together on the square, and selected out about fifty of them, whom he immediately marched into a house and confined close. This was done without the aid of the sheriff or any legal process. The next day forty-six of those taken were driven, like a parcel of menial slaves, off to Richmond, not knowing why they were taken or what they were taken for. After being confined in Richmond more than two weeks, about one half were liberated; the rest, after another week's confinement, were most of them required to appear at court, and have since been let to bail. Since General Clark withdrew his troops from Far West, parties of armed men have gone through the county driving off horses, sheep, and cattle, and also plundering houses; the barbarity of General Lucas' troops ought not to be passed over in silence. They shot our cattle and hogs merely for the sake of destroying them, leaving them for the ravens to eat. They took prisoner an aged man by the name of Tanner, and without any reason for it he was struck over the head with a gun,

which laid his skull bare. Another man by the name of Carey was also taken prisoner by them, and without any provocation had his brains dashed out by a gun. He was laid in a wagon and there permitted to remain for the space of twenty-four hours, during which time no one was permitted to administer to him comfort or consolation; and after he was removed from that situation he lived but a few hours.

"The destruction of property at and about Far West is very great. Many are stripped bare, as it were, and others partially so; indeed, take us as a body, at this time, we are a poor and afflicted people; and if we are compelled to leave the State in the spring, many, yes, a large portion of our society will have to be removed at the expense of the State; as those who might have helped them are now debarred that privilege in consequence of the deed of trust we were compelled to sign; which deed so operated upon our real estate that it will sell for but little or nothing at this time.

"We have now made a brief statement of some of the most prominent features of the troubles that have befallen our people since our first settlement in this State; and we believe that these persecutions have come in consequence of our religious faith, and not for any immorality on our part. That instances have been, of late, where individuals have trespassed upon the rights of others, and thereby broken the laws of the land, we will not pretend to deny; but yet we do believe that no crime can be substantiated against any of the people who have a standing in our church of an earlier date than the difficulties in Daviess County. And when it is considered that the rights of this people have been trampled upon from time to time with impunity, and abuses heaped upon them almost innumerable, it ought in some degree to palliate for any infraction of the law which may have been made on the part of our people.

"The late order of Governor Boggs to drive us from this State or exterminate us is a thing so novel, unlawful, tyrannical, and oppressive that we have been induced to draw up this memorial and present this statement of our case to your honorable body, praying that a law may be passed rescind-

ing the order of the Governor to drive us from the State and also giving us the sanction of the legislature to inherit our lands in peace. We ask an expression of the legislature disapproving of the conduct of those who compelled us to sign a deed of trust, and also disapproving of any man or set of men taking our property in consequence of that deed of trust and appropriating it to the payment of damage sustained in consequence of trespasses committed by others.

"We have no common stock; our property is individual property, and we feel willing to pay our debts as other individuals do; but we are not willing to be bound for other people's debts also. The arms which were taken from us here, which we understand to be about six hundred and thirty, besides swords and pistols, we care not so much about as we do the pay for them, only we are bound to do military duty, which we are willing to do, and which we think was sufficiently manifested by the raising of a volunteer company last fall at Far West, when called upon by General Parks to raise troops for the frontier.

"The arms given up by us we consider were worth between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars; but we understand they have been greatly damaged since taken, and at this time probably would not bring near their former value. And as they were, both here and in Jackson County, taken by the militia, and consequently by the authority of the State, we therefore ask your honorable body to cause an appropriation to be made by law whereby we may be paid for them, or otherwise have them returned to us and the damages made good.

"The losses sustained by our people in leaving Jackson County are so situated that it is impossible to obtain any compensation for them by law, because those who have sustained them are unable to prove those trespasses upon individuals. That the facts do exist that the buildings, crops, stock, furniture, rails, timber, etc., of the society have been destroyed in Jackson County, is not doubted by those who are acquainted in this upper country; and since these trespasses cannot be proven upon individuals, we ask your honorable body to consider this case; and if in your liberality

and wisdom you can conceive it to be proper to make an appropriation by law to these sufferers, many of whom are still pressed down with poverty in consequence of their losses, would be able to pay their debts, and also in some degree be relieved from poverty and woe; whilst the widow's heart would be made to rejoice, and the orphan's tear measurably dried up, and the prayers of a grateful people ascend on high with thanksgiving and praise to the Author of our existence for that beneficent act.

"In laying our case before your honorable body we say that we are willing and ever have been to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privilege guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this State to be extended to us, that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege we are willing all others should enjoy the same.

"We now lay our case at the feet of your legislature and ask your honorable body to consider it, and do for us, after mature deliberation, that which your wisdom, patriotism, and philanthropy may dictate.

"And we, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc.

"Edward Partridge,	Heber C. Kimball,	John Taylor,
"Theodore Turley,	Brigham Young,	Isaac Morley,
"George W. Harris,	John Murdock,	John M. Burk,

"A committee appointed by the citizens of Caldwell County, to draft this memorial and sign it in their behalf.

"FAR WEST, Caldwell County, Missouri, December 10, 1838."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 586–589.

On December 16 President Joseph Smith wrote a lengthy epistle to the church, which closed with the following sound advice:—

Sound advice.

"And now dear and well beloved brethren,—and when we say brethren, we mean those who have continued faithful in Christ, men, women, and children,—we feel to exhort you in the name of the Lord Jesus to be

strong in the faith in the new and everlasting covenant, and nothing frightened at your enemies. For what has happened unto us is an evident token to them of damnation; but unto us of salvation, and that of God. Therefore hold on even unto death; for 'he that seeks to save his life shall lose it; but he that loseth his life for my sake and the gospel's shall find it,' saith Jesus Christ.

"Brethren, from henceforth let truth and righteousness prevail and abound in you; and in all things be temperate; abstain from drunkenness, and from swearing, and from all profane language, and from everything which is unrighteous or unholy; also from enmity, and hatred, and covetousness, and from every unholy desire. Be honest one with another, for it seemeth that some have come short of these things, and some have been uncharitable, and have manifested greediness because of their debts towards those who have been persecuted and dragged about with chains without cause, and imprisoned. Such characters God hates—and they shall have their turn of sorrow in the rolling of the great wheel, for it rolleth and none can hinder. Zion shall yet live, though she seemeth to be dead.

"Remember that whatsoever measure you mete out to others, it shall be measured to you again. We say unto you, brethren, be not afraid of your adversaries; contend earnestly against mobs and the unlawful works of dissenters and of darkness.

"And the very God of peace shall be with you, and make a way for your escape from the adversary of your souls. We commend you to God and the work of his grace, which is able to make us wise unto salvation. Amen.

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 628, 629.

Page and Taylor ordained.

On December 19, 1838, John E. Page and John Taylor were ordained apostles at Far West, Missouri, under the hands of Brigham Young and H. C. Kimball.

The following account of legislative action is from the pen of Joseph Smith:—

"This day [December 16, 1838] Elder David H. Redfield

arrived at Jefferson City, and on Monday, 17th, presented the petition of the brethren to General D. R. Atchison and others, who were very anxious to hear from Caldwell, as there were many reports in circulation, such as 'the Mormons kept up the Danite system,' 'were going to build the Lord's house,' and 'more blood would be spilled before they left the State,' etc.; which created a hardness in the minds of the people.

Legislative action.

"In the afternoon Brother Redfield had an interview with Governor Boggs, who inquired about our people and property with as much apparent interest as though his whole soul was engaged for our welfare; and said that he had heard that 'the citizens were committing depredations on the Mormons, and driving off their stock,' etc.

"Brother Redfield informed him that armed forces came in the place and abused men, women, and children, stole horses, drove off cattle, and plundered houses of everything that pleased their fancy.

"Governor Boggs said that he would write Judge King and Colonel Price to go to Far West and put down every hostile appearance. He also stated that 'the stipulations entered into by the Mormons to leave the State, and sign the deed of trust, were unconstitutional and not valid.'

"Brother Redfield replied, 'We want the legislature to pass a law to that effect, showing that the stipulations and deeds of trust are not valid and are unconstitutional; and unless you do pass such a law we shall not consider ourselves safe in the State. You say there has been a stain upon the character of the State, and now is the time to pass some law to that effect; and unless you do, farewell to the virtue of the State; farewell to her honor and good name; farewell to her Christian virtue, until she shall be peopled by a different race of men; farewell to every name that binds man to man; farewell to a fine soil and a glorious home; they are gone, they are rent from us by a lawless banditti.'

"Tuesday, 18th. Mr. Turner, from the joint committee on the 'Mormon' investigation, submitted a report, preamble and resolutions. The essential part is as follows:—

" 'They consider the evidence adduced in the examination

held at Richmond in a great degree ex parte, and not of the character which should be desired for the basis of a fair and candid investigation—

"'1. Because it is not authenticated: and

"'2. It is confined chiefly to the object of that inquiry; namely, the investigation of criminal charges against individuals under arrest. For these reasons, and above all for the reason that it would be a direct interference with the administration of justice, this document ought not to be published with the sanction of the legislature.

"'Resolved: That it is inexpedient at this time to prosecute further the inquiry into the causes of the late disturbances and the conduct of the military operations in suppressing them.

"'Resolved: That it is inexpedient to publish at this time any of the documents accompanying the Governor's message in relation to the last disturbances.

"'Resolved: That it is expedient to appoint a joint committee, composed of senators and representatives, to investigate the cause of said disturbances and the conduct of the military operations in suppressing them, to meet at such time and to be invested with such power as may be prescribed by laws.'

"Wednesday, 19th. Mr. John Carroll presented the petition to the House. While it was reading the members were silent as the house of death; after which the debate commenced, and excitement increased till the House was in an uproar; their faces turned red; their eyes flashed fire, and their countenances spoke volumes.

"Mr. Childs, of Jackson County, said, 'there was not one word of truth in it, so far as he had heard, and that it ought never to have been presented to that body. Not long ago we appropriated two thousand dollars to their relief, and now they have petitioned for the pay for their lands, which we took away from them. We got rid of a great evil when we drove them from Jackson County, and we have had peace there ever since; and the State will always be in difficulty so long as they suffer them to live in the State; and the quicker they get that petition from before that body the better.'

"Mr. Ashley, from Livingston, said, 'the petition was false, from beginning to end, and that himself and the Mormons could not live together, for he would always be found fighting against them, and one or the other must leave the State.' He gave a history of the Haun's Mill massacre, and saw Jack Rogers cut up McBride with a corn-cutter.

"Mr. Carroll corrected Mr. Childs, and stated facts in the petition which he was knowing to, and that Mr. Childs ought to know that there could not be the first crime established against the 'Mormons' while in Jackson County.

"One member hoped the matter would not be looked over in silence, for his constituents required of him to know the cause of the late disturbances.

"Mr. Young, of Lafayette, spoke very bitter against the petition and the 'Mormons.'

"An aged member from St. Charles moved a reference of the bill to a select committee; and, continued he, 'as the gentleman that just spoke, and other gentlemen want the petition ruled out of the House for fear their evil-doings will be brought to light; and this goes to prove to me and others that the petition is true.'

"Mr. Redman, of Howard, made a long speech in favor of a speedy investigation of the whole matter; said he, 'The Governor's order has gone forth, and the Mormons are leaving; hundreds are waiting to cross the Mississippi River, and by and by they are gone and our State is blasted; her character is gone; we gave them no chance for a fair investigation. The State demands of us that we give them a speedy investigation.'

"Mr. Gyer, from St. Louis, agreed with the gentleman from Howard, 'that the committee should have power to call witnesses from any part of the State and defend them; and unless the Governor's order was rescinded, he for one would leave the State.'

"Other gentlemen made similar remarks.

"The testimony presented the committee of investigation, before referred to, was the Governor's orders, General Clark's reports, the report of the ex parte trial at Richmond, and a lot of papers signed by nobody, given to nobody, and

directed to nobody, containing anything our enemies were disposed to write. . . .

"After much legislation, disputation, controversy, and angry speechifying, as the papers of Missouri published at the time abundantly testify, the petition and memorial were laid on the table until the July following: thus utterly refusing to grant the memorialists their request, thereby refusing to investigate the subject.

"After we were cast into prison we heard nothing but threatenings, that if any judge or jury or court of any kind should clear any of us we should never get out of the State alive.

"The State appropriated two thousand dollars to be distributed among the people of Daviess and Caldwell, the 'Mormons' of Caldwell not exempted. The people of Daviess thought they could live on 'Mormon' property and did not want their thousand, consequently it was pretended to be given to those of Caldwell. Judge Cameron, Mr. McHenry, and others attended to the distribution. Judge Cameron would drive in the brethren's hogs (many of which were identified) and shoot them down in the streets; and without further bleeding and half dressing they were cut up and distributed by McHenry to the poor, at a charge of four and five cents per pound; which, together with a few pieces of refuse goods, such as calicoes at double and treble price, soon consumed the two thousand dollars; doing the brethren very little good, or in reality none, as the property destroyed by them was equal to what they gave the saints.

"The proceedings of the legislature were warmly opposed by a minority of the House, among whom were D. R. Atchison, of Clay County, and all the members from St. Louis, and Messrs. Rollins and Gordon, from Boone, and by various other members from other counties; but the mob majority carried the day, for the guilty wretches feared an investigation, knowing that it would endanger their lives and liberties. Sometime during this session the legislature appropriated two hundred thousand dollars to pay the troops for driving the saints out of the State.

"Many of the State journals tried to hide the iniquity of

the State, by throwing a covering of lies over her atrocious deeds. But can they hide the Governor's cruel order for banishment or extermination? Can they conceal the facts of the disgraceful treaty of the Generals with their own officers and men at the city of Far West? Can they conceal the fact that twelve or fifteen thousand men, women, and children have been banished from the State without trial or condemnation? And this at an expense of two hundred thousand dollars—and this sum appropriated by the State Legislature, in order to pay the troops for this act of lawless outrage? Can they conceal the fact that we have been imprisoned for many months, while our families, friends, and witnesses have been driven away? Can they conceal the blood of the murdered husbands and fathers, or stifle the cries of the widow and the fatherless? Nay! The rocks and mountains may cover them in unknown depths, the awful abyss of the fathomless deep may swallow them up, and still their horrid deeds will stand forth in the broad light of day for the wondering gaze of angels and of men! They cannot be hid!

"Sometime in December Heber C. Kimball and Alanson Ripley were appointed by the brethren in Far West to visit us at Liberty jail as often as circumstances would permit, or occasion required, which they faithfully performed. We were sometimes visited by our friends, whose kindness and attention I shall ever remember with feelings of lively gratitude; but frequently we were not suffered to have that privilege. Our victuals were of the coarsest kind and served up in a manner which was disgusting.

"Thus, in a land of liberty, in the town of Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, I and my fellow prisoners, in chains, dungeons, and jail, saw the close of 1838."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 661-665.

CHAPTER 15.

1838–1839.

EXPERIENCE OF THE PRISONERS—DELIVERED TO CIVIL AUTHORITIES —THE TRIAL—CONVEYED TO LIBERTY—WIGHT'S ACCOUNT— PRATT'S ACCOUNT—PRATT AND PHELPS ESCAPE—VISITORS AT THE JAIL—CLOSING OF THE YEAR.

WE will now relate the experience of the prisoners in their journeys, trials, and incarceration.

Joseph Smith's account is as follows:—

"Saturday, 3d. We continued our march and arrived at the Missouri River, which separated us from Jackson County, where we were hurried across the ferry when but few troops had passed. The truth was General Clark had sent an express from Richmond to General Lucas to have the prisoners sent to him and thus prevent our going to Jackson County, both armies being competitors for the honor of possessing 'the royal prisoners.' Clark wanted the privilege of putting us to death himself, and Lucas and his troops were desirous of exhibiting us in the streets of Independence.

Experience of the prisoners.

"Sunday, 4th. We were visited by some ladies and gentlemen. One of the women came up and very candidly inquired of the troops which of the prisoners was the Lord whom the 'Mormons' worshiped. One of the guards pointed to me with a significant smile and said, 'This is he.' The woman then turning to me inquired whether I professed to be the Lord and Savior. I replied that I professed to be nothing but a man and a minister of salvation, sent by Jesus Christ to preach the gospel.

"This answer so surprised the woman that she began to inquire into our doctrine, and I preached a discourse both to her and her companions and to the wondering soldiers, who listened with almost breathless attention while I set forth

the doctrine of faith in Jesus Christ, and repentance, and baptism for remission of sins, with the promise of the Holy Ghost, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

"The woman was satisfied and praised God in the hearing of the soldiers, and went away praying that God would protect and deliver us. Thus was fulfilled a prophecy which had been spoken publicly by me a few months previous—that a sermon should be preached in Jackson County by one of our elders before the close of 1838.

"The troops having crossed the river about ten o'clock, we proceeded on and arrived at Independence, past noon, in the midst of great rain and a multitude of spectators who had assembled to see us and hear the bugles sound a blast of triumphant joy, which echoed through the camp as we were ushered into a vacant house prepared for our reception, with a floor for our beds and blocks of wood for our pillows.[1]

[1] The following letter written at this date by Joseph Smith, the original of which is now in our possession in his own handwriting, conflicts slightly with this account as regards their treatment:—

INDEPENDENCE, Jackson Co., Missouri, November 4, 1838.

My dear and beloved companion of my bosom, in tribulation and affliction:—I would inform you that I am well and that we are all of us in good spirits as regards our own fate. We have been protected by the Jackson County boys in the most genteel manner, and arrived here in the midst of a splendid parade, a little after noon. Instead of going to gaol we have a good house provided for us and the kindest treatment. I have great anxiety about you and my lovely children. My heart mourns and bleeds for the brethren and sisters, and for the slain of the people of God. Colonel Hinkle proved to be a traitor to the church. He is worse than a Hull who betrayed the army at Detroit. He decoyed us unawares. God reward him. John Corrill told General Wilson that he was going to leave the church. General Wilson says he thinks much less of him now than before. Why I mention this is to have you careful not to trust them. If we are permitted to stay any time here we have obtained a promise that we may have our families brought to us. What God may do for us I do not know, but I hope for the best always in all circumstances. Although I go unto death I will trust in God. What outrages may be committed by the mob I know not, but expect there will be but little or no restraint. Oh! may God have mercy on us.

When we arrived at the river last night an express came to General Wilson from General Clark, of Howard County, claiming the right of command, ordering us back, where or what place, God only knows; and there are some feelings between the officers. I do not know where it will end. It is said by some that General Clark is determined to exterminate. God has spared some of us thus far. Perhaps he will extend mercy in some degree toward us yet. Some of the people of this place

"General Clark arrived at Far West with one thousand six hundred men, and five hundred more were within eight miles of the city.

"Thus Far West has been visited by six thousand men in one week, when the militia of the city (before any were taken prisoners) amounted only to about five hundred, whose arms having been secured, the mob continued to hunt the brethren like wild beasts, and shot several, ravished the women, and killed one near the city; no saint was permitted to go in or out of the city, and they lived on parched corn.

"General Clark ordered General Lucas, who had previously gone to Adam-ondi-ahman with his troops, 'to take the whole of the men of the Mormons prisoners and place such a guard around them and the town as will protect the prisoners and secure them until they can be dealt with properly,' and secure all their property, till the best means could be adopted for paying the damages the citizens had sustained.

"Monday, 5th. We were kept under a small guard and were treated with some degree of hospitality and politeness, while many flocked to see us. We spent most of our time in preaching and conversation, explanatory of our doctrines and practice, which removed mountains of prejudice and enlisted the populace in our favor, notwithstanding their old hatred and wickedness towards our society.

"The brethren at Far West were ordered by General

have told me that some of the Mormons may settle in this county as other men do. I have some hopes that something may turn out for good to the afflicted saints. I want you to stay where you are until you hear from me again. I may send for you to bring you to me. I cannot learn much for certainty in the situation that I am in, and can only pray for deliverance until it is meted out, and take everything as it comes with patience and fortitude. I hope you will be faithful and true to every trust. I can't write much in my situation. Conduct all matters as your circumstances and necessities require. May God give you wisdom and prudence and sobriety, which I have every reason to believe you will. Those little children are subjects of my meditation continually. Tell them that Father is yet alive. God grant that he may see them again. Oh! Emma, for God's sake do not forsake me nor the truth, but remember me. If I do not meet you again in this life—may God grant that we may—may we meet in heaven. I cannot express my feelings; my heart is full. Farewell, O my kind and affectionate Emma. I am yours forever, your husband and true friend,

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

Clark to form a line, when the names of fifty-six present were called and made prisoners to await their trial for something they knew not. They were kept under a close guard. . . .

"Shortly after our arrival in Jackson County Colonel Sterling Price,[2] from the army of General Clark, came with orders from General Clark, who was commander in chief of the expedition, to have us forwarded forthwith to Richmond. Accordingly on Thursday morning we started with three guards only, and they had been obtained with great difficulty, after laboring all the previous day to get them. Between Independence and Roy's Ferry, on the Missouri River, they all got drunk, and we got possession of their arms and horses.

"It was late in the afternoon, near the setting of the sun. We traveled about half a mile after we crossed the river, and put up for the night.

"Friday, 9th. This morning there came a number of men, some of them armed. Their threatenings and savage appearance were such as to make us afraid to proceed without more guards. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Richmond to obtain them.

"We started before their arrival, but had not gone far before we met Colonel Price with a guard of about seventy-four men, and were conducted by them to Richmond and put into an old vacant house, and a guard set.

"Sometime through the course of that day General Clark came in and we were introduced to him. We inquired of him the reason why we had been thus carried from our homes, and what were the charges against us. He said that he was not then able to determine, but would be in a short time; and with very little more conversation, withdrew.

"Some short time after he had withdrawn Colonel Price came in with two chains in his hands and a number of padlocks. The two chains he fastened together. He had with him ten men, armed, who stood at the time of these operations with a thumb upon the cock of their guns. They first

[2] This is the General Price of Confederate fame.

nailed down the windows, then came and ordered a man by the name of John Fulkinson, whom he had with him, to chain us together with chains and padlocks, being seven in number. After that he searched us, examining our pockets to see if we had any arms. Finding nothing but pocket knives, he took them and conveyed them off.

"Saturday, 10th. . . General Clark had spent his time since our arrival at Richmond in searching the laws to find authority for trying us by court-martial. Had he not been a lawyer of eminence I should have supposed it no very difficult task to decide that quiet, peaceful, unoffending, and private citizens too, except as ministers of the gospel, were not amenable to a *military tribunal*, in a country governed by *civil laws*. But be this as it may, General Clark wrote the Governor that he had

" 'Detained General White and his field officers here a day or two, for the purpose of holding a court-martial, if necessary. I this day made out charges against the prisoners and called on Judge King to try them as a committing court; and I am now busily engaged in procuring witnesses and submitting facts. There being no civil officers in Caldwell, I have to use the military to get witnesses from there, which I do without reserve. The most of the prisoners here I consider guilty of *treason;* and I believe will be convicted; and the only difficulty in law is, can they be tried in any county but Caldwell? If not, they cannot be there indicted, until a change of population. In the event the latter view is taken by the civil courts, I suggest the propriety of trying Jo Smith and those leaders taken by General Lucas, by a court-martial, for mutiny. This I am in favor of only as a dernier resort. I would have taken this course with Smith at any rate; but it being doubtful whether a court-martial has jurisdiction or not in the present case—that is, whether these people are to be treated as in time of war, and the mutineers as having mutinied in time of war—and I would here ask you to forward to me the Attorney General's opinion on this point. It will not do to allow these leaders to return to their treasonable work again, on account of their not being indicted in Caldwell. They have committed *treason*

murder, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny, and perjury.[1] . . .

"Sunday, 11th. While in Richmond we were under the charge of Colonel Price from Chariton County, who suffered all manner of abuse to be heaped upon us.

"During this time my afflictions were great, and our situation was truly painful.

"General Clark informed us that he would turn us over to the civil authorities for trial. Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman, George W. Robinson, Caleb Baldwin, Alanson Ripley, Washington Voorhees, Sidney Turner, John Buchanan, Jacob Gates, Chandler Holbrook, George W. Harris, Jesse D. Hunter, Andrew Whitlock, Martin C. Allred, William Allred, George D. Grant, Darwin Chase, Elijah Newman, Alvin G. Tippets, Zedekiah Owens, Isaac Morley, Thomas Beck, Moses Clawson, John T. Tanner, Daniel Shearer, Daniel S. Thomas, Alexander McRae, Elisha Edwards, John S. Higbee, Ebenezer Page, Benjamin Covey, Ebenezer Robinson, Luman Gibbs, James M. Henderson, David Pettegrew, Edward Partridge, Francis Higbee, David Frampton, George Kimball, Joseph W. Younger, Henry Zabriski, Allen J. Stout, Sheffield Daniels, Silas Maynard, Anthony Head, Benjamin Jones, Daniel Carn, John T. Earl, and Norman Shearer, were brought before Austin A. King, at Richmond, for trial, charged with the several crimes of high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery, and larceny.

Delivered to civil authorities.

"Monday, 12th. The first act of the court was to send out a body of armed men, without a civil process, to obtain witnesses.[2]

"Tuesday, 13th. We were placed at the bar, Austin A. King presiding, and Thomas C. Burch State's Attorney.

[2]The following letter, the original of which is now in our possession, shows the inward life and feelings of the man:—

RICHMOND, Missouri, November 12, 1838.

My Dear Emma:—We are prisoners in chains and under strong guards for Christ's sake and for no other causes; although there have been things that were unbeknown to us and altogether beyond our control that might seem to the mob to be a pretext for them to persecute us;

Witnesses were called and sworn at the point of the bayonet.

"Dr. Sampson Avard was the first brought before the court. He had previously told Mr. Oliver Olney that if he [Olney] wished to save himself he must swear hard against the heads of the church, as they were the ones the court wanted to criminate; and if he could swear hard against them, they would not (that is, neither court nor mob) disturb him. 'I intend to do it,' said he, 'in order to escape, for if I do not, they will take my life.'

The trial.

"This introduction is sufficient to show the character of his testimony, and he swore just according to the statement

but on examination I think that the authorities will discover our innocence and set us free; but if this blessing cannot be obtained I have this consolation, that I am an innocent man, let what will befall me.

I received your letter, which I read over and over again; it was a sweet morsel to me. O God, grant that I may have the privilege of seeing once more my lovely family in the enjoyment of the sweets of liberty and sociable life; to press them to my bosom and kiss their lovely cheeks would fill my heart with unspeakable gratitude. Tell the children that I am alive, and trust I shall come and see them before long. Comfort their hearts all you can, and try to be comforted yourself all you can. There is no possible danger but what we shall be set at liberty if justice can be done, and that you know as well as myself. The trial will begin to-day for some of us. Lawyer Reese, and we expect Doniphan, will plead our cause. We could get no others in time for the trial. They are able men and will do well, no doubt.

Brother Robinson is chained next to me, he has a true heart and a firm mind; Brother Wight is next, Brother Rigdon next, Hyrum next, Parley next, Amasa next; and thus we are bound together in chains, as well as the cords of everlasting love. We are in good spirits and rejoice that we are counted worthy to be persecuted for Christ's sake. Tell little Joseph he must be a good boy. Father loves him with a perfect love; he is the eldest—must not hurt those that are smaller than he, but care for them. Tell little Frederick Father loves him with all his heart; he is a lovely boy. Julia is a lovely little girl; I love her also. She is a promising child; tell her Father wants her to remember him and be a good girl. Tell all the rest that I think of them and pray for them all.

Bro. Babbitt is waiting to carry our letters for us. Colonel Price is inspecting them; therefore my time is short. Little Alexander is on my mind continually. O, my affectionate Emma, I want you to remember that I am a true and faithful friend to you and the children forever. My heart is entwined around yours forever and ever. O, may God bless you all. Amen. I am your husband, and am in bonds and tribulation, etc. JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

To Emma Smith.

P. S.—Write as often as you can, and if possible come and see me, and bring the children if possible. Act according to your own feelings and best judgment, and endeavor to be comforted, if possible, and I trust that all will turn out for the best. Yours, J. S.

he had made, doubtless thinking it a wise course to ingratiate himself into the good graces of the mob.

"The following witnesses were examined in behalf of the State, many of whom, if we may judge from their testimony, swore upon the same principle as Avard; namely, Wyatt Cravens, Nehemiah Sale, Captain Samuel Bogart, Morris Phelps, John Corrill, Robert Snodgrass, George Walton, George M. Hinkle, James C. Owens, Nathaniel Carr, Abner Scovell, John Cleminson, Reed Peck, James C. Owens reëxamined, William Splawn, Thomas M. Odle, John Raglin, Allen Rathbun, Jeremiah Myers, Andrew F. Job, Freeburn H. Gardner, Burr Riggs, Elisha Camron, Charles Bleckley, James Cobb, Jesse Kelly, Addison Price, Samuel Kimball, William W. Phelps, John Whitmer, James B. Turner, George W. Worthington, Joseph H. McGee, John Lockhart, Porter Yale, Benjamin Slade, Ezra Williams, Addison Green, John Taylor, Timothy Lewis, and Patrick Lynch. . . .

"We were called upon for our witnesses and we gave the names of some forty or fifty. Captain Bogart was dispatched with a company of militia to procure them. Arrested all he could find, thrust them into prison, and we were not allowed to see them.

"We were again called upon most tauntingly for witnesses; we gave the names of some others, and they were also thrust into prison, so many as were to be found.

"In the meantime, Malinda Porter, Delia F. Pine, Nancy Rigdon, Jonathan W. Barlow, Thoret Parsons, Ezra Chipman, and Arza Judd, Jr., volunteered, and were sworn, on the defense, but were prevented by threats from telling the truth as much as possible. We saw a man at the window by the name of Allen, and beckoned him to come in and had him sworn; but when he did not testify to please the court, several rushed upon him with their bayonets, and he fled the place, and three men took after him with loaded guns, and he barely escaped with his life. It was of no use to get any more witnesses if we could have done it.

"Thus this mock investigation continued from day to day, till Saturday, when several of the brethren were discharged by Judge King, as follows:—

"'Defendants against whom nothing is proven; viz., Amasa Lyman, John Buchanan, Andrew Whitlock, Alvah L. Tippets, Jedediah Owens, Isaac Morley, John T. Tanner, Daniel S. Thomas, Elisha Edwards, Benjamin Covey, David Frampton, Henry Zabriski, Allen J. Stout, Sheffield Daniels, Silas Maynard, Anthony Head, John T. Earl, Ebenezer Brown, James Newberry, Sylvester Hulet, Chandler Holbrook, Martin Allred, William Allred. The above defendants have been discharged by me, there being no evidence against them.

"'AUSTIN A. KING, Judge, etc.

"'November 24, 1838.'

"Our church organization was converted, by the testimony of the apostates, into a temporal kingdom which was to fill the whole earth and subdue all other kingdoms.

"Much was inquired by the Judge (who, by the by, was a Methodist) concerning the prophecy of Daniel, 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces all other kingdoms, and stand forever,' etc.; 'and the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heavens, shall be given to the saints of the Most High,' etc., just as though it was treason to believe the Bible.

"The remaining prisoners were all released, or admitted to bail, except Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae, Sidney Rigdon, and myself, who were sent to Liberty, Clay County, to jail, to stand our trial for treason and murder—the treason, for having whipped the mob out of Daviess County and taking their cannon from them; and the murder, for the man killed in the Bogart battle; also Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Luman Gibbs, Darwin Chase, and Norman Shearer, who were put into Richmond jail to stand their trial for the same crimes.

"During the investigation we were mostly confined in chains and received much abuse.

"The matter of driving away witnesses, or casting them into prison, or chasing them out of the country, was carried to such a length that our lawyers, General Doniphan and Amos Reese, told us not to bring our witnesses there at all;

for if we did there would not be one of them left for final trial; for no sooner would Bogart and his men know who they were than they would put them out of the country.

"As to making any impression on King, if a cohort of angels were to come down and declare we were clear, Doniphan said it would be all the same; for he (King) had determined from the beginning to cast us into prison.

"We never got the privilege of introducing our witnesses at all; if we had, we could have disproved all they swore." —*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 539, 556–558, 565.

On November 30 the prisoners were started from Richmond for Liberty, as ordered in the following mittimus:—

"State of Missouri, Ray County.

"*To the Keeper of the Jail of Clay County; Greeting:*— Whereas, Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin, as also Sidney Rigdon, have been brought before me, Austin A. King, judge of the fifth judicial circuit in the State of Missouri, and charged with the offense of treason against the State of Missouri, and the said defendants, on their examination before me, being held to answer further to said charge, the said Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin to answer in the county of Daviess, and the said Sydney Rigdon to answer further in the county of Caldwell, for said charge of treason, and there being no jail in said counties: These are therefore to command that you receive the said Joseph Smith, Jr., Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin, and Sidney Rigdon into your custody in the jail of the said county of Clay, there to remain until they be delivered therefrom by due course of law.

Conveyed to Liberty.

"Given under my hand and seal the 29th day of November, 1838.

"Austin A. King.

"State of Missouri, County of Clay.

"I, Samuel Hadley, sheriff of Clay County, do hereby cer-

tify that the above is a true copy of the mittimus to me, directed in the cases therein named.

"SAMUEL HADLEY, Jailer.
"By SAMUEL TILLERY, Deputy Jailer.

"Clay County, Missouri."[4]

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 566.

Lyman Wight's account as recorded in his journal is as follows:—

Wight's account.

"November 1. This morning we were ordered by General Wilson to make ready to go to Jackson County, and informed by him that we were delivered into his charge, that he had three hundred good soldiers, and that he would guarantee that we should be well treated; which promise he fulfilled to the very letter. We were then placed in a wagon, marched seventeen miles to Crooked River, and camped for the night.

"2d. To-day we marched on and crossed the Missouri River at Williams' Ferry and camped on the other side for the night.

"3d. We now found ourselves in Jackson County, from which we were driven in 1833, about thirteen miles from Independence. Several times in the course of this day we were exhibited as a public show, having been carried in a covered wagon. But I have it to say that with one exception we were treated in the most genteel manner. We landed at Independence about three o'clock p. m. and were placed in a huge log house on the north side of the public square, with a small guard about us. We had many respectable visitors this evening, together with some few of the offscouring of the earth. We had food prepared for and brought to us. We rested very comfortably through the night.

"4th. This day we were at liberty to go where we pleased about through the town. We walked down to the Temple Lot, in company with a gentleman by the name of Collins. He said he presumed the place did not look as it would had

[4] This purported mittimus was not made out, however, until the March following. So they were over three months in jail without process.

we been permitted to have remained in this county. We spent [the day] in walking about, retired in the evening to the same place and tarried for night.

"5th. This day we were invited to dine with General Wilson, by the request of his wife and family, where we were treated in the most genteel style. When the blessing was asked at the table his wife shed tears freely. We retired after dinner to our place of residence for the night.

"November 6. This morning General Wilson ordered us to be moved to Knowlten's hotel, where we were treated in a genteel manner. We spent the day walking about through town, and also traded some, and returned to Knowlten's for the night.

"7th. On this day we were invited to dine at a hotel in the lower part of the town. We returned to Knowlten's in the evening, and were introduced to Colonel Price, who gave us to understand that he had been sent by General Clark, who had just arrived in Richmond with five thousand troops, and who, by the order of the Governor, was commander in chief of all the mob militia in the State, ordered us forthwith to Richmond for a new trial, as he claims the highest authority of martial law on the occasion. He also informed us that General Clark had with him an express order from the Governor, to either exterminate or drive from the State every Mormon within its borders. We now retired to rest, and to wait the result of another day.

"8th. This morning we made every necessary preparation to repair to Richmond as quick as possible. Colonel Arnat and two other men attended us as guards. We started and crossed the Missouri River fifteen miles from this place about the setting of the sun, and camped in an old house on the opposite bank.

"9th. This morning about ten miles from Richmond we were met by about fifty men, who guarded us into Richmond, where we were thrust into an old log house. Some little provisions were brought in, which we took in our hands and ate. We were strongly guarded through the night. This evening we were informed that General Clark

had been to Far West and had disarmed every Mormon that he could find, and had taken about sixty prisoners, and brought them to this place, and placed them in the court-house about twenty rods from where we now are, which has neither floor nor door-shutter, and the weather is very inclement. The remainder of the Mormons he said could remain until the opening of the spring season; but if they should then be found attempting to put in a crop or stay longer, they should most assuredly be exterminated without mercy. . . .

"General Clark came in between the hours of seven and eight o'clock this evening, who on being interrogated what our crimes were, said he would inform us in the morning, and with a frown passed out of the room. After receiving many insults and much abuse from the people, we were left to await the result of the morning.

"10th. This morning General Clark came and with a look of awe and disdain said: 'Gentlemen, you are charged with having committed treason, murder, arson, burglary, larceny, and stealing, and various other crimes too numerous to mention,' and in great haste left the room. He had not more than passed the door when Colonel Price with sixteen men stepped in at the door, each having his gun presented with his thumb on the cock. They were quickly followed by a Mr. Fulkinson, the overseer of the penitentiary, with three trace chains and seven padlocks in his hands, and commenced chaining us by our legs, one by one, until we were all chained together about two feet apart. We were then informed that we were delivered over to the civil law, and that General Clark, after arriving at this place, had held a court-martial and sentenced us to be shot, but fearing this might not be correct he had sent to Fort Leavenworth to the United States officer, whose answer, on the subject was that 'it would be nothing more, nor nothing less than cold-blooded murder.'[5] During this whole time there had not been a process served on us, neither civil nor uncivil. We spent this day in chains for the first time, ruminating from present

[5] This was Lieutenant Colonel Richard B. Mason, First Dragoons.

prospects what the future might be. You may well calculate the day passed off with gloomy aspect.

"11th. A. King, circuit judge of the fifth judicial circuit, called for us at the courthouse to-day, and informed us that we were put on trial for the above-mentioned charges, stated by General Clark. Court was called and adjourned for want of testimony. We retired to our chains and couches of straw and spent the night.

"November 12. Court opened this morning and Sampson Avard was sworn. He was a man whose character was perfectly run down in all classes of society, and he being a stranger palmed himself upon the Mormon Church, and in order to raise himself in the estimation of the church invented schemes and plans to go against mobocracy, which were perfectly derogatory to the laws of this State and of the United States, and frequently endeavored to enforce them upon members of the church, and when repulsed by Joseph Smith he would frequently become chagrined. At one time he told me that the reason why he could not carry his plans into effect was that the First Presidency of the church feared that he would have too much influence, and gain the honor which the First Presidency desired for themselves.

"At one time he said to me that he would be damned if he did not carry his plans through. More than once did he raise a conspiracy against them (the Presidency) in order to take their lives, thinking that he might then rule the church. Now when he was brought before the court he swore that all these treasonable purposes (which he had sworn in his heart to perform) originated with us."

P. P. Pratt writes concerning their treatment at Independence:—

Pratt's account.

"We were soon at liberty to walk the streets without a guard; and soon we were removed from our house of confinement to a hotel, where we were entertained in the best style of which the place was capable, which was lodging on the floor and a block of wood for a pillow. We had no longer any guard—we went out and came in when we pleased, a certain keeper being appointed merely

to look to us; with him we walked out of town and visited the desolate lands which belonged to our society, and the place which, seven years before, we had dedicated and consecrated for the building of a temple, it being a beautiful rise of ground about half a mile west of Independence. When we saw it last it was a wilderness, but now our enemies had robbed it of every stick of timber, and it presented a beautiful rolling field of pasture, being covered with grass. Oh, how many feelings did this spot awaken in our bosoms! Here we had often bowed the knee in prayer to Jehovah in bygone years; and here we had assembled with hundreds of happy saints, in the solemn meeting, and offered our prayers, and songs, and sacraments, in our humble dwellings; but now all was solemn and lonely desolation; not a vestige remained to mark the place where stood our former dwellings; they had long since been consumed by fire, or removed to the village and converted to the use of our enemies. While at Independence we were once or twice invited to dine with General Wilson, and others, which we did with much apparent politeness and attention on their part and much cheerfulness on our own.

"After about a week spent in this way, during which I was at one time alone in the wilderness more than a mile from town, we were at length (after repeated demands) sent to General Clark, at Richmond. This place was on the same side of Missouri that Far West was, and about thirty miles distant. Generals Lucas and Wilson had tried in vain to get a guard to accompany us; none would volunteer, and when drafted they would not obey orders; for, in truth, they wished us to go at liberty. At last a colonel and two or three officers started with us, with their swords and pistols, which was more to protect us than keep us from escaping. On this journey some of us rode in carriages and some on horseback. Sometimes we were sixty or eighty rods in front or rear of our guard, who, by the by, were three sheets in the wind in the whisky line, having a bottle in their pockets; but knowing that we were not guilty of any crime, we did not wish to escape by flight. At night, having crossed the ferry, we put up at a private house. Here our guards all

went to bed and to sleep, leaving us their pistols to defend ourselves in case of any attack from without, as we were in a very hostile neighborhood."—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 92–95.

One touching incident we relate here as given by Mr. Pratt.

"The court of inquiry now commenced before Judge A. A. King. This continued from the 11th to the 28th of November, during which we were kept most of the time in chains, and our brethren, some fifty in number, were penned up in the open, unfinished courthouse.

"It was a very severe spell of snow and winter weather, and we suffered much. During this time Elder Rigdon was taken very sick from hardship and exposure, and finally lost his reason; but still he was kept in a miserable, noisy, and cold room, and compelled to sleep on the floor with a chain and padlock round his ankle, and fastened to six others; and here he endured the constant noise and confusion of an unruly guard who were changed every few hours, and who were frequently composed of the most noisy, foul-mouthed, vulgar, disgraceful, indecent rabble that ever defiled the earth. While he lay in this situation, his son-in-law, George Robinson, the only male member of his numerous family, was chained by his side; and thus Mrs. Rigdon and her daughters were left entirely destitute and unprotected. One of his daughters, Mrs. Robinson, a young and delicate female, with her little infant, came down to see her husband and to comfort and take care of her father in his sickness. When she first entered the room, amid the clank of chains and the bristle of weapons, and cast her eyes on her sick and dejected parent and sorrow-worn husband, she was speechless, and only gave vent to her feelings in a flood of tears. This faithful lady with her little infant continued by the bed of her father till he recovered from his sickness, and till his fevered and disordered mind assumed its wonted powers of intellect.

"In this mock court of inquiry the judge could not be prevailed on to examine the conduct of the murderers, robbers, and plunderers, who had desolated our society. Nor would

he receive testimony except against us. And by the dissenters and apostates who wished to save their own lives and secure their property at the expense of others; and by those who had murdered and plundered us from time to time, he obtained abundance of testimony, much of which was entirely false."—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 102–104.

Of the prisoners left at Richmond when Joseph and his companions were taken to Liberty, all were finally released but four, and they were sent to Columbia, in Boone County. Of this Mr. Pratt writes as follows:—

"On the 24th of April our cases were laid before the grand jury of the county of Ray; and Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer were dismissed after being imprisoned near six months. This release happened just as Mr. Shearer came to visit his son for the last time before he left the country. He came into the prison to see us, and not knowing of the intended release, he took an affectionate leave of us and of his son, who seemed to weep with heartbroken anguish. But while he yet lingered in town his son was called before the court, and with Mr. Chase was told that they might go at liberty. The father and son then embraced each other, almost overcome with joy, and departed. At the same time my brother, Orson Pratt, whom I had not before seen for a year, came from Illinois to see me, but was only permitted to visit me for a few moments, and then was ordered to depart. Mrs. Phelps, who had waited in prison for some days in hopes that the court would release her husband, now parted with him, overwhelmed with sorrow and tears, and with her infant moved slowly away to remove to Illinois and leave her husband behind. Thus our families wander in a strange land, without our protection, being robbed of house and home. Oh God, who can endure the thought! Come out in justice, O Lord, and restore us to our mourning families!

"Our number in prison were now reduced to four. One having been added about the middle of April. His name was King Follet; he was dragged from his distressed family just as they were leaving the State. Thus of all the prisoners which were taken at an expense of two hundred thou-

sand dollars, only two of the original ones, who belonged to the church, now remained, Mr. Gibbs having denied the faith, to try to save his life. These were Morris Phelps and myself. All who were let to bail were banished from the State, together with those who bailed them. Thus none are like to have a trial by law but ourselves; and we are without friends or witnesses in the State. After the grand jury had found a bill against us for defending ourselves in the battle with Bogart's company, we were kept in prison at Richmond for about a month. We then took a change of venue and were ordered to be sent to Columbia, Boone County, for trial. On the 22d of May we were handcuffed together, two and two, with irons round the wrist of each, and in this fix we were taken from prison and placed in a carriage. The people of Richmond gathered around us to see us depart; but none seemed to feel for us except two persons. One of these (General Parks' lady) bowed to us through the window, and looked as if touched with pity. The other was a Mr. Huggins, merchant of Richmond, who bowed with some feeling as we passed. We now took leave of Richmond, accompanied by Sheriff Brown, and four guards with drawn pistols, and moved on towards Columbia. No tongue can describe our sensations as we came forth from a most filthy dungeon, where we had been confined for near seven months, and began to breathe the free air, and to change the scenery and look abroad upon the face of the earth. There was a sweetness in the air and a perfume from the earth which none could fully realize except such as have been for a long time confined in tainted air. It had been thundering and raining for some days and the thunderstorm lasted with but short cessations from the time we started till we arrived at the place of destination, which was five days. The small streams were swollen so as to be very difficult crossing them. On the second day we came to a creek which was several rods over, with a strong current, and very deep. It was towards evening and far from any house, and we had received no refreshment through the day. Here we halted, and knew not what to do; we waited awhile for the water to fall, but it fell slowly. All hands

were hungry and impatient, and a lowery night seemed to threaten that the creek would rise before morning by the falling of additional rains. In this dilemma some counseled one thing and some another. Some said, Go back some miles to a house and tarry till morning. Others said, Camp here for the night. Others said, Swim the river and leave the carriage and baggage till morning; and some advised to attempt to drive some miles around the head of the stream. At last I proposed to the sheriff that if he would take off my irons I would go into the water to bathe and by that means ascertain the depth and bottom; this he consented to do, after some hesitation. I then plunged into the stream and swam across, and attempted to wade back; I found it to be a hard bottom, and the water about up to my chin; but a very stiff current. After this, Mr. Brown, the sheriff, undertook to cross on his horse; but just as his horse neared the opposite shore he sprung sidewise to gain a bank, and Mr. Brown was thrown off his horse and buried in the stream. He could not swim, but sprang out, hallooing and flouncing in a manner that caused much merriment to the company. This accident decided the fate of the day. Being now completely wet, he resolved to effect the crossing of the whole company, bag and baggage. Accordingly several stripped off their clothes and mounted on the bare backs of the horses; and, taking their clothing, saddles, and arms, together with our trunk and bedding upon their shoulders, they bore them across in safety, without wetting. This was done by riding backwards and forwards across the stream several times. In this sport and labor prisoners, guards, and all mingled in mutual exertion. All was now safe but the carriage. Mr. Phelps then proposed to swim that across by hitching two horses before it; and he mounted on one of their backs, while myself and one of the guards swam by the side of the carriage to keep it from upsetting by the force of the current. And thus, Paul like, we all got safe to land. Everything was soon replaced; and ourselves in the carriage, and the suite on horseback, we moved swiftly on, and at dark arrived at a house of entertainment, amid a terrible thunderstorm. Next morning we proceeded on and

in a few miles came to another swimming stream; but after some consultation it was thought best to go around the head of the stream. We accordingly took our back track for a half mile, and then striking to the north in the open prairie, without any track, we rode some seven miles around, crossed the head of the stream, and returned to the road which we had left; this day we crossed the Missouri at a place called Arrow Rock, being named from the circumstance of the natives coming there from all quarters to get a kind of hard rock from the bluff to make arrow points. In this journey we had slept each night on our backs on the floor, being all four of us ironed together, with hand and ankle irons made for the purpose. This being done, the windows and doors were all fastened, and then five guards with their loaded pistols staid in the room, and one at a time sat up and watched during the night. This cruelty was inflicted on us more to gratify a wicked disposition than anything else; for it was in vain for us to have tried to escape, without any irons being put on us; and had we wished to escape, we had a tolerable good opportunity at the creek.

"When we arrived within four miles of Columbia the bridge had been destroyed from over a large and rapid river; and here we were some hours in crossing over in a tottlish canoe, having to leave our carriage, together with our bedding, clothing, our trunk of clothing, books, papers, etc.; but all came to us in safety after two days. After we had crossed the river, our guards having swam their horses, mounted them, and we proceeded towards Columbia, the prisoners walking on foot, two being fastened together two and two by the wrists.

"After walking two or three miles Mr. Brown hired a carriage, and we rode into Columbia. It was about sunset on Sunday evening, and as the carriage and our armed attendants drove through the streets we were gazed upon with astonishment by hundreds of spectators, who thronged the streets and looked out at the windows, doors, etc., anxious to get a glimpse of the strange beings called Mormons. On our arrival we were immediately hurried to the prison with-

out going to a tavern for refreshment, although we had traveled a long summer day without anything to eat. When unloosed from our fetters we were ushered immediately from the carriage into the jail, and the next moment a huge trapdoor was opened, and down we went into a most dismal dungeon, which was full of cobwebs and filth above, below, and all around the walls, having stood empty for near two years. Here was neither beds, nor chairs, nor water, nor food, nor friends, nor anyone on whom we might call, even for a drink of cold water; for Brown and all others had withdrawn to go where they could refresh themselves. When thrust into this dungeon we were nearly ready to faint with hunger, and thirst, and weariness. We walked the room for a few moments, and then sank down upon the floor in despondency, and wished to die; for, like Elijah of old, if the Lord had inquired, 'What dost thou here?' we could have replied, 'Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and thrown down thine altars, and have driven out all thy saints from the land, and we only are left to tell thee; and they seek our lives, to take them away; and now, therefore, let us die.'

"Our feelings were the more melancholy because here we had hoped to see our families from Illinois or some kind friend from thence, as we had not heard from them for some time and were now within one hundred miles of them; but we neither saw nor heard of anyone who knew us or cared for us. We now sent to the post office, but got no letters. Our families and friends, it seemed, had even neglected to write to us—this seemed the more unaccountable, as they had long expected us at Columbia. When we had been in the dungeon for some time, our new jailer handed down some provisions, but by this time I was too faint to eat; I tasted a few mouthfuls, and then suddenly the trapdoor opened and some chairs were handed to us, and the new sheriff, Mr. Martin, and his deputy, Mr. Hamilton, entered our dungeon and talked so kindly to us that our spirits again revived in some measure. This night we slept cold and uncomfortable; having but little bedding. Next morning we were suffered to come out of the dungeon, and the liberty of the upper room

was given us through the day ever afterwards."—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 114–124.

Pratt and Phelps escape.

P. P. Pratt and Morris Phelps escaped from the Boone County jail on July 4, 1839, and finally made their way to their families in Illinois. Mr. Follet broke jail with them, but was recaptured. Mr. Luman Gibbs, the other one of the four, apostatized, and was acquitted on trial. Mr. Follet was retained several months and dismissed. The following is Mr. Pratt's account of their thrilling escape:—

"The author of the foregoing narrative is now at liberty, and some account of his narrow escape from prison and from the State of Missouri, is due to the public. On the 1st of July the special term of the court was held at Columbia for our trials but was adjourned for nearly three months because all our witnesses were banished from the State. Under these circumstances we were unwilling to be tried in a State where all law and justice were at an end. We accordingly thought it justifiable to make our escape. In the meantime we were visited by Mrs. Phelps, the wife of one of the prisoners, and also by my brother, Orson Pratt, and Mrs. Phelps' brother. These all came from Illinois or Iowa, on horseback, and visited with us for several days. On the 4th of July we felt desirous as usual to celebrate the anniversary of American liberty. We accordingly manufactured a white flag, consisting of the half of a shirt, on which was inscribed the word LIBERTY, in large letters, and also a large American eagle was put on in red. We then obtained a pole from our jailer, and on the morning of the 4th this flag was suspended from the front window of our prison, overhanging the public square, and floating triumphantly in the air to the full view of the citizens who assembled by hundreds to celebrate the national jubilee. With this the citizens seemed highly pleased, and sent a portion of the public dinner to us and our friends, who partook with us in prison with merry hearts, as we intended to gain our liberties or be in paradise before the close of that eventful day. While we were thus employed in prison, the town was alive with troops parading, guns firing, music sounding, and shouts of joy resound-

ing on every side. In the meantime we wrote the following toast, which was read at their public dinner, with many and long cheers:—

"'The patriotic and hospitable citizens of Boone County: Opposed to tyranny and oppression, and firm to the original principles of republican liberty—may they in common with every part of our widespreading country, long enjoy the blessings which flow from the fountain of American Independence.' Our dinner being ended, our two brethren took leave of us and started for Illinois (leaving Mrs. Phelps to still visit with her husband). They had proceeded a mile or two on the road and then took into the woods, and finally placed their three horses in a thicket within one third of a mile of the prison, and there they waited in anxious suspense till sundown. In the meantime we put on our coats and hats and waited for the setting sun. With prayer and supplication for deliverance from this long and tedious bondage, and for a restoration to the society of our friends and families, we then sang the following lines:—

"'Lord, cause their foolish plans to fail,
And let them faint or die,
Our souls would quit this loathsome jail,
And fly to Illinois.

"'To join with the embodied saints,
Who are with freedom blessed,
That only bliss for which we pant,
With them awhile to rest.

"'Give joy for grief—give ease for pain,
Take all our foes away.
But let us find our friends again,
In this eventful day.'

"This ended the celebration of our national liberty, but the gaining of our own was the grand achievement now before us. In the meantime the sun was setting. The moment arrived, the footsteps of the jailer were heard on the stairs. Every man flew to his feet, and stood near the door. The great door was opened, and our supper handed in through a small hole in the inner door, which still remained locked; but at length the key was turned in order to hand in the pot of coffee. No sooner was the key turned than the

door was jerked open, and in a moment all three of us were out and rushing down the stairs. The foremost, Mr. Phelps, was clinched by the jailer; both tumbled down the stairs, through the entry and out into the dooryard, when Phelps cleared himself without injuring the jailer, and all of us leaped several fences, ran through the fields towards the thicket, where we expected to find our friends and horses. In the meantime the town was alarmed and many were seen rushing after us, some on horseback and some on foot, prepared with dogs, guns, and whatever came to hand. But the flag of liberty with its eagle still floated on high in the distance, and under its banner our nerves seemed to strengthen at every step. We gained the horses, mounted, and dashed into the wilderness, each his own way. After a few jumps of my horse I was hailed by an armed man at pistol shot distance, crying, 'D——n you, stop, or I'll shoot you.' I rushed onward deeper in the forest, while the cry was repeated in close pursuit, crying, 'D——n you, stop, or I'll shoot you,' at every step, till at length it died away in the distance.

"I plunged a mile into the forest—came to a halt—tied my horse in a thicket—went a distance, and climbed a tree to await the approaching darkness. Being so little used to exercise, I fainted through overexertion, and remained so faint for nearly an hour that I could not get down from the tree. But calling on the Lord, he strengthened me, and I came down from the tree. But my horse had got loose and gone. I then made my way on foot for several days and nights, principally without food, and scarcely suffering myself to be seen. After five days of dreadful suffering with fatigue and hunger, I crossed the Mississippi and found myself once more in a land of freedom. Hundreds of my friends crowded around me, and many of the citizens of Illinois, although strangers to me, received and welcomed me as one who had escaped from a persecution almost unparalleled in modern history. I was everywhere invited to preach the gospel, and gave many public addresses, but no attempt has ever been made to retake myself and fellow prisoners."—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 164–169.

A more detailed account may be found in his autobiography.

Joseph Smith and his companions reached Liberty jail on December 1, 1838, where the closing month of the year was spent in a loathsome jail. On the 8th the wives of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon visited them, remaining with them in the jail all night and departing on the 9th. On the 10th Lyman Wight's wife and four boys were visitors at the jail. They remained over the 11th, on which day the youngest child was blessed, taking their departure on the 12th.

Visitors at the jail.

On the 14th Isaac Morley, Reynolds Cahoon, and W. M. Allred, of their brethren, visited them; also a Mr. Harris and several other gentlemen of Clay County. Alexander McRae's wife and two little boys came on the 13th and remained until the 15th.

On the 17th they were visited by General Doniphan and N. West.

On December 20 the wives of Joseph Smith and Caleb Baldwin, accompanied by Mrs. Reynolds Cahoon, came in and remained until the 22d.

On the 21st they were visited by William Clark, also by Attorneys Doniphan and Burnett.

On the 22d Deacon Covey, accompanied by a Mr. Rase, came in and brought them each a pair of boots which he had manufactured, assisted by his son-in-law, Ethan Barrows.

On Christmas Day they were visited by a Disciple preacher by the name of Howard Evert.

On the 30th a Mr. Thompson, from Ray County, called.

Thus in their gloomy prison house, cheered only by occasional visits from friends and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, they beheld the eventful year 1838 pass away. Its closing hours found them deprived of liberty, their families robbed and destitute, their brethren scattered and driven from their once pleasant, happy homes by a ruthless mob,—and all this for the testimony they bore, that Jesus was the Christ, his gospel true, and his promised blessings sure.

Closing of the year.

CHAPTER 16.

1839.

THE OPENING YEAR—LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS—EVENTS AT FAR WEST—LEGISLATIVE—A TRIAL—HYRUM SMITH ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE—WOODS BILL DENIED—FRIENDS IMPORTUNE FOR PRISONERS—ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE—PETITIONS TO SUPREME COURT—JOSEPH WRITES TO THE CHURCH—JUDGE TURNHAM'S OPINION—MISSION OF KIMBALL AND TURLEY—INSTRUCTION TO THE CHURCH—PRISONERS TAKEN TO DAVIESS COUNTY—A CHANGE OF VENUE—ESCAPE—INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL—ARRIVAL AT QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

WE commence the history of 1839 with the appropriate words of Joseph Smith:—

"Tuesday, January 1, 1839, dawned upon us as prisoners of hope, but not as sons of liberty. O Columbia, Columbia! How art thou fallen! 'The land of the free, the home of the brave!' 'The asylum of the oppressed'—oppressing thy noblest sons, in a loathsome dungeon, without any provocation, only that they have claimed to worship the God of their fathers according to his own word and the dictates of their own consciences. Elder P. P. Pratt and his companions in tribulation were still held in bondage in their doleful prison in Richmond.

The opening year.

"Monday, 7th. Anson Call returned to his farm on the three forks of Grand River to see if he could secure any of the property he had left in his flight to Adam-ondi-ahman, and was there met by the mob, and beat with a hoop pole about his limbs, body, and head; the man that used the pole about his person was George W. O'Neal. With much difficulty he returned to Far West, with his person much bruised, and from that time gave up all hopes of securing any of his property. . . .

"Wednesday, 16th. Mr. Turner, from the joint select committee, introduced to the Senate 'A bill to provide for the investigation of the late disturbances in this State.' This bill consists of twenty-three sections:—

Legislative proceedings.

"'1. A joint committee shall be appointed to investigate the causes of the late disturbances between the people called Mormons and other inhabitants of this State, and the conduct of the military operations in repressing them: which committee shall consist of two senators to be elected by the Senate, and three representatives to be elected by the House of Representatives.'

"The bill further provided that the committee should meet at Richmond, Ray County, on the first Monday in May, and thereafter at such times and places as they should appoint; that they should choose a chairman, clerk, sergeant-at-arms, and assistants; issue subpœnas and other processes; administer oaths; keep a record; furnish rooms; pay witnesses one dollar and fifty cents per day out of the treasury; receive their pay as members of the legislature; clerk four dollars per day, and one dollar and fifty cents for each arrest. In short, all parties concerned were to be paid the highest price—and this committee were to be clothed with all the powers of the highest courts of record. This bill did not concern the 'Mormons,' as the exterminating order of Governor Boggs and the action of General Clark thereon would compel all the saints to be out of the State before the court would sit, so that they would have no testimony but from mobbers and worse apostates; and this was evidently their object in postponing the time so long.

"Thursday, 24th. I wrote as follows from Liberty jail:—

"'*To the Honorable the Legislature of Missouri:*—Your memorialists having a few days since solicited your attention to the same subject, would now respectfully submit to your honorable body a few additional facts in support of their prayer.

"'They are now imprisoned under a charge of treason against the State of Missouri, and their lives, and fortunes, and characters being suspended upon the result of the criminal charges preferred against them.

"'Your honorable body will excuse them for manifesting the deep concern they feel in relation to their trials for a crime so enormous as that of treason.

"'It is not our object to complain—to asperse anyone.

All we ask is a fair and impartial trial. We ask the sympathies of no one. We ask sheer justice; 'tis all we expect, and all we merit, but we merit that. We know the people of no county in this State to which we would ask our final trials to be sent, are prejudiced in our favor. But we believe that the state of excitement existing in most of the upper counties is such that a jury would be improperly influenced by it. But that excitement and the prejudice against us in the counties comprising the fifth judicial circuit are not the only obstacles we are compelled to meet. We know that much of that prejudice against us is not so much to be attributed to a want of honest motives amongst the citizens as it is to wrong information.

" 'But it is a difficult task to change opinions once formed. The other obstacle which we candidly consider one of the most weighty, is the feeling which we believe is entertained by the Hon. A. A. King against us, and the consequent incapacity to do us impartial justice. It is from no disposition to speak disrespectfully of that high officer that we lay before your honorable body the facts we do; but simply that the legislature may be apprised of our real condition. We look upon Judge King as like all other mere men, liable to be influenced by his feelings, his prejudices, and his previously formed opinions. We consider his reputation as being partially if not entirely committed against us. He has written much upon the subject of our late difficulties, in which he has placed us in the wrong. These letters have been published to the world. He has also presided at an excited public meeting as chairman, and no doubt sanctioned all the proceedings. We do not complain of the citizens who held that meeting, they were entitled to that privilege. But for the judge before whom the very men were to be tried for a capital offense to participate in an expression of condemnation of these same individuals, is to us at least apparently wrong; and we cannot think that we should, after such a course on the part of the Judge, have the same chance of a fair and impartial trial as all admit we ought to have.

" 'We believe that the foundation of the feeling against us which we have reason to think Judge King entertains, may

be traced to the unfortunate troubles which occurred in Jackson County some few years ago; in a battle between the "Mormons" and a portion of the citizens of that county, Mr. Brazeale, the brother-in-law of Judge King, was killed. It is natural that the Judge should have some feeling against us, whether we were right or wrong in that controversy.

" 'We mention these facts, not to disparage Judge King; we believe that from the relation he bears to us he would himself prefer that our trials should be had in a different circuit and before a different court. Many other reasons and facts we might mention, but we forbear.'

"This letter was directed to James M. Hughes, Esq., member of the House of Representatives, Jefferson City."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 709–711.

Events at Far West.

On Saturday, January 26, 1839, the citizens of Caldwell County met at Far West and appointed a committee of seven; viz., John Taylor, Alanson Ripley, Brigham Young, Theodore Turley, H. C. Kimball, John Smith, and D. C. Smith to draft resolutions respecting their removal from the State according to the Governor's order, and to devise means for removing the destitute.

On the 29th another meeting was called, when the committee reported through their chairman, John Taylor. The result was the adoption of a covenant to assist one another, which reads as follows:—

"We whose names are hereunder written do each for ourselves individually hereby covenant to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State in compliance with the authority of the State; and we do hereby acknowledge ourselves firmly bound to the extent of all our available property, to be disposed of by a committee who shall be appointed for that purpose, for providing means for the removing of the poor and destitute who shall be considered worthy, from this country, till there shall not be one left who desires to remove from the State: with this proviso, that no individual shall be deprived of the right of the disposal of his own property for the above purpose, or of having the control of it, or so much of it as shall be necessary for the removing of his own family,

and to be entitled to the overplus, after the work is effected; and furthermore, said committee shall give receipts for all property, and an account of the expenditure of the same."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 730.

The committee on removal provided for were William Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy, and J. H. Hale, of which Wm. Huntington, was appointed chairman; Daniel Shearer, treasurer; and Alanson Ripley, clerk. A long list of names were signed to the agreement.[1]

[1] John Smith, Wm. Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy, Jonathan H. Hale, Elias Smith, Brigham Young, James Burnham, Leicester Gaylord, Samuel Williams, John Miller, Aaron M. York, George A. Smith, Daniel Howe, James Bradin, Jonathan Beckelshimer, David Jones, Wm. M. Fossett, James McMillan, Chandler Holbrook, Alexander Wright, William Taylor, John Taylor, Reuben P. Hartwell, John Lowry, Welcome Chapman, Solomon Hancock, Arza Adams, Henry Jacobs, James Carroll, David Lyons, John Taylor, Don Carlos Smith, William J. Stuart, Isaac B. Chapman, Roswell Stephens, Reuben Hedlock, David Holman, Joel Goddard, Charles N. Baldwin, Jesse N. Reed, Benjamin Johnson, Jonathan Hampton, Anson Call, Peter Dopp, Samuel Rolph, Abel Lamb, Daniel McArthur, William Gregory, Zenas Curtis, John Reed, William R. Orton, Samuel D. Tyler, John H. Goff, Thomas Butterfield, Dwight Hardin, Norvil M. Head, Stephen V. Foot, Jacob G. Bigler, Eli Bagley, William Milam, Lorenzo Clark, William Allred, Wm. Van Ausdall, Nathan K. Knight, John Thorp, Andrew Rose, John S. Martin, Albert Sloan, John D. Lee, Eliphas Marsh, Joseph Wright, John Badger, Levi Richards, Erastus Bingham, Elisha Everett, John Lytle, Levi Jackman, Thomas Guyman, Nahum Curtis, Lyman Curtis, Philip Ballard, William Gould, Reuben Middleton, William Harper, Seba Joes, Charles Butler, Richard Walton, Isaac Kerron, Joseph Rose, David Foot, L. S. Nickerson, Moses Daley, David Sessions, Perry Green Sessions, Alford P. Childs, James Daley, Noah T. Guyman, David Winters, John Pack, Sylvenus Hicks, Horatio N. Kent, Joseph W. Pierce, Phineas R. Bird, Duncan McArthur, Allen Talley, James Hampton, Sherman A. Gilbert, James S. Holman, Andrew Lytle, Aaron Johnson, Heber C. Kimball, George W. Harris, George W. Davidson, Harvey Strong, Elizabeth Mackley, Sarah Mackley, Andrew More, Harvey Downey, John Maba, Lucy Wheeler, John Turpin, William Earl, Zenos H. Gurley, Joseph W. Coolidge, Anthony Head, S. A. P. Kelsey, Moses Evord, Ophelia Harris, Zuba McDonald, Mary Goff, Harvey J Moore, Francis Chase, Stephen Markham, John Outhouse, Wm. F. Leavens, Daniel Tyler, Noah Rogers, Stephen N. St. John, Francis Lee, Eli Lee, Benjamin Covey, Michael Borkdull, Miles Randall, Horace Evans, David Dort, Levi Hancock, Edwin Whiting, William Barton, Elisha Smith, James Gallaher, Robert Jackson, Lemuel Merrick, James Dunn, Orin Hartshorn, Nathan Hawke, Pierce Hawley, Thomas F. Fisher, James Leithead, Alfred Lee, Stephen Jones, Eleazer Harris, Elijah B. Gaylord, Thomas Grover, Alexander Badlam, Phebe Kellog, Albert Miner, Thomas Gates, Squire Bozarth, Nathan Lewis, Philander Avery, Benjamin F. Bird, Charles Squire, Jacob Curtis, Rachel Medfo, Lyman Stevens, Roswell Evans, Leonard

On February 1 the committee was increased to eleven and Elias Smith, Erastus Bingham, Stephen Markham, and James Newberry were added. Mr. Ripley declined to act as clerk, and Elias Smith was appointed.

Legislative.

On January 31 the bill of Mr. Turner before referred to passed the State Senate. On February 4 the House laid it on the table until July 4, by a majority of seven. This was too late to benefit the saints.

Charles Bird was sent in advance to buy and store corn on the way, and to make contracts for ferriage across the Mississippi River.

Visitors at the jail.

Visitors at the jail during the month of January were as follows: Mrs. Rigdon, and Mrs. Wight and two daughters on the 3d; Lyman Cowdery on the 5th; Attorney Burnett and Judge Turnham on the 8th; Attorneys Doniphan and Burnett on the 9th; Mrs. McRae on the 10th; Mr. Moore, and Mr. James Sloan, wife, and daughter on the 11th; Mr. Bennett on the 12th; Mrs. Fowler, Mrs. Sloan and daughter Jane, Messrs. Morey, Hedlock, and Lawyer Burnett on the 13th; Bishop Partridge and Messrs. Barlow, Gorden, and Burnett on the 16th; Bishop Partridge, Messrs. Barlow, Sloan, and Burnett on the 17th; General Hughes on the 18th; Mrs. Sloan and daughter on the 19th; Mrs. Fowler and Mrs. Blevin on the 20th; G. W. Robinson, D. C. Smith, Mrs. Emma Smith, and John Daley on the 21st; Brn. Partridge, D. C. Smith, Ripley, and Morley on the 23d; Mr. Samuels on the 24th; Mr. Samuels and Mr. Bird on the 26th; Mrs. Wight, Mrs. Baldwin, and a Mr. Murphy on the 27th; Major Dorothy on the 28th; Mrs. Hyrum Smith and Mrs. Thompson on the 29th; Messrs. Newberry, Baldwin, and Samuels on the 30th.

On January 22 a writ was served on the prisoners and

Clark, Nehemiah Harmon, Daniel Cathcart, Gershom Stokes, Rachel Page, Barnet Cole, Wm. Thompson, Nathan Cheney, James Sherry, David Frampton, Elizabeth Pettigrew, Charles Thompson, Wm. Woodland, Martin C. Allred, Jedediah Owen, Orren P. Rockwell, Nathan B. Baldwin, Truman Brace, Sarah Wixom, Lewis Zobriski, Henry Zobriski, Morris Harris, Absolom Tidwell, Alvin Winegar, Samuel Winegar, John E. Page, Levi Gifford, Edmund Durfee, Josiah Butterfield, John Killion, John Patten, John Wilkins, Abram Allen, Wm. Felshaw.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 730, 731.

they were taken to the courthouse and their trial set for the 25th.

The court opened the case on the 25th and it was continued on Saturday, the 26th, and adjourned until Monday, 28th.

A trial.

On the 28th by noon the evidence was all in. In the afternoon Mr. Wood made the argument for the State. On the 29th Mr. Doniphan made a very able argument in behalf of the defense. He was followed by Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith. In the afternoon Hyrum Smith addressed the court, followed by Lyman Wight and Caleb Baldwin; after which Mr. Wood closed for the State. On the 30th the judge admitted Sidney Rigdon to bail and remanded the others to jail without bail.

On the 3d of February they were visited by H. C. Kimball, Brigham Young, and G. A. Smith. Rigdon was liberated the 5th.

On February 7, Alanson Ripley, David Holman, Watson Barlow, William Huntington, Jr., Erastus Snow, and Cyrus Daniels were admitted to the prison, and continued with them until supper time. Hyrum Smith had just received a letter stating that his family were in a destitute condition, and divided, a part of them on one side of the Mississippi River and a part on the other; so as the jailer passed out and Cyrus Daniels with him, Hyrum made an ineffectual effort to go with them. The other five visitors were locked in with the prisoners. They were subsequently charged with being accessory to an attempted escape. Erastus Snow was acquitted, and the other four held to bail in one hundred and fifty dollars each. On the 13th they gave bail and started for home.

Hyrum Smith attempts to escape.

Attorney Wood presented a bill to the legislature for services in prosecuting the Mormon leader, which was denied.

Wood's bill denied.

Senator McDaniel was the leader in opposing the bill, who said, in effect, that Mr. Wood's honor for persecuting an oppressed and abused people should be sufficient pay. This was the information given to the prisoners by a Mr. Gorden.

The month of February was spent in jail with but little transpiring outside of the dreary monotony of prison life.

Their families, with the majority of the saints, left the State about this time, so their visitors were mostly strangers; but the few remaining paid them every attention possible, especially Heber C. Kimball and Theodore Turley, who visited them occasionally and unceasingly importuned the authorities for the release of the prisoners on bail or in some other way.

Friends importune for prisoners.

About March 1 they began to make a breach in the jail by means of augers, but the timbers being hard, the auger handles gave out, which delayed them until the secret was known to the authorities.

Attempt to escape.

In the epistle written by them on March 20 they state:—

"We should have made our escape, and succeeded admirably well, had it not been for a little imprudence or over-anxiety on the part of our friends."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, p. 100.

Lyman Wight writes of it as follows:—

"[March] 3. This morning hard at work for our deliverance. We expect to go to-day without fail. We have worked hard all day—we could not finish. We will do it to-morrow if the Lord will.

"4th. This morning I walked out and returned about ten o'clock. We expect to make our escape this afternoon without fail. We got all ready to go out, and Shoemaker felt so tickled to think that he was our assistant that he made a confidant of Doctor Moss. The thing leaked out, and there were ten guards called for," etc.

On March 15 the following petition to the Supreme Court was sworn to by and in behalf of Joseph Smith. At the same time each of the prisoners made a similar petition:—

Petitions to Supreme Court.

"*To the Honorable Judge Tompkins, or either of the Judges of the Supreme Court for the State of Missouri:*—

"Your petitioners beg leave respectfully to represent to your honor, that Joseph Smith, Jr., is now unlawfully confined and restrained of his liberty, in Liberty jail, Clay County (Missouri); that he has been restrained of his liberty near five months. Your petitioners claim that the whole transaction which has been the cause of his confinement is

unlawful from the first to the last. He was taken from his home by a fraud being practiced upon him by a man by the name of George M. Hinkle and one or two others, thereby, your petitioners respectfully show, that he was forced contrary to his wishes and without knowing the cause, into the camp which was commanded by General Lucas, of Jackson County, and from thence to Ray County, sleeping on the ground and suffering many insults and injuries and deprivations, which were calculated in their nature to break down the spirits and constitution of the most robust and hardy of mankind. He was put in chains immediately on his being landed at Richmond, and there underwent a long and tedious ex parte examination; not only was it ex parte, but your petitioners solemnly declare that it was a mock examination; that there was not the least shadow of honor or justice or law administered toward him, but sheer prejudice, and the spirit of persecution and malice, and prepossession against him on account of his religion; that the whole examination was an inquisitory examination. Your petitioners show that the said Joseph Smith, Jr., was deprived of the privilege of being examined before the court as the law directs; that the witnesses on the part of the State were taken by force of arms, threatened with extermination or immediate death, and were brought without subpœna or warrant under this awful and glaring anticipation of being exterminated if they did not swear something against him to please the mob or his persecutors; and those witnesses were compelled to swear at the muzzle of the gun, and that some of them have acknowledged since, which your petitioners do testify and are able to prove that they did swear false and that they did it in order to save their lives. And your petitioners testify that all the testimony that had any tendency or bearing of criminality against said Joseph Smith, Jr., is false. We are personally acquainted with the circumstances, and being with him most of the time, and being present at the times spoken of by them, therefore we know that their testimony was false, and if he could have had a fair and impartial and lawful examination before that court, and could have been allowed the privilege of introducing his

witnesses, he could have disproved everything that was against him; but the court suffered them to be intimidated—some of them in the presence of the court, and they were driven also, and hunted, and some of them entirely driven out of the State. And thus he was not able to have a fair trial; that the spirit of the court was tyrannical and overbearing, and the whole transaction of his treatment during the examination was calculated to convince your petitioners that it was a religious persecution, proscribing him in the liberty of conscience, which is guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States and the State of Missouri; that a long catalogue of garbled testimony was permitted by the court, purporting to be the religious sentiment of the said Joseph Smith, Jr., which testimony was false, and your petitioners know that it was false; because the witnesses testified that those sentiments were promulgated on certain days, and in the presence of large congregations; and your petitioners can prove by those congregations that the said Joseph Smith, Jr., did not promulge such ridiculous and absurd sentiments for his religion, as was testified of and admitted before the Honorable Austin A. King; and, at the same time, those things had no bearing on the case that the said Joseph Smith, Jr., was pretended to be charged with; and after the examination the said prisoner was committed to the jail for treason against the State of Missouri; whereas, the said Joseph Smith, Jr., did not levy war against the State of Missouri, neither did he commit any covert acts; neither did he aid or abet an enemy against the State of Missouri during the time that he is charged with having done so; and, further, your petitioners have yet to learn that the State has an enemy; neither is the proof evident nor the presumption great, in its most indignant form, upon the face of the testimony on the part of the State, ex parte as it is in its nature, that the said prisoner has committed the slightest degree of treason or any other act of transgression against the laws of the State of Missouri; and yet said prisoner has been committed to Liberty jail, Clay County (Missouri), for treason.

"He has continually offered bail to any amount that could

be required, notwithstanding your petitioners allege that he ought to have been acquitted. Your petitioners also allege that the commitment was an illegal commitment, for the law requires that a copy of the testimony should be put in the hands of the jailer, which was not done. Your petitioners allege that the prisoner has been denied the privilege of the law in a writ of habeas corpus, by the judges of this county. Whether they have prejudged the case of the prisoner, or whether they are not willing to administer law and justice to the prisoner, or that they are intimidated by the high office of Judge King, who only acted in the case of the prisoners as a committing magistrate, a conservator of the peace, or by the threats of a lawless mob, your petitioners are not able to say; but is a fact that they do not come forward boldly and administer the law to the relief of the prisoner; and, further, your petitioners allege that immediately after the prisoner was taken, his family was frightened and driven out of their house, and that, too, by the witnesses on the part of the State, and plundered of their goods; that the prisoner was robbed of a very fine horse, saddle, and bridle, and other property of considerable amount; that they (the witnesses), in connection with the mob, have finally succeeded, by vile threatening and foul abuse, in driving the family of the prisoner out of the State, with little or no means and without a protector, and their very subsistence depends on the liberty of the prisoner. And your petitioners allege that he is not guilty of any crime whereby he should be restrained of his liberty, from a personal knowledge, having been with him and being personally acquainted with the whole of the difficulties between the Mormons and their persecutors; and, that he has never acted, at any time, only in his own defense, and that too on his own ground, property, and possessions; that the prisoner has never commanded any military company, nor held any military authority, neither any other office, real or pretended, in the State of Missouri, except that of a religious teacher; that he has never bore arms in the military rank, and in all such cases has acted as a private character and as an individual.

"How, then, your petitioners would ask, can it be possible

that the prisoner has committed treason? The prisoner has had nothing to do in Daviess County, only on his own business as an individual. The testimony of Doctor Avard concerning a council held at James Sloan's was false. Your petitioners do solemnly declare that there was no such council; that your petitioners were with the prisoner, and there was no such vote nor conversation as Doctor Avard swore to; that Doctor Avard also swore false concerning a constitution, as he said, was introduced among the Danites; that the prisoner had nothing to do with burning in Daviess County; that the prisoner made public proclamation against such things; that the prisoner did oppose Doctor Avard and George M. Hinkle against vile measures with the mob, but was threatened by them if he did not let them alone; that the prisoner did not have anything to do with what is called Bogart's battle, for he knew nothing of it till it was over—that he was at home, in the bosom of his own family during the time of that whole transaction; and, in fine, your petitioners allege that he is held in confinement without cause, and under an unlawful and tyrannical oppression, and that his health and constitution and life depend on being liberated from his confinement.

"Your petitioners aver that they can disprove every item of testimony that has any tendency of criminality against the prisoner, for they know it themselves and can bring many others also to prove the same. Therefore your petitioners pray your honor to grant to him the State's writ of habeas corpus, directed to the jailer of Clay County (Missouri), commanding him forthwith to bring before you the body of the prisoner, so that his case may be heard before your honor, and the situation of the prisoner be considered and adjusted according to law and justice, as it shall be presented before your honor, and as in duty bound, your petitioners will ever pray.

"And, further, your petitioners testify that the said Joseph Smith, Jr., did make a public proclamation in Far West, in favor of the militia of the State of Missouri, and of its laws, and also of the Constitution of the United States; that he has ever been a warm friend to his country, and did

use all his influence for peace; that he is a peaceable and quiet citizen, and is not worthy of death, of stripes, bonds, or imprisonment.

"The above-mentioned speech was delivered on the day before the surrender of Far West.

"ALANSON RIPLEY.
"HEBER C. KIMBALL.
"WILLIAM HUNTINGTON.
"JOSEPH B. NOBLE.
"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"STATE OF MISSOURI, } ss.
"County of Clay. }

"This day personally appeared before me, Abraham Shafer, a justice of the peace within and for the aforesaid county—Alanson Ripley, Heber C. Kimball, William Huntington, Joseph B. Noble, and Joseph Smith, Jr., who being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the matters and things set forth in the foregoing petition, upon their own knowledge, are true in substance and in fact, and so far as set forth upon the information of others, they believe to be true.

"ALANSON RIPLEY.
"HEBER C. KIMBALL.
"WILLIAM HUNTINGTON.
"JOSEPH B. NOBLE.
"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me, this 15th day of March, 1839.

"ABRAHAM SHAFER, J. P.

"We, the undersigned, being many of us personally acquainted with the said Joseph Smith, Jr., and the circumstances connected with his imprisonment, do concur in the petition and testimony of the above-named individuals, as most of the transactions therein mentioned we know from personal knowledge to be correctly set forth, and from information of others, believe the remainder to be true.

"AMASA LYMAN.
"H. G. SHERWOOD.
"JAMES NEWBERRY.
"CYRUS DANIELS.
"ERASTUS SNOW.
"ELIAS SMITH."

—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 205–215.

These petitions were carried to Jefferson City by Heber C. Kimball and T. Turley.

On the 20th, the letter published in *Times and Seasons*, volume 1, pages 99 to 104, was written. This epistle was signed by the five prisoners, but was written by Joseph Smith himself. Under date of March 20, 1839, Lyman Wight in his journal writes:—

Joseph writes to the church.

"This evening Joseph is writing an epistle to the church; myself and Bro. Baldwin letters to our families.

"22d. . . . Brother Ripley came in and took our package of letters for Quincy."

Elder Wight in his journal states under date of March 23, 1839, as follows:—

"Doniphan informed us that Judge Turnham did not think that we had committed treason, but the responsibility was too great for him; accordingly he remanded us for fear he should offend Judge King."

Judge Turnham's opinion.

This is sustained by the testimony of Mr. M. Curtis, of Bandera, Texas:—

"AFFIDAVIT.

"*To Whom it May Concern:*—I hereby certify that I was an employee of Judge Joel T. Turnham, in 1838, at the time Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and others were confined in Liberty jail, Clay County, Missouri, and I was often present in the office of said Judge Joel T. Turnham while the above-named defendants were being tried, and I heard the said Judge Turnham read extracts from the written testimony of the witnesses for the State of Missouri, and then point out points of contradiction in said testimony; saying that such evidence was insufficient to hold the prisoners, and that he would have acquitted the prisoners at the bar, only for fear that they would be assassinated by a furious mob.

"Witness my hand this 23d day of July, 1878.

"MEACHAM CURTIS.

"BANDERA, Bandera County, Texas."

—*Saints' Herald*, vol. 25, p. 256.

Here we quote the statement of Joseph Smith concerning the effort to reach the Governor and the Supreme Court:—

"Monday, 25th.[3] About this time Elders Kimball and Turley started on their mission to see the Governor. They called on the sheriff of Ray County and jailer for a copy of the mittimus by which the prisoners were held in custody, but he confessed he had none.

Mission of Kimball and Turley.

[3] Lyman Wight states that they started on the 18th.

They went to Judge King, and he made out a kind of mittimus. At this time we had been in prison several months without even a mittimus; and that, too, for crimes said to have been committed in another county.

"Kimball and Turley took all the papers by which we were held, or which were then made out for them, with our petitions to the Supreme Judges, and went to Jefferson City.

"The Governor was absent. The Secretary of State treated them very kindly; and when he saw the papers could hardly believe those were all the documents by which the prisoners were held in custody, for they were illegal. . . .

"The Secretary was astonished at Judge King acting as he did, but said he could do nothing in the premises, and if the Governor were present, he could do nothing. But the Secretary wrote a letter to Judge King.

"The brethren then started to find the Supreme Judges and get writs of habeas corpus; and after riding hundreds of miles to effect this object, returned to Liberty on the 30th March, having seen Matthias McGirk, George Tompkins, and John C. Edwards, the Supreme Judges, but did not obtain the writ of habeas corpus, in consequence of a lack of the order of commitment, although the Judges seemed to be friendly.

"We were informed that Judge King said that there was nothing against my brother Hyrum, only that he was a friend to the prophet. He also said there was nothing against Caleb Baldwin and McRae."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 68, 69.

During their absence Joseph continued his instruction to the church through Bishop Partridge, in an epistle which is found in *Times and Seasons*, volume 1, pages 131, 134. This epistle closes with the following sound advice, and patriotic declaration:—

Instruction to the church.

"We further caution our brethren against the impropriety of the organization of bands or companies by covenants, oaths, penalties, or secrecies; but let the time past of our experience and sufferings by the wickedness of Doctor Avard suffice, and let our covenants be that of the everlasting covenant, as it is contained in the holy writ, and the things which God has revealed unto us; pure friendship always

becomes weakened the very moment you undertake to make it stronger by penal oaths and secrecy. Your humble servants intend from henceforth to disapprobate everything that is not in accordance with the fullness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and which is not of a bold, frank, and upright nature; they will not hold their peace as in times past when they see iniquity beginning to rear its head, for fear of traitors, or the consequences that shall follow, from reproving those who creep in unawares that they may get something to destroy the flock. We believe that from the experience of the saints in times past they will henceforth be always ready to obey the truth without having men's persons in admiration because of advantage; we ought to be aware of those prejudices (which are so congenial to human nature) against our neighbors, friends, and brethren of the world, who choose to differ with us in opinion, and in matters of faith; our religion is between us and our God; their religion is between them and their God: there certainly is a tie to those of the same faith which is peculiar to itself; but it is without prejudice, gives full scope to the mind, and enables us to conduct ourselves with liberality towards those who are not of our faith; this principle, in our opinion, approximates the nearest to the mind of God, and is godlike. There is a duty which we in common with all men owe to governments, laws, and the regulations in the civil concerns of life; these guarantee to all parties and denominations of religion equal and indefeasible rights, all alike interested; and they make our responsibilities one towards another in matters relating to temporal affairs and the things of this life; the former principles do not destroy the latter, but bind us stronger and make our responsibility not only one towards another, but unto God also: hence we say that the Constitution of the United States is a glorious standard, it is founded in wisdom, it is a heavenly banner, and is to all those who are privileged with the sweets of its liberty, like the cooling shade and refreshing water of a great rock in a thirsty and weary land; it is like a great tree under whose branches men from every clime can be shielded from the burning rays of an inclement sun. We are deprived of the protection of this

glorious principle by the cruelties of those who only look to the time being for pasturage; and who forget that the Mormons, as well as the Presbyterians and every other denomination, have equal rights to partake of the fruits of the great tree of our national liberty; yet notwithstanding we see what we do, and feel the effects of the cruelty of the enemies of freedom, that fruit is no less precious and delicious to our taste; we cannot be weaned from the milk, neither can we be drawn from the breast; nor will we deny our religion because of the hand of oppression, but we will hold on until death. We say that God is true, that the Constitution of the United States is true, that the Bible is true, the Book of Mormon is true, that Christ is true, that the ministering of angels is true; and 'we know we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God;' a consolation which our oppressors cannot feel when fortune or fate may lay its hand on them as it has on us. We ask, What is man? Remember, brethren, that time and chance happeneth to all men.

"We subscribe ourselves your sincere friends and brethren in the bonds of the everlasting gospel, and prisoners of Jesus Christ.

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
"HYRUM SMITH.
"LYMAN WIGHT.
"CALEB BALDWIN.
"ALEXANDER MCRAE."

— *Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 133, 134.

Taken to Daviess County.

They were taken from Liberty jail on the 6th of April, 1839, and taken to Daviess County for trial. Of these events Joseph Smith writes:—

"Brothers Kimball and Turley called on Judge King, who was mad at their having reported the case to the Governor; and, said he, 'I could have done all the business for you properly, if you had come to me; and I would have signed the petition for all except Joe, and he is not fit to live.' I bade Brothers Kimball and Turley to be of good cheer, 'for we shall be delivered; but no arm but God can deliver us now. Tell the brethren to be of good cheer and get the saints away as fast as possible.'

"Brothers Kimball and Turley were not permitted to enter the prison, and all the communication we had with them was through the grate of the dungeon. The brethren left Liberty on their return to Far West.

"Friday, 5th. Brothers Kimball and Turley arrived at Far West.

"Saturday, April 6. Judge King, evidently fearing a change of venue, or some movement on our part to escape his unhallowed persecution, (and most probably expecting that we would be murdered on the way,) hurried myself and fellow prisoners off to Daviess County, under a guard of about ten men, commanded by Samuel Tillery, deputy jailer of Clay County. We were promised that we should go through Far West, which was directly on our route, which our friends at that place knew, and expected us; but instead of fulfilling their promise they took us round the city and out of the direct course eighteen miles, far from habitations, where every opportunity presented for a general massacre. . . .

"We continued our travels across the prairie, while the brethren at Far West, anxious for our welfare, gave a man thirty dollars to convey a letter to us at Daviess County and return an answer.

"Monday, 8th. After a tedious journey, for our long confinement had enfeebled our bodily powers, we arrived in Daviess County, about a mile from Gallatin, where we were delivered into the hands of William Morgan, sheriff of Daviess County, with his guard, William Bowman, John Brassfield, and John Pogue. The Liberty guard returned immediately, but became divided or got lost on their way; and a part of them arrived in Far West after dark and got caught in the fence; and calling for help, Elder Markham went to their assistance and took them to the tavern. From them he got a letter I had written to the committee informing them of our arrival at Daviess.

"Tuesday, 9th. Our trial commenced before a drunken grand jury, Austin A. King presiding judge, as drunk as the jury; for they were all drunk together.

"Elder Stephen Markham had been dispatched by the committee to visit us and bring a hundred dollars that was sent by Elder Kimball, as we were destitute of means at that time; and leaving Far West this morning and swimming several streams he arrived among us in the afternoon and spent the evening in our company. Brother Markham brought us a written copy of a statute which had passed the legislature, giving us the privilege of a change of venue on our own affidavit.

"Judge Morin arrived from Millport and was favorable to our escape from the persecution we were enduring, and spent the evening with us in prison, and we had as pleasant a time as such circumstances would permit, for we were as happy as the happiest; the Spirit buoyed us above our trials, and we rejoiced in each other's society.

"Wednesday, 10th, was spent in the examination of witnesses before the grand jury. Dr. Sampson Avard was one of the witnesses. Brother Markham was not permitted to give his testimony.

"Our guard went home, and Colonel William P. Peniston, Blakely, and others, took their place. . . .

"The examination of witnesses was continued and Elder Markham was permitted to give his testimony. After he had closed, Blakely, one of the guard, came in and said to Markham that he wanted to speak to him. Brother Markham walked out with him, and round the end of the house, when Blakely called out, 'God damn you, you damned old Mormon; I'll kill you;' and struck at Markham with his fist, and then with a club. Markham took the club and threw it over the fence. There were ten of the mob, who immediately rushed upon Markham to kill him, Colonel William P. Peniston, captain of the guard, being one of the number. But Markham told them he could kill the whole of them at one blow apiece, and drove them off. The court and grand jury stood and saw the affray, and heard the mob threaten Markham's life by all the oaths they could invent, but they took no cognizance of it.

"The ten mobbers went home after their guns to shoot Markham, and the grand jury brought in a bill for 'Murder,

treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing,' against Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin, Hyrum Smith, and myself.

"This evening the committee assembled at Daniel Shearer's. After prayer by Brother James Newberry, he was ordained an elder on the recommendation of Elder Kimball, under the hands of Elder Kimball, H. Clark, and W. Huntington.

"Elder Kimball reported that Jesse P. Maupin, the thirty dollar messenger they sent to us, had returned; that the prisoners were well and in good spirits.

"Brother Rogers, who had returned from Jackson County, reported that he had sold all the lands in Jackson. Elder Kimball was requested to attend a meeting of the county to-morrow, and as an individual mention the case of the committee and brethren generally, and learn their feelings, whether they would protect the brethren from the abuse of the mob, in case they come immediately to drive them out, as they had recently threatened.

"During this night the visions of the future were opened to my understanding, when I saw the ways and means and near approach of my escape from imprisonment, and the danger that my beloved Brother Markham was in. I awoke Brother Markham and told him if he would rise early and not wait for the judge and lawyers, as he had contemplated, but ride briskly, he would get safe home almost before he was aware of it; and if he did not, the mob would shoot him on the way; and tell the brethren to be of good cheer and lose no time in removing from the country."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 102-104, 126, 127.

They were granted a change of venue, and on the 15th of April started for Boone County, in company with the sheriff, William Morgan, and four guards; viz., John Brassfield, William Bowen, Wilson McKinney, and John Pough. That night they staid with a man by the name of Cox, and on the 16th traveled about twenty miles and camped. The sheriff and guards became intoxicated and went to sleep. The prisoners soon arose and left the camp, traveling towards Illinois and lib-

A change of venue.

Escape.

erty. Of their escape Hyrum Smith testified before the municipal court of Nauvoo, as follows:—

"There we bought a jug of whisky, with which we treated the company, and while there the sheriff showed us the mittimus before referred to, without date or signature, and said that Judge Birch told him never to carry us to Boone County and never to show the mittimus; 'and,' said he, 'I shall take a good drink of grog and go to bed; you may do as you have a mind to.' Three others of the guard drank pretty freely of whisky, sweetened with honey; they also went to bed, and were soon asleep, and the other guard went along with us and helped to saddle the horses. Two of us mounted the horses, and the other three started on foot, and we took our change of venue for the State of Illinois, and, in the course of nine or ten days we arrived in Quincy, Adams County [Illinois], where we found our families in a state of poverty, although in good health, they having been driven out of the State previously, by the murderous militia, under the exterminating order of the Executive of Missouri."—Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors, pp. 264, 265.

Incidents of travel.

On the 17th Elder Baldwin got separated from the rest; but two days later he fortunately but accidentally met them again, at the house of a Mr. Harrison, on Big Chariton River.

On the 21st Alexander McRae left the rest. Of this Lyman Wight states:—

"McRae left us, being displeased with Joseph."

The other four proceeded together, until the next day, the 22d, when Joseph Smith and Caleb Baldwin took the horses and hurried onward, while Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight proceeded more leisurely on foot. The two on foot arrived at Quincy, Illinois, at six p. m. the same evening, the other two having preceded them.

Arrival at Quincy, Ill.

We will close this chapter in the words of Joseph, allowing him to tell of his feelings when again at liberty and among friends:—

"Monday, 22d. We continued on our journey, both by night and by day, and after suffering much fatigue and hun-

ger I arrived at Quincy, Illinois, amidst the congratulations of my friends and the embraces of my family, whom I found as well as could be expected, considering what they had been called to endure. Before leaving Missouri I had paid the lawyers at Richmond thirty-four thousand dollars in cash, lands, etc.; one lot which I let them have, in Jackson County, for seven thousand dollars they were soon offered ten thousand dollars for it, but would not accept it. For other vexatious suits which I had to contend against the few months I was in this State, I paid lawyer's fees to the amount of about sixteen thousand dollars, making in all about fifty thousand dollars, for which I received very little in return; for sometimes they were afraid to act on account of the mob, and sometimes they were so drunk as to incapacitate them for business. But there were a few honorable exceptions.

"Among those who have been the chief instruments and leading characters in the unparalleled persecutions against the Church of Latter Day Saints, the following stand conspicuous; viz., Generals Clark, Wilson, and Lucas, Colonel Price, and Cornelius Gillium; Captain Bogart also, whose zeal in the cause of oppression and injustice was unequaled, and whose delight has been to rob, murder, and spread devastation among the saints. He stole a valuable horse, saddle, and bridle from me, which cost two hundred dollars, and then sold the same to General Wilson. On understanding this I applied to General Wilson for the horse, who assured me upon the honor of a gentleman and an officer that I should have the horse returned to me; but this promise has not been fulfilled.

"All the threats, murders, and robberies which these officers have been guilty of are entirely looked over by the Executive of the State; who, to hide his own iniquity, must of course shield and protect those whom he employed to carry into effect his murderous purposes.

"I was in their hands, as a prisoner, about six months; but notwithstanding their determination to destroy me, with the rest of my brethren who were with me, and although at three different times (as I was informed) we were sentenced

to be shot,[2] without the least shadow of law (as we were not military men), and had the time and place appointed for that purpose, yet through the mercy of God, in answer to the prayers of the saints, I have been preserved and delivered out of their hands, and can again enjoy the society of my friends and brethren, whom I love, and to whom I feel united in bonds that are stronger than death; and in a State where I believe the laws are respected, and whose citizens are humane and charitable.

"During the time I was in the hands of my enemies I must say that although I felt great anxiety respecting my family and friends, who were so inhumanly treated and abused, and who had to mourn the loss of their husbands and children who had been slain, and, after having been robbed of nearly all that they possessed, be driven from their homes, and forced to wander as strangers in a strange country, in order that they might save themselves and their little ones from the destruction they were threatened with in Missouri,—yet as far as I was concerned I felt perfectly calm and resigned to the will of my heavenly Father. I knew my innocency, as well as that of the saints, and that we had done nothing to deserve such treatment from the hands of our oppressors. Consequently I could look to that God who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and who had saved me frequently from the gates of death, for deliverance; and notwithstanding that every avenue of escape seemed to be entirely closed, and death stared me in the face, and that my destruction was determined upon, as far as man was concerned; yet from my first entrance into the camp I felt an assurance that I with my brethren and our families should be delivered. Yes, that still small voice which has so often whispered consolation to my soul in the depth of sorrow and distress, bade me be of good cheer, and promised deliverance, which gave me great comfort. And although the heathen raged and the people imagined vain things, yet the Lord of Hosts, the God of Jacob was my refuge; and when I cried unto him in the day of trouble he

[2]Once at Far West and once at Richmond. Of the third time we have seen no account.

delivered me; for which I call upon my soul and all that is within me to bless and praise his holy name. For although I was 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.'

"The conduct of the saints under their accumulated wrongs and sufferings has been praiseworthy; their courage in defending their brethren from the ravages of the mobs; their attachment to the cause of truth, under circumstances the most trying and distressing which humanity can possibly endure; their love to each other; their readiness to afford assistance to me and my brethren who were confined in a dungeon; their sacrifices in leaving Missouri, and assisting the poor widows and orphans and securing them houses in a more hospitable land; all conspire to raise them in the estimation of all good and virtuous men, and has secured them the favor and approbation of Jehovah, and a name as imperishable as eternity. And their virtuous deeds and heroic actions while in defense of truth and their brethren will be fresh and blooming when the names of their oppressors shall be either entirely forgotten or only remembered for their barbarity and cruelty.

"Their attention and affection to me while in prison will ever be remembered by me; and when I have seen them thrust away and abused by the jailer and guard, when they came to do any kind offices, and to cheer our minds while we were in the gloomy prison house, gave me feelings which I cannot describe; while those who wished to insult and abuse us by their threats and blasphemous language were applauded and had every encouragement given them.

"However, thank God, we have been delivered. And although some of our beloved brethren have had to seal their testimony with their blood and have died martyrs to the cause of truth, yet

> "'Short, though bitter, was their pain,
> Everlasting is their joy.'

"Let us not sorrow as 'those without hope;' the time is fast approaching when we shall see them again and rejoice together, without being afraid of wicked men. Yes, those

who have slept in Christ shall he bring with him when he shall come to be glorified in Him, and admired by all those who believe, but to take vengeance upon his enemies and all those who obey not the gospel.

"At that time the hearts of the widows and fatherless shall be comforted, and every tear shall be wiped from off their faces. The trials they have had to pass through shall work together for their good, and prepare them for the society of those who have come up out of great tribulation and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

"Marvel not, then, if you are persecuted; but remember the words of the Savior: 'The servant is not above his Lord; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also;' and that all the afflictions through which the saints have to pass are in fulfillment of the words of the prophets which have spoken since the world began.

"We shall therefore do well to discern the signs of the times as we pass along, that the day of the Lord may not 'overtake us as a thief in the night.' Afflictions, persecutions, imprisonments, and deaths we must expect, according to the Scriptures, which tell us that the blood of those whose souls were under the altar could not be avenged on them that dwell on the earth until their brethren should be slain as they were.

"If these transactions had taken place among barbarians, under the authority of a despot, or in a nation where a certain religion is established according to law and all others proscribed, then there might have been some shadow of defense offered. But can we realize that in a land which is the cradle of liberty and equal rights, and where the voice of the conquerors who had vanquished our foes had scarcely died away upon our ears, where we frequently mingled with those who had stood amidst 'the battle and the breeze,' and whose arms have been nerved in the defense of their country and liberty, whose institutions are the theme of philosophers and poets and held up to the admiration of the whole civilized world,—in the midst of all these scenes with which we were surrounded, a persecution the most unwarrantable

was commenced and a tragedy the most dreadful was enacted, by a large portion of the inhabitants of one of those free and independent States which comprise this vast republic; and a deadly blow was struck at the institutions for which our fathers had fought many a hard battle, and for which many a patriot had shed his blood; and suddenly was heard amidst the voice of joy and gratitude for our national liberty, the voice of mourning, lamentation, and woe. Yes! in this land, a mob, regardless of those laws for which so much blood has been spilled, dead to every feeling of virtue and patriotism which animated the bosom of freemen, fell upon a people whose religious faith was different from their own, and not only destroyed their homes, drove them away, and carried off their property, but murdered many a free-born son of America—a tragedy which has no parallel in modern and hardly in ancient times; even the face of the Red Man would be ready to turn pale at the recital of it. It would have been some consolation if the authorities of the State had been innocent in this affair; but they are involved in the guilt thereof, and the blood of innocence, even of *children*, cries for vengeance upon them.

"I ask the citizens of this vast republic whether such a state of things is to be suffered to pass unnoticed, and the hearts of widows, orphans, and patriots to be broken and their wrongs left without redress? No! I invoke the genius of our Constitution. I appeal to the patriotism of Americans to stop this unlawful and unholy procedure; and pray that God may defend this nation from the dreadful effects of such outrages.

"Is there not virtue in the body politic? Will not the people rise up in their majesty and with that promptitude and zeal which is so characteristic of them discountenance such proceedings by bringing the offenders to that punishment which they so richly deserve, and save the nation from that disgrace and ultimate ruin which otherwise must inevitably fall upon it?

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 148–151.

CHAPTER 17.

1838–1839.

SUFFERING AND PRIVATION — LUCY SMITH'S ACCOUNT — JOSEPH'S FAMILY — FROM HISTORY OF CALDWELL COUNTY — DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION RESOLUTIONS — FROM QUINCY ARGUS — RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT NEW YORK — FROM BOSTON ATLAS — BANCROFT'S VERSION — THE WESTERN MESSENGER — TESTIMONIES ON CHARACTER.

THE suffering and privation of the saints in the winter of 1838–39, during their removal from the State of Missouri, no pen can describe. To tell of all the incidents of interest would fill a volume, so we will give the history of this event in a general way as recorded by other pens.

Suffering and privation.

The following is from the pen of Lucy Smith, the mother of the prophet, concerning her banishment from Missouri:—

"Just as we got our goods into the wagon a man came to us and said that Sidney Rigdon's family were ready to start and must have the wagon immediately. Accordingly our goods were taken out, and we were compelled to wait until the team could come after us again. We put our goods into the wagon a second time, but the wagon was wanted for Emma and her family, so our goods were again taken out. However, we succeeded after a long time, in getting one single wagon to convey beds, clothing, and provisions for our family, Salisbury's family, and Mr. M'Cleary's family, besides considerable luggage for Don Carlos, who, with his family and the remainder of his baggage, was crowded into a buggy,[1] and went in the same company with us.

Lucy Smith's account.

"For the want of teams we were compelled to leave most of our provisions and furniture. Another inconvenience

[1] A light vehicle, drawn by one horse.

which we suffered was, the horses were windbroken, consequently we were obliged to walk much of the way, especially up all the hills, which was very tiresome work.

"The first day we arrived at a place called Tinney's Grove, where we lodged over night in an old log house, which was very uncomfortable. Half of the succeeding day I traveled on foot. That night we stayed at the house of one Mr. Thomas, who was then a member of the church. On the third day, in the afternoon, it began to rain. At night we stopped at a house and asked permission to stay till morning. The man to whom we applied showed us a miserable outhouse, which was filthy enough to sicken the stomach, and told us if we would clean this place and haul our own wood and water we might lodge there. To this we agreed, and with much trouble we succeeded in making a place for our beds. For the use of this loathsome hovel he charged us seventy-five cents. We traveled all the next day in a pouring rain. We asked for shelter at many places, but were refused. At last we came to a place quite like the one where we spent the previous night. Here we spent the night without fire. On the fifth day, just before arriving at Palmyra, in Missouri, Don Carlos called to Mr. Smith, and said, 'Father, this exposure is too bad, and I will not bear it any longer; the first place that I come to that looks comfortable I shall drive up and go into the house, and do you follow me.'

"We soon came to a farmhouse, surrounded with every appearance of plenty. The house was but a short distance from the road, having in front of it a large gate. Through this Don Carlos drove without hesitating to ask the privilege, and after assisting us through, he started to the house, and meeting the landlord, he said: 'I do not know but that I am trespassing, but I have with me an aged father, who is sick, besides my mother and a number of women with small children. We have traveled two days and a half in this rain, and if we are compelled to go much farther we shall all of us die. If you will allow us to stay with you over night we will pay you almost any price for our accommodation.'

"'Why, what do you mean, sir!' said the gentleman,

'do you not consider us human beings? Do you think that we would turn anything that is flesh and blood from our door in such a time as this! Drive up to the house and help your wife and children out: I'll attend to your father and mother and the rest of them.' The landlord then assisted Mr. Smith and myself into the room in which his lady was sitting, but as she was rather ill, and he feared that the dampness of our clothing would cause her to take cold, he ordered a black servant to make a fire for her in another room. He then assisted each of our family into the house, and hung up our cloaks and shawls to dry.

"At this house we had everything which could conduce to comfort. The gentleman, who was Esquire Mann, brought us milk for our children, hauled us water to wash with, and furnished us good beds to sleep in.

"In the evening he remarked that he was sent by his county the year before to the House of Representatives, where he met one Mr. Carroll, who was sent from the county in which the 'Mormons' resided; 'and if ever,' said Esquire Mann, 'I felt like fighting any man, it was him. He never once raised his voice nor even his hand in behalf of that abused people while the House was in session. I was never a member of the House before, and had not sufficient confidence to take a stand upon the floor in their behalf, as I should have done had I been a man of a little more experience.'

"After spending the night with this good man we proceeded on our journey, although it continued raining, for we were obliged to travel through mud and rain to avoid being detained by high water. When we came within six miles of the Mississippi River the weather grew colder, and in the place of rain we had snow and hail; and the ground between us and the river was so low and swampy that a person on foot would sink in over his ankles at every step; yet we were all of us forced to walk, or rather wade, the whole six miles.

"On reaching the Mississippi we found that we could not cross that night, nor yet find a shelter, for many saints were there before us waiting to go over into Quincy. The snow was now six inches deep and still falling. We made our

beds upon it, and went to rest with what comfort we might under such circumstances. The next morning our beds were covered with snow, and much of the bedding under which we lay was frozen. We rose and tried to light a fire, but finding it impossible, we resigned ourselves to our comfortless situation.

"Soon after this Samuel came over from Quincy, and he, with the assistance of Seymour Brunson, obtained permission of the ferryman for us to cross that day. About sunset we landed in Quincy. Here Samuel had hired a house, and we moved into it, with four other families."—Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors, pp. 272-275.

Joseph's family.

The story of the journey of Joseph's family is best told in a sketch of the life of Emma Smith, written by her son, for a work entitled, "The Pioneer Women of Lee County, Illinois," some years ago:—

"After making such arrangements for the safety of herself and her children as she could, Mrs. Smith turned her face from the home whence she and hers were being driven, towards Illinois and freedom. The winter shut in early, and when the fleeing pilgrims reached the Mississippi River, it was freshly frozen over, and Mrs. Smith, carrying her two youngest, with the oldest boy and the little girl clinging to her dress, crossed the mighty river, to Quincy, Illinois, on foot, weary, heartbroken, and sad.

"She found a hospitable welcome at the home of a man by the name of Cleaveland, where she remained during the long winter, sad but trusting, and in faithful expectancy, waiting for her husband's relief, and delivery from bonds."

The History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, contains the following statement concerning these troublesome times:—

"In the consummation of the 'treaty' with General Lucas, and by the orders of Governor Boggs, when, as a Mormon poet says:—

> "'The people of Missouri,
> Like a whirlwind in its fury,
> And without judge or jury,
> Drove the saints and spilled their blood.'—

there were many distressing scenes. Having been banished from the State, they concluded to settle in Illinois, on the upper Mississippi, and eventually selected Hancock County, on the Mississippi, opposite the southeastern part of Iowa, as their future home.

From history of Caldwell County.

"In the midst of an inclement winter, in December, 1838, and in January, 1839, many of the Mormon men, women, and children, the sick and the aged as well as the young and strong, were turned out of their homes in this county and Daviess, into the prairies and forests, without food or sufficient protection from the weather. In some instances in Daviess their houses were burnt before their eyes and they turned out into the deep snow. Only a few cabins in the southwestern part of Caldwell were burned at this time.

"Numerous families set out at once for Illinois, making the entire distance in midwinter, on foot. A large majority, however, remained until spring, as under the terms of the treaty they were allowed to remain in the county until that time. All through the winter and early spring those who remained prepared to leave. They offered their lands for sale at very small figures. In fact, many bartered their farms for teams and wagons to get away on. Some traded for any sort of property. Charles Ross, of Black Oak, bought forty acres of good land, north of Breckenridge, for a blind mare and a clock. Some tracts of good land north of Shoal Creek, in Kidder Township, brought only fifty cents an acre. Many of the Mormons had not yet secured the patents to their lands, and though they had regularly entered them, they could not sell them; the Gentiles would not buy unless they could receive the government's deeds, as well as the grantor's. These kinds of lands were abandoned altogether, in most instances, and afterward settled upon by Gentiles, who secured titles by keeping the taxes paid."—History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri, pp. 141, 142.

The Democratic Association of Quincy, Illinois, on February 28, 1839, after inviting other citizens to meet with them, passed appropriate resolutions, which were signed

by Samuel Leach, chairman, and J. D. Morgan, secretary.[3]

The Quincy, Illinois, *Argus* for March 16, 1839, contains the following editorial:—

From Quincy Argus.

"We give in to-day's paper the details of the recent bloody tragedy acted in Missouri—the details of a scene of terror and blood unparalleled in the annals of modern and, under the circumstances of the case, in ancient history—a tragedy of so deep and fearful and absorbing interest that the very lifeblood of the heart is chilled at the simple contemplation. We are prompted to ask ourselves if it be really *true* that we are living in an enlightened, a humane and civilized age—in an age and quarter of the world boasting of its progress in everything good, and great, and honorable, and virtuous, and high-minded—in a country of which, as American citizens, we could be proud—whether we are living under a constitution and laws, or have not rather returned to the *ruthless* times of the *stern Attila*—to the times of the fiery Hun, when the sword and flame ravaged the fair fields of Italy and Europe, and the darkest passions held full revel in all the revolting scenes of unchecked brutality and unbridled desire?

"We have no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our indignation and shame at the recent transaction in a sister State—and that State MISSOURI—a State of which we had long been proud, alike for her men and history, but now so *fallen* that we could wish her star stricken out from the bright constellation of the Union. We say we

[3] Resolved, that we regard the rights of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacred guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government.

Resolved, that we regard the acts of all mobs as flagrant violations of law, and those who compose them individually responsible, both to the laws of God or man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights, or life of any citizen.

Resolved, that the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the State of Missouri in their late persecutions of the class of people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience, and every law of justice and humanity.

Resolved, that the Governor of Missouri in refusing protection to this class of people when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the State over which he presides.—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 190, 191.

know of no language sufficiently strong for the expression of our shame and abhorrence of her recent conduct. She has written her own character in *letters of blood*—and stained it by acts of merciless cruelty and brutality that the waters of ages cannot efface. It will be observed that an organized mob aided by many of the civil and military officers of Missouri, with Governor Boggs at their head, have been the prominent actors in this business, incited, too, it appears, against the Mormons by political hatred, and by the additional motives of plunder and revenge. They have but too well put in execution their threats of extermination and expulsion, and fully wreaked their vengeance on a body of industrious and enterprising men, who had never wronged nor wished to wrong them, but on the contrary had ever comported themselves as good and honest citizens, living under the same laws and having the same right with themselves to *the sacred immunities of life, liberty, and property.*"—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 178–180.

The New York *Commercial-Advertiser* published resolutions passed shortly after by a mass meeting held at National Hall.[a]

[a] Resolved, that as Americans we have heard with shame and indignation the narrative given by Mr. Green, of the persecutions, sufferings, and lawless violence of which a body of American citizens have been the objects and the victims, for no other apparent cause than that, without hindrance to others or violation of any law of the land, they acted on the right guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States of a free exercise of religion.

Resolved, that without meaning to express any opinion whatever as to the religious tenets or practices of the Mormons as a sect, we condemn and desire to bear our testimony against mob law, lynch law, and all other forms of violence and outrage, where an excited populace becomes at once jury, judge, and executioner.

Resolved, that the Mormons, as wronged, persecuted, exiled, and defrauded Americans, are entitled to the sympathy and support of their countrymen, and that especially in behalf of the women and children driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, we appeal to the known benevolence of our fellow citizens at large for pecuniary aid.

Resolved, that the chairman and secretary be a committee with power to add to their numbers—to obtain subscriptions in aid of the women and children of the Mormons—such subscriptions to be applied after due investigation by the committee themselves.

Resolved, that these resolutions be signed by the chairman and secretary, and be published in the newspapers.

CHARLES KING, Chairman.
MARCUS SPRING, Secretary.
—Persecution of the Saints, pp. 162, 163.

The Boston *Atlas* published a letter showing the contrast between the Mormons and their neighbors.[4]

[4] FROM THE BOSTON ATLAS.—Letter from a Gentleman at the West to his frend in Boston.

Dear Sir:—You ask me for information concerning the Mormon trouble in Missouri. In giving it I shall be compelled to state particulars that will stagger your belief; and I shall be betrayed into a warmth of expression which may be construed into the signs of partisan bitterness, but which will be in truth only the language of honest indignation. The series of wrongs and outrages perpetrated on the Mormons, and the closing act of injustice by which those wrongs and outrages were suffered to escape, not only unpunished but triumphant, from the elements of *persecution*, which in vain seeks a parallel in the history of our country. For example of similar outrages on the rights of justice and humanity, I am compelled to resort to barbarous nations and dark ages, which alone furnish precedents to excuse the conduct of the people of Missouri.

The Mormons, I need not say, are a weak and credulous people, whose chief fault is the misfortune of having become the dupes of a villainous impostor.* They have an excess of that as to which the world at large is exceedingly deficient, i. e., *faith*. They have been misled; and they are to be pitied. But I have yet to learn that their faith taught them immorality. I have yet to learn that it encouraged disobedience to the laws or encroachments on the rights of any fellow citizen.

The Mormons were in truth a moral, orderly, and sober population. They were industrious farmers and ingenious mechanics. They were busy about their own affairs, and never intermeddled in the concerns of their neighbors. They were exceedingly peaceful and averse to strife, quarrels, and violence. They had established schools, they encouraged education; and they all had the rudiments of learning, taught under our school system at the East. They had begun to open fine farms and put their lands in a high state of improvement. Many of them were surrounded by numerous comforts, and some with even the elegancies of life.

In all these respects their condition presented a broad contrast to that of their neighbors. Of these neighbors, many had been there for years—much longer in fact than the Mormons—and had made few advances upon the Indians they had displaced. Mud hovels, a "truck patch," hunting, and buckskin breeches were their highest aspirations. Letters they despised as much as they did the coveniences or comforts of life. Bold, violent, unscrupulous, and grasping—hating all who differed from, much more who excelled them in the art of living, the relations between them and the Mormons may readily be inferred by any man who has read a single chapter in the history of human strife.

The *Anti-Mormons* (for I must distinguish this horde of demi-savages) are exceedingly intolerant. They are *refuse* Kentuckians and Tennesseans, intermixed with Virginians of the same caste, in whom the vice of sectional pride, which marks these people, and a prejudice against all others, especially those belonging to the free States, whom they indiscriminately brand as Yankees—is exaggerated to the highest pitch. Such persons, if they could do it, would incorporate in the Constitution of Missouri a provision to prohibit emigrating thither of anybody not belonging to their own "kith and kin." They have also personal pride

*The writer, though just in other remarks, falls into the common error of crying imposition, without showing wherein the deception consists.

Bancroft's version is as follows:—

"There was no help for them; they must leave the State or be killed; of this they were assured on all sides, publicly and privately.

"And now begins another painful march—painful in the thought of it, painful in the telling of it. It is midwinter; whither can they go, and how? They have homes, but they may not enjoy them; land which they have bought, houses which they have built, and barns and cattle and food, but hereabout they are hunted to death. Is it Russia or Tartary or Hindostan, that people are thus forced to fly for opinion's sake? True, the people of the United States do not like such opinions; they do not like a religious sect that votes solid, or a class of men whom they look upon as fools and fanatics talking about taking the country, claimed as theirs by divine right; but in any event this was no way to settle the difficulty. Here are men who have been stripped in a moment of the results of years of toil—all that they have in the world gone; here are women weighed down with work and care, some whose husbands are in prison, and who are thus left to bear the heavy burden of this infliction alone; here are little children, some comfortably clad, others obliged to encounter the wind and frozen ground with bare heads and bleeding feet.

"Whither can they go? There is a small following of the prophet at Quincy, Illinois; some propose to go there, some start for other places. But what if they are not welcome at Quincy, and what can they do with such a multitude? There is no help for it, however, no other spot where the outcasts can hope for refuge at the moment. Some have horses and cattle and wagons; some have none. Some have tents and bedding; some have none. But the start is made,

to an excess, which leads them, however, not to emulate a rival's exertions, but to envy his success and hate his person. They have, however a grasping disposition, which stimulates them to acquire; but not industry and enterprise enough to lead them to acquire honestly. They prefer plunder to fair means, if they can only conceal the knowledge of their foul play; because rapine gratifies their propensities to force, indolence, and acquisition. They are bold, crafty, and when inspired by revenge, energetic and persevering beyond almost any other race of men. . . . —Persecution of the Saints, pp. 144–147.

and the march is slowly to the eastward. In the months of February and March over one hundred and thirty families are on the west bank of the Mississippi unable to cross the river, which is full of floating ice. There they wait and suffer; they scour the country for food and clothing for the destitute; many sicken and die."—History of Utah, pp. 135, 136.

Though we might fill a volume with such testimony, and with such denunciations of Governor Boggs and Missouri, from nonpartisan sources, we will add but one more, which is an extract from an editorial published in the *Western Messenger*, of Cincinnati, Ohio, about November or December, 1840:—

The Western Messenger.

"OUTRAGES OF MISSOURI MOBS ON MORMONS.

"Reader! Let not the word *Mormon* repel you! Think not that you have no interest in the cruelties perpetrated on this poor people! Read, we pray you, the history of this persecuted community; examine the detailed facts of these atrocities; reflect upon the hallowed principles and usages trampled under foot by ruffians; bring before your mind the violations of all law, human and divine, of all right, natural and civil, of all ties of society and humanity, of all duties of justice, honor, honesty, and mercy, committed by so-called freemen and Christians—and then speak out, speak out for prostrate law, for liberty disgraced, for outraged man, for heaven insulted;

"'Loud as a summer thunderbolt shall waken
A people's voice.'

"We speak strongly, for we feel strongly; and we wish to attract attention to a tragedy of almost unequalled horror, which has been unblushingly enacted in a State of this Union. Its history should be trumpeted abroad until the indignant rebuke of the whole land compels the authors, abettors, and tolerators of these wrongs to make the small return now in their power for their aggravated injustice. Life cannot be restored to the murdered nor health to the broken down in body and soul, nor peace to the bereaved; but the spoils on which robbers are now fattening can be repaid; the loss of the destitute can be made up; the captive

can be freed, and, until by legislative acts she makes redress —*Missouri is disgraced!*

"It seems like some horrid dream, that these enormities, which Nicholas would have shrunk from inflicting on the Poles, have been deliberately committed in an age of peace, in a land of laws and freedom, upon our own brethren.[5] Is it actually true that citizens—peaceable, industrious, temperate, orderly citizens—have been driven from their property, their houses burned, the furniture broken and scattered, their crops laid waste, their stores plundered, their cattle killed, their horses stolen, their clothes stripped from them, and themselves expelled under threats of instant death? Is it true that men have been tarred and feathered, whipped till they were raw from head to foot, till their bowels gushed out, that their skulls have been knocked in, and brains scattered with musket butts, that they have been shot down while crying for quarter, shot down unarmed and defenseless like hogs in a pen? Is it true that sick women have been driven from burning houses at midnight on the snowy prairies, where they have given birth to children on the frozen ground, that they have forded rivers with helpless infants in their arms, fleeing from heartless pursuers, that they have been insulted when their natural protectors were hid from the murderers, that they have been violated by the guards appointed for their defense? And were the guilty instigators and executioners of the massacres, arsons, and rapes, really men of standing, ministers of the gospel, judges, senators, military officers, and the Governor of the State? Were not the evidence on which the narrative of each one of these cruelties rests *incontrovertible*, no one could conceive that such fiendlike acts had actually been wrought by beings in human shape. Would that for the honor of our nature they could be discredited. Our statement is strictly, *unexaggeratedly* true. It is only TOO MEAGER, TOO FEEBLE. . .

"These, it may be said, were the acts of unauthorized mobs, against whom the militia of the State had been called

[5] This was not a Mormon paper, and the word brethren was not used in the sense of church fellowship.

out. True! But when after months, we may say years, of suffering from similar outrages, harassed by anxieties, goaded by wrongs, and under the advice of authorities, civil and military, these poor fellows deserted by the militia guard, unprotected by the State, did at last defend their houses from pillage, their children and wives from abuse, themselves from murder—then was the cry of 'Mormon war' raised; and Governor Boggs, to his lasting infamy, sent out his order for exterminating these citizens of Missouri, whom it was his duty *under oath* to save. In his order of October 27, he says:—

"'*The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State*, if necessary, for the public good.'

"The Mormons had only defended themselves against infuriated and lawless rioters; so soon as General Lucas arrived and presented the Governor's orders, they submitted to the authorities of the State. They gave up their arms and were made prisoners. . . .

"And thus, during the greatest cold of the last winter, were men, women and children, aged, sick and helpless, driven out from shelter, and, half-clothed, unfed, robbed of teams and horses even, forced to make their way as they could to other States. One more picture we must present in order to give a glimpse of the horrors thus permitted by a State Executive—thus authorized and commanded by the highest power of Missouri. We take the account given under oath by Lyman Wight, of 'a few facts concerning his family (while he was in jail).'

"'His wife was confined on the 3d of November, whilst Cornelius C. Gillium, with one hundred painted men, surrounded the house, screeching and hallooing in the attitude of Delaware Indians; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the militia officers could keep them out of the house. In this situation the family remained, threatened day by day that they must leave the country or be exterminated. Accordingly, when her babe was eight days old she was informed she could stay no longer, that she must not only leave the county, but the State; that she need not

flatter herself that she would ever see her husband again, for if they could not find law to kill him, they would kill him without law. She was stripped of her bed and bedding, and of her household furniture, then placed in an open wagon with six helpless children, to make the best shift she could to get out of the State. The last news received from her she was on the banks of the Mississippi River in a tent, depending on the charity of the people for her support. This is the fifth time that I and my family have been unlawfully driven from house and home.'

"Now let everyone on reading this tale of horror speak out fully, fearlessly. Had the Mormons been pirates, blood-stained, had they been Indians, girdled with scalps, they would have deserved better treatment. Let the unsupported accusations brought against them be true, and yet the conduct of their plunderers and murderers was utterly without a palliation or excuse. Before the face of heaven and in the sight of men such acts are devilish.

"What, in a word, were the causes of the madness of these mobs? The Mormons were deluded, obstinate, zealous, exclusive in their faith. They used the vague prophetic denunciations of an enthusiastic sect. They retaliated the reproaches heaped upon them by religious opponents. This, we believe, was the great exciting cause. Their first persecutions were attacks on their opinions, and ridicule of their absurdity.

"Again, there were suspicions against the sincerity of their leading men. They were thought to be speculators on the credulity of the ignorant. Blind prejudice multiplied evil suspicions; enmity misconstrued natural acts; slander swelled trifles into monstrous wrongs; idle curiosity, greedy of alarm, and eager to gossip, circulated rumors. Now add that they were a larger and growing community, allied together both by necessity and choice, and *withal prosperous*, and we have an explanation of the fear, jealousy, envy, and hatred felt against them; *an explanation, but no justification.* The same elements were active and fierce in these Missouri outrages, which have kindled the faggot, and bared the sword, and opened the dungeon in all times. These ele-

ments were bigotry, ignorance, panic. And when we talk of living in an age of enlightenment, liberty, and law, let us recollect with shame the burning of the convent at Charlestown, the absurd humbug of Maria Monk, and the countless wrongs which other mobs, for as slight pretexts, have wrought in almost every State in the Union. The blaze of these other disgraceful proceedings is lost, however, in the hot glare of this infernal outbreak."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 235–238.

It was to counteract this wave of indignation which went over the United States that the Missouri Legislature compiled all the scurrilous reports obtainable, and published them in 1841.

Testimonies on character.

To close this chapter we insert a few testimonies to the good character of Joseph Smith and the church members in general. It is true that Joseph and others had to leave their business in Ohio in an unfinished condition because of violent persecution which compelled them to leave, but they sent Oliver Granger as an agent, who settled up their business in an honorable way, as the following testimonies will show:—

"A CARD.

"PAINESVILLE, October 19, 1838.

"We, the undersigned, being personal acquaintances of Oliver Granger, firmly believe that the course which he has pursued in settling the claims, accounts, etc., against the former citizens of Kirtland Township, has done much credit to himself and all others that committed to him the care of adjusting their business with this community, which also furnishes evidence that there was no intention on their part of defrauding their creditors.

"THOMAS GRIFFITH.
"JOHN S. SEYMOUR."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 406.

"To all persons that are or may be interested. I, Horace Kingsbury, of Painesville Township, Geauga County, and State of Ohio, feeling the importance of recommending to remembrance every worthy citizen who has by their conduct commended themselves to personal acquaintance by their

course of strict integrity, and desire for truth and common justice, feel it my duty to state that Oliver Granger's management in the arrangement of the unfinished business of people that have moved to the Far West, in redeeming their pledges and thereby sustaining their integrity, has been truly praiseworthy, and has entitled him to my highest esteem, and ever grateful recollection.

"PAINESVILLE, October 26, 1838." "HORACE KINGSBURY.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 445.

"*To all whom it may concern:*—This may certify that during the year of eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, I had dealings with Messrs. Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon, together with other members of the society, to the amount of about three thousand dollars, and during the spring of eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, I have received my pay in full of Colonel Oliver Granger, to my satisfaction. And I would here remark, that it is due Messrs. Smith and Rigdon, and the society generally, to say that they have ever dealt honorably and fair with me: and I have received as good treatment from them as I have received from any other society in this vicinity; and so far as I have been correctly informed and made known of their business transactions generally, they have, so far as I can judge, been honorable and honest, and have made every exertion to arrange and settle their affairs. And I would further state that the closing up of my business with said society has been with their agent, Colonel Granger, appointed by them for that purpose; and I consider it highly due Colonel Granger from me here to state that he has acted truly and honestly in all his business with me, and has accomplished more than I could have reasonably expected. And I have also been made acquainted with his business in that section; and wherever he has been called upon to act, he has done so, and with good management he has accomplished and effected a close of a large amount of business for said society, and, as I believe, to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. "JOHN W. HAWDEN.

"PAINESVILLE, Geauga County, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1838."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 445, 446.

The Kansas City *Journal* published an interview with Gen-

eral A. W. Doniphan, which was reproduced in the *Saints' Herald* for August 1, 1881, and from which we make extracts:—

"'What kind of people were the Mormons?'

"'They were northern people, who, on account of their declining to own slaves and their denunciation of the system of slavery, were termed "free soilers." The majority of them were intelligent, industrious, and law-abiding citizens, but there were some ignorant, simple-minded fanatics among them, whom that people said would steal. . . .

"'The majority of the Mormons, after being driven from Jackson County, went to Clay County, where they were received and provided for as well as it was possible by the citizens. The Mormons remained in Clay County until 1836, in an unorganized community, when it was agreed between them and the citizens of Clay and Ray Counties that if they (the Mormons) would buy out a few inhabitants then inhabiting what is now Caldwell County, then a part of Ray County, the balance of the land being public, they could enter it at their leisure, and we would urge the legislature to create a county for them, which was done at the session of the legislature of 1836–37. . . .

"'It has been said that in the treaty I made with the Mormons I stipulated that they must leave the State, under penalty of annihilation if they refused to do so. This is entirely untrue, as I made no stipulation. It is true, however, that in an order to me and other officers, Governor Boggs used the expression "that the Mormons leave the State or be exterminated," whereas this order was entirely illegal. I paid no attention to it. In my report to Governor Boggs I stated to him that I had disregarded that part of his order, as the age of extermination was over, and if I attempted to remove them to some other State it would cause additional trouble. The Mormons commenced immediately after this to move to Nauvoo, Illinois, and I know nothing further about them. While the Mormons resided in Clay County, they were a peaceable, sober, industrious, and law-abiding people, and during their stay with us not one was ever accused of a crime of any kind.'"—*Saints' Herald*, August 1, 1881.

CHAPTER 18.

1839.

REBUILDING WASTED FORTUNES—THE TWELVE RETURN TO FAR WEST—RETURN TO QUINCY—RECEPTION AT QUINCY—SEEKING A LOCATION — BANCROFT ON THE SITUATION — DR. GALLAND'S OFFER—SOME EXPULSIONS—LETTERS FROM LUCAS—COMMITTEE ON LOCATION—CONFERENCE MINUTES—SEVENTIES TO EUROPE—J. P. GREEN—LETTERS TO RIGDON AND GREEN—JOSEPH SMITH LOCATES AT COMMERCE—POLITICAL CONTROVERSY—STATEMENTS OF DAMAGE — COMMERCE — PURCHASE NASHVILLE — O. HYDE RESTORED—INSTRUCTION — ZARAHEMLA — BLESSINGS — INSTRUCTION TO THE TWELVE — THEIR FAREWELL — CONFERENCE MINUTES — MISSION TO WASHINGTON — HYMN BOOK — DELEGATES LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON—PRATT'S LETTER—TIMES AND SEASONS — RIPLEY ORDAINED BISHOP — ADVICE TO KIRTLAND — SICKNESS.

IT is now the spring of 1839, and the body of the Saints are in Western Illinois, where they went cheerfully and diligently to work to rebuild their wasted fortunes.

There is one event of this time which we cannot pass without mention; viz., the return of the Twelve to Far West amid dangers, in the face of a threatening mob, to carry into effect an obligation placed upon them, as they believed, by command of God. There were five of the Twelve who made this journey from Illinois, accompanied by others; viz., Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, and John E. Page. They assembled on the Temple Lot with several of their brethren on April 26, 1839.

The Twelve return to Far West.

At this meeting they ordained Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith[1] apostles of the Quorum of the Twelve, and Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer to the office of Sev-

[1] He visited me while I was in Liberty jail, when I made known to him that he was appointed to fill the place of Thomas B. Marsh in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. He assisted in moving the saints out of Far West, and returned with the Twelve to fulfill the revelation concerning the foundation stone of the temple at Far West.—Joseph Smith, *Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 168.

enty. They then commenced laying the foundation of the temple by rolling a large stone near the southeast corner, and Elder Alpheus Cutler, master workman, placed it in position. The Twelve then returned to Quincy, taking several families who had not removed during the winter.

Return to Quincy.

The following is from the pen of Elder Wilford Woodruff, a participant in the scenes:—

"When the time drew near for the fulfillment of this commandment of the Lord, Brigham Young was the President of the Twelve Apostles; Thomas B. Marsh, who was the senior apostle, had fallen. Brother Brigham called together those of the Twelve who were then at Quincy, Illinois, to see what their minds would be about going to Far West to fulfill the revelation. The Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and Parley P. Pratt were in prison in Missouri at the time; but Father Joseph Smith, the Patriarch, was at Quincy, Illinois. He and others who were present did not think it wisdom for us to attempt the journey, as our lives would be in great jeopardy. They thought the Lord would take the will for the deed. But when President Young asked the Twelve what our feelings were upon the subject, we all of us, as the voice of one man, said the Lord God had spoken and it was for us to obey. It was the Lord's business to take care of his servants, and we would fulfill the commandment, or die trying.

"To fully understand the risk the Twelve Apostles ran in making this journey, my readers should remember that Lilburn W. Boggs, Governor of the State of Missouri, had issued a proclamation, in which all the Latter Day Saints were required to leave that State or be exterminated. Far West had been captured by the militia, who were really only an organized mob; the citizens had been compelled to give up their arms; all the leading men who could be got hold of had been taken prisoners; the rest of the saints—men, women, and children—had to flee as best they could out of the State to save their lives, leaving all their houses, lands, and other property which they could not carry with them,

to be taken by the mob. In fact they shot down the cattle and hogs of the saints wherever they could find them, and robbed them of nearly everything they could lay their hands upon. Latter Day Saints were treated with merciless cruelty and had to endure the most outrageous abuses. It was with the greatest difficulty that many of them got out of the State, especially the prominent men; for there were many men of that State at that time who acted as though they thought it no more harm to shoot a 'Mormon' than a mad dog. From this brief explanation you will be able to understand why some of the brethren thought we were not required to go back to Far West to start from there upon our mission across the ocean to Europe.

"Having determined to carry out the requirement of the revelation, on the 18th of April, 1839, I took into my wagon Brigham Young and Orson Pratt; and Father Cutler took into his wagon John Taylor and George A. Smith, and we started for Far West.

"On the way we met John E. Page, who was going with his family to Quincy, Illinois. His wagon had turned over, and when we met him he was trying to gather up a barrel of soft soap with his hands. We helped him get up his wagon. He drove down into the valley below, left his wagon, and accompanied us on our way.

"On the night of the 25th of April we arrived at Far West and spent the night at the home of Morris Phelps, who was not there, however, himself; he having been taken prisoner by the mob, was still in prison.

"On the morning of the 26th of April, 1839, notwithstanding the threats of our enemies that the revelation which was to be fulfilled this day should not be, and notwithstanding that ten thousand of the saints had been driven out of the State by the edict of the Governor, and though the Prophet Joseph and his brother, Hyrum Smith, with other leading men were in the hands of our enemies, in chains and in prison,[2] we moved onto the temple grounds in the city of Far West, and held a council, and fulfilled the revelation and commandment

[2] This is a mistake. They had escaped ten days before.

given unto us, and we performed many other things at this council.

"We excommunicated from the church thirty-one persons who had apostatized and become its enemies.

"The 'Mission of the Twelve' was sung, and we then repaired to the southeast corner of the temple ground, and, with the assistance of Elder Alpheus Cutler, the master workman of the building committee, laid the southeast chief corner stone of the temple, according to revelation.

"There were present of the Twelve Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, and John Taylor, who proceeded to ordain Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith to the apostleship, and as members of the Quorum of the Twelve, in the places of those who had fallen, as they had been called by revelation.

"Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer, who had just been liberated from Richmond prison, were also ordained to the office of seventies. The Twelve then offered up vocal prayer in the following order: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith, after which we sang 'Adam-ondi-ahman.'

"The Twelve then took their leave of and gave the parting hand to the following saints, agreeable to revelation: A. Butler, Elias Smith, Norman Shearer, William Burton, Stephen Markham, Shadrach Roundy, William O. Clark, John W. Clark, Hezekiah Peck, Darwin Chase, Richard Howard, Mary Ann Peck, Artimesia Granger, Martha Peck, Sarah Granger, Theodore Turley, Hiram Clark, and Daniel Shearer.

"Bidding good-bye to the small remnant of the saints who remained on the temple ground to see us fulfill the revelation and commandments of God, we turned our backs on Far West and Missouri, and returned to Illinois. We had accomplished the mission without a dog moving his tongue at us, or any man saying, 'Why do you do so?'

"We crossed the Mississippi River on the steam ferry, entered Quincy on the 2d of May, and all had the joy of reaching our families once more in peace and safety.

"There was an incident connected with our journey that is worthy of record. While we were on our way to fulfill the revelation, Joseph the prophet and his companions in chains had been liberated, through the blessings of God, from their enemies and prison, and they passed us. We were not far distant from each other, but neither party knew it. They were making their way to their families in Illinois, while we were traveling to Far West into the midst of our enemies. So they came home to their families and friends before our return."—Leaves from My Journal, pp. 57–60.

Reception at Quincy.

The church was hospitably received by the people of Quincy and vicinity, but of course some provision must be made for future homes, and they early began the investigation of the advantages of different localities.

Seeking a location.

An offer of twenty thousand acres of land, located in Iowa Territory, between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, was made them. They were offered this tract of land at two dollars per acre, to be paid in twenty annual installments without interest. A committee was appointed to examine the land, who at a conference held at Quincy, Illinois, in February, 1839, reported favorably. However, there was some difference of opinion about the propriety of again settling in a body.

William Marks, Bishop Partridge, and Judge Higbee opposed it, thinking it was best to scatter out and seek locations severally; so there was no definite action taken on the proposition, but it was decided "not to be advisable to locate on the lands for the present."

Of their reception in Illinois, Bancroft states the following:—

Bancroft on the situation.

"Finally they reach Quincy, and are kindly received. Not only the saints but others are there who have human hearts and human sympathies. Indeed, upon the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri the people of Illinois took a stand in their favor. The citizens of Quincy, in particular, offered their warmest sympathy and

aid, on the ground of humanity. A select committee appointed to ascertain the facts in the case, reported, on the 27th of February, 1839, 'that the strangers recently arrived here from the State of Missouri, known by the name of Latter Day Saints, are entitled to our sympathy and kindest regard.' The workingmen of the town should be informed 'that these people have no design to lower the wages of the laboring class, but to procure something to save them from starving.' Finally it was resolved: 'That we recommend to all the citizens of Quincy, in all their intercourse with the strangers, that they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expressions calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.'"—History of Utah, pp. 136, 137.

Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman residing at a village called Commerce, on the east bank of the Mississippi River, fifty miles above Quincy, took an active interest in the saints and made them some propositions which were being considered as early as March, 1839.

Dr. Galland's offer.

The following letter written by Bishop Partridge gives a fair idea of the situation:—

"QUINCY, Illinois.

"*Beloved Brother:*—Having an opportunity to send direct to you by Brother Rogers, I feel to write a few lines to you.

"President Rigdon, Judge Higbee, Israel Barlow, and myself went to see Dr. Galland, week before last. Brothers Rigdon, Higbee, and myself are of opinion that it is not wisdom to make a trade with the Doctor at present; possibly it may be wisdom to effect a trade hereafter.

"The people here receive us kindly; they have contributed near one hundred dollars cash, besides other property, for the relief of the suffering among our people. Brother Joseph's wife lives at Judge Cleveland's; I have not seen her, but I sent her word of this opportunity to send to you. Brother Hyrum's wife lives not far from me. I have been to see her a number of times; her health was very poor

when she arrived, but she has been getting better; she knows of this opportunity to send. I saw Sister Wight soon after her arrival here; all were well; I understand that she has moved about two miles with Father and John Higbee, who are fishing this spring. Sister McRae is here, living with Brother Henderson, and is well; I believe she knows of this opportunity to send. Brother Baldwin's family I have not seen, and do not know that she has got here as yet. She, however, may be upon the other side of the river; the ice has run these three days past, so that there has been no crossing; the weather is now moderating, and the crossing will soon commence again.

"This place is nearly full of our people, yet they are scattering off nearly all the while. I expect to start to-morrow for Pittsfield, Pike County, Illinois, about forty-five miles southeast from this place. Brother George W. Robinson told me this morning that he expected that his father-in-law, Judge Higbee, and himself, would go on a farm about twenty miles northeast from this place. Some of the leading men have given us (that is our people) an invitation to settle in and about this place. Many no doubt will stay here.

"Brethren, I hope that you will bear patiently the privations that you are called to endure; the Lord will deliver in his own due time.

"Your letter respecting the trade with Galland was not received here until after our return from his residence, at the head of the shoals or rapids. If Brother Rigdon were not here, we might, after receiving your letter, come to a different conclusion respecting that trade. There are some here that are sanguine that we ought to trade with the Doctor. Bishops Whitney and Knight are not here, and have not been, as I know of. Brothers Morley and Billings have settled some twenty or twenty-five miles north of this place, for the present. A Brother Lee, who lived near Haun's Mill, died on the opposite side of the river a few days since. Brother Rigdon preached his funeral sermon in the courthouse. It is a general time of health here.

"We greatly desire to see you, and to have you enjoy your freedom. The citizens here are willing that we should

enjoy the privileges guaranteed to all civil people without molestation.

"I remain your brother in the Lord,

"E. PARTRIDGE.

"[Directed] To Joseph Smith, Jr., and others, confined in Liberty jail, Missouri."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, pp. 775, 776.

At a meeting held at Quincy, March 9, 1839, a committee of five was appointed to visit certain lands in Iowa and "select the land, if it can be safely located." The committee were, Sidney Rigdon, J. P. Green, Elias Higbee, E. T. Benson, and Israel Barlow.

On March 17, at a conference held at Quincy, several were expelled from the church. The record is as follows:—

"After the conference fully expressed their feelings upon the subject, it was unanimously voted that the following persons be excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; viz.: George M. Hinkle, Sampson Avard, John Corrill, Reed Peck, William W. Phelps, Frederick G. Williams, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs, and several others."

Some expulsions.

Dr. Galland, who interested himself in behalf of the saints, wrote a letter to Robert Lucas, Governor of Iowa Territory, concerning their settling on Iowa soil, and received the following reply:—

Letters from Lucas.

"Executive Office, Iowa, Burlington, March, 1839.

"*Dear Sir:*— On my return to this city, after a few weeks' absence in the interior of the Territory, I received your letter of the 25th ultimo, in which you give a short account of the sufferings of the people called Mormons, and ask 'whether they could be permitted to purchase lands, and settle upon them, in the Territory of Iowa, and there worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, secure from oppression,' etc.

"In answer to your inquiry, I would say that I know of no authority that can constitutionally deprive them of this right. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens. The second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States (which all are solemnly bound to sup-

port), declares that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.' This privilege extends in full force to the Territories of the United States. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

"The ordinance of Congress of the 13th July, 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, secures to the citizens of said Territory, and the citizens of the States thereafter to be formed therein, certain privileges which were by the late act of Congress organizing the Territory of Iowa, extended to the citizens of this Territory.

"The first fundamental article in that ordinance, which is declared to be forever unalterable, except by common consent, reads as follows, to wit: 'No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in said Territory.'

"These principles I trust will ever be adhered to in the Territory of Iowa. They make no distinction between religious sects. They extend equal privileges and protection to all: each must rest upon its own merits, and will prosper in proportion to the purity of its principles, and the fruit of holiness and piety produced thereby.

"With regard to the peculiar people mentioned in your letter, I know but little. They had a community in the northern part of Ohio for several years; and I have no recollection of ever having heard in that State of any complaints against them from violating the laws of the country. Their religious opinions I consider has nothing to do with our political transactions. They are citizens of the United States, and are entitled to the same political rights and legal protection that other citizens are entitled to.

"The foregoing are briefly my views on the subject of your inquiries. With sincere respect,

"I am your obedient servant,

"To Isaac Galland, Esq., Commerce, Illinois." "ROBERT LUCAS.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 133.

Governor Lucas also issued, to President Sidney Rigdon, letters of introduction to President Van Buren, and General Shannon of Ohio.[2]

President Smith and his fellow-prisoners arrived in Quincy on April 22, 1839.

On the 24th a council was held in which Joseph Smith, Jr., Bishop Knight, and Alanson Ripley were sent into Iowa Territory as a committee to make a location for the church.

Committee on location.

The following resolution was also passed at this council:—

"That the advice of the conference to the brethren in general is, that as many of them as are able, move north to Commerce, as soon as they possibly can."

The committee purchased land in Hancock County, Illinois. Of this purchase Joseph states:—

"[May 1, 1839.]

"I this day purchased, in connection with others of the committee, a farm of Hugh White, consisting of one hundred and thirty-five acres, for the sum of five thousand dollars; also a farm of Dr. Isaac Galland, lying west of the White purchase, for the sum of nine thousand dollars; both of which were to be deeded to Alanson Ripley, according to the counsel of the committee; but Sidney Rigdon declared that 'no committee should control any property which he had anything to do with;' consequently the Galland purchase was deeded to George W. Robinson, Rigdon's son-in-law, with the express understanding that he should deed it to the

[2] The letter to President Van Buren can be found on pages 95, 96, and 97 of this volume. The one to Governor Shannon is as follows:—

BURLINGTON, Iowa Territory, April 22, 1839.

To His Excellency, Wilson Shannon, Governor of the State of Ohio.

Sir:—I have the honor to introduce to your acquaintance, Doctor Sidney Rigdon, who was for many years a citizen of Ohio. Doctor Rigdon wishes to obtain, from the general government of the United States, an investigation into the causes that led to the expulsion of the people called Mormons from the State of Missouri, together with all the facts connected with that extraordinary affair. This investigation, it appears to me, is due them as citizens of the United States, as well as to the nation at large.

Any assistance that you can render the Doctor towards accomplishing that desirable object, will be gratefully received and duly appreciated by your sincere friend and humble servant,

ROBERT LUCAS.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 151.

church when the church had paid for it according to their obligation in the contract."[3]—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 202, 203.

On May 4 and 5, 1839, a conference was held, of which the following are the minutes:—

Conference minutes.

"Minutes of a General Conference, held by the Church of Latter Day Saints at the Presbyterian camp ground, near Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, on Saturday, the 4th of May, 1839.

"At a quarter past eleven o'clock meeting was called to order, and President Joseph Smith, Jr., appointed chairman.

"A hymn was then sung, when President Smith made a few observations on the state of his peculiar feelings, after having been separated from the brethren so long, etc., and then proceeded to open the meeting by prayer.

"After some preliminary observations by Elder J. P. Green and President Rigdon, concerning a certain purchase of land in the Iowa Territory, made for the church by the Presidency, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved 1st: That Almon W. Babbitt, Erastus Snow, and Robert B. Thompson, be appointed a traveling committee to gather up and obtain all the libelous reports and publications which have been circulated against our church, as well as other historical matter connected with said church, that they possibly can obtain.

"Resolved 2d: That Bishop Knight be appointed, or received into the church in full bishopric.

"Resolved 3d: That this conference do entirely sanction the purchase lately made for the church in the Iowa Territory, and also the agency thereof.

"Resolved 4th: That Elder Granger be appointed to go to Kirtland and take the charge and oversight of the house of the Lord, and preside over the general affairs of the church in that place.

"Resolved 5th: That the advice of this conference to the

[3] The committee was appointed to make a location in Iowa Territory. By what authority they purchased in Illinois does not appear.

brethren living in the Eastern States is, for them to move to Kirtland and the vicinity thereof, and again settle that place as a Stake of Zion; provided they feel so inclined, in preference to their moving farther west.

"Resolved 6th: That George A. Smith be acknowledged one of the Twelve Apostles.

"Resolved 7th: That this conference are entirely satisfied with, and give their sanction to the proceedings of the conference of the Twelve and their friends, held on the temple spot at Far West, Missouri, on Friday, the 26th of April last.

"Resolved 8th: That they also sanction the act of the council held the same date and same place in cutting off from the communion of said church certain persons mentioned in the minutes thereof.

"Resolved 9th: That Elders Orson Hyde and William Smith be allowed the privilege of appearing personally before the next General Conference of the church to give an account of their conduct; and that in the meantime they both be suspended from exercising the functions of their office.

"Resolved 10th: That the conference do sanction the mission intended for the Twelve to Europe, and that they will do all in their power to enable them to go.

"Resolved 11th: That the subject of Elder Rigdon's going to Washington be adjourned until to-morrow.

"Resolved 12th: That the next General Conference be held on the first Saturday in October next, at Commerce, at the house of Elder Rigdon.

"Resolved 13th: That we now adjourn until to-morrow at ten o'clock a. m. . .

"Sunday, 5th, ten a. m. Conference opened pursuant to adjournment as usual, by prayer and singing; when it was unanimously Resolved, that this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington, to lay our case before the general government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate.

"Resolved 2d: That Almon W. Babbitt be sent to Springfield, Illinois, clothed with authority, and required to set to rights the church in that place in every way which may become necessary according to the order of the Church of Jesus Christ.

"Resolved 3d: That Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington; after which the afternoon was spent in receiving instruction from the Presidency, and those of the Twelve who were present.

"At five o'clock p. m. conference adjourned, according to the resolution of Saturday; namely, until the first Saturday in October next, at Commerce, Illinois.

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR., Chairman.
"JAMES MULHOLLAND, Clerk."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 204, 205.

Seventies to Europe.

At a conference held on the 6th of May the following-named seventies received the sanction of the conference to accompany the Twelve on their mission to Europe: Theodore Turley, George Pitkin, J. B. Nobles, Charles Hubbard, John Scott, L. D. Snow, Samuel Mulliner, Willard Snow, John Snider, William Burton, L. D. Barnes, Milton Holmes, A. O. Smoot, Elias Smith; also the following high priests: H. G. Sherwood, John Murdock, Winslow Farr, William Snow, and Hiram Clark.

J. P. Green.

John P. Green was appointed to preside over the churches in the city of New York and the regions round about. President Smith gave him a letter of recommendation, in which he says: "We do not hesitate to recommend him to the saints as one in whom they may place the fullest confidence," etc.

Letters to Rigdon and Green.

About this time the church was making an effort to bring their Missouri grievances to the attention of President Van Buren and the Governors of the several States. The citizens gave letters of recommendation to Elders Rigdon and Green.[4]

[4] QUINCY, Illinois, May 8, 1839.

To all whom it may concern:—

The undersigned citizens of Quincy, Illinois, take great pleasure in recommending to the favorable notice of the public, the bearer of this, John P. Green. Mr. Green is connected with the church of "Mormons" or "Latter Day Saints," and makes a tour to the East for the purpose of raising means to relieve the sufferings of this unfortunate people, stripped as they have been of their all, and now scattered throughout this part of the State.

We say to the charitable and benevolent, you need have no fear but your contributions in aid of humanity will be properly applied if intrusted to the hands of Mr. Green. He is authorized by his church to

Joseph Smith locates at Commerce.

On May 9, 1839, Joseph Smith left Quincy with his family, and arrived at Commerce on the 10th, where he moved into a small log house one mile south of Commerce on the bank of the river, on the White purchase before-mentioned.

act in the premises; and we most cordially bear testimony to his piety and worth as a citizen.

Very respectfully yours,
SAMUEL HOLMES, Merchant.
I. N. MORRIS,
Attorney at Law, and Editor of *Argus*.
THOMAS CARLIN,
Governor State of Illinois.
RICHARD M. YOUNG,
United States Senator.
L. V. RALSTON, M. D.
SAMUEL LEACH,
Receiver Public Moneys.
HIRAM RODGERS, M. D.
J. T. HOLMES, Merchant.
NICHOLAS WREN, County Clerk.
C. M. WOODS,
Clerk of Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois.

QUINCY, Illinois, May 8, 1839.

To His Excellency, the President of the United States, the Heads of Departments, and to all whom this may be shown:—

The undersigned citizens of Quincy, Illinois, beg leave to introduce to you the bearer, Rev. Sidney Rigdon. Mr. Rigdon is a divine, connected with the Church of Latter Day Saints, and having enjoyed his acquaintance for some time past, we take great pleasure in recommending him to your favorable notice as a man of piety and a valuable citizen.

Any representation he may make touching the object of his mission to your city may be implicitly relied on.

Very respectfully yours,
SAMUEL HOLMES.
THOMAS CARLIN.
RICHARD M. YOUNG.
I. N. MORRIS.
HIRAM RODGERS.
J. T. HOLMES.
NICHOLAS WREN.
C. M. WOODS.

QUINCY, Illinois, 10th May, 1839.

The bearer, the Rev. Sidney Rigdon, is a member of a society of people called "Mormons," or "Latter Day Saints," who have been driven from the State of Missouri, by order of the Executive of that State, and who have taken up their residence in and about this place in large numbers. I have no hesitation in saying that this people have been most shamefully persecuted and cruelly treated by the people of Missouri.

Mr. Rigdon has resided in and near this place for three or four months, during which time his conduct has been that of a gentleman and a moral and worthy citizen.

SAMUEL LEACH.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 215.

On May 13 Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to the Presidency complaining of articles written by Lyman Wight and published in the Quincy *Whig*, wherein it was alleged that Lyman Wight charged the Democratic party with the responsibility for the Missouri troubles, to which the First Presidency replied as follows:—

Political controversy.

"COMMERCE, Hancock County, Illinois,
25th May, 1839.

"*Dear Sir:*—In answer to yours of the 13th instant, to us, concerning the writings of Colonel Lyman Wight, on the subject of our late sufferings in the State of Missouri; we wish to say, that as to a statement of our persecutions being brought before the world as a political question, we entirely disapprove of it. Having, however, great confidence in Colonel Wight's good intentions, and considering it to be the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics as well as religion, we will only say that we consider it to be unwise, as it is unfair, to charge any one party in politics, or any one sect of religionists, with having been our oppressors, since we so well know that our persecutors in the State of Missouri were of every sect, and of all parties, both religious and political; and as Brother Wight disclaims having spoken evil of any administration, save that of Missouri, we presume that it need not be feared that men of sense will now suppose him wishful to implicate any other.

"We consider that in making these remarks we express the sentiments of the church in general as well as our own individually, and also when we say in conclusion that we feel the fullest confidence that when the subject of our wrongs has been fully investigated by the authorities of the United States, we shall receive the most perfect justice at their hands; whilst our unfeeling oppressors shall be brought to condign punishment, with the approbation of a free and enlightened people, without respect to sect or party.

"We desire that you may make whatever use you may

think proper of this letter, and remain your sincere friends and brethren.

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
"HYRUM SMITH.
"SIDNEY RIGDON.

"ELDER R. B. THOMPSON."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 231.

This will serve to show that the troubles in Missouri had no partisan significance, and that it is unwise to charge them upon any political party or religious organization.

May 25, William Smith was restored to fellowship in the Quorum of the Twelve.

On June 4, Joseph and Hyrum Smith each made a statement regarding the Missouri troubles, to present before the general government. Each also, made a statement of damages they had sustained, estimating the damage at one hundred thousand dollars each, including actual loss and damages for illegal imprisonments.

Statements of damage.

Regarding Commerce at the time the church went there, we quote from Joseph Smith. He states:—

"Tuesday, [June] 11. I commenced dictating my history for my clerk, James Mulholland, to write. About this time Elder Theodore Turley raised the first house built by the saints in this place; it was built of logs, about twenty-five or thirty rods north northeast of my dwelling, on the northeast corner of lot 4, block 147 of the White purchase. When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there were one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce. Between Commerce and Mr. Davidson Hibbard's, there was one stone and three log houses, including the one that I live in, and these were all the houses in this vicinity, and the place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthy, very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the saints, and no more eligible place presenting

Commerce.

itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 276.

Purchase Nashville.

Monday, June 24, the church purchased the town of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, together with twenty thousand acres of land adjoining it.

O. Hyde restored.

June 27, at a conference of the Twelve, which Joseph Smith attended, Orson Hyde made his confession and was restored to his position in the quorum.

Joseph at this time gave some instruction, from which we make the following extract:—

Instruction.

"The Spirit of revelation is in connection with these blessings. A person may profit by noticing the first intimations of the Spirit of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing unto you, it may give you sudden strokes of ideas, that by noticing it, you may find it fulfilled the same day or soon; *i. e.*, those things that were presented unto your minds by the Spirit of God, will come to pass; and thus by learning the Spirit of God and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation, until you become perfect in Christ Jesus."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 279.

Zarahemla.

July 2, President Smith advised the building of a town to be called Zarahemla, upon land recently purchased by Bishop Knight, in Iowa.

Blessings.

On the same day some of the twelve and seventy who were to go to Europe were blessed under the hands of the Presidency; also the wives of some who were to go abroad were blessed by the same.

At this time Joseph gave some instruction to the Twelve, of which the following is an extract:—

Instruction to the Twelve.

"Again: Let the Twelve and all saints be willing to confess all their sins, and not keep back a part; and let the Twelve be humble, and not be exalted, and beware of pride, and not seek to excel one above another, but act for each other's good, and pray for one and another, and honor our brother or make honorable mention of his name, and not backbite and devour our brother. Why will not man learn wisdom by precept at this late age of the world, when we have such

a cloud of witnesses and examples before us, and not be obliged to learn by sad experience everything we know? Must the new ones that are chosen to fill the places of those that are fallen, of the Quorum of the Twelve, begin to exalt themselves, until they exalt themselves so high that they will soon tumble over and have a great fall, and go wallowing through the mud and mire and darkness, Judas-like, to the buffetings of Satan, as several of the quorum have done, or will they learn wisdom and be wise? O God, give them wisdom, and keep them humble, I pray!

"When the Twelve or any other witnesses stand before the congregations of the earth, and they preach in the power and demonstration of the Spirit of God, and the people are astonished and confounded at the doctrine, and say, 'That man has preached a powerful discourse, a great sermon,' then let that man or those men take care that they do not ascribe the glory unto themselves, but be careful that they are humble, and ascribe the praise and glory to God and the Lamb; for it is by the power of the holy priesthood and Holy Ghost they have power thus to speak. What art thou, O man, but dust? And from whom dost thou receive thy power and blessings, but from God?

"Then, O ye Twelve! notice this *key*, and be wise for Christ's sake, and your own soul's sake. Ye are not sent out to be taught, but to teach. Let every word be seasoned with grace. Be vigilant; be sober. It is a day of warning, and not of many words. Act honest before God and man. Beware of *Gentile sophistry;* such as bowing and scraping unto men in whom you have no confidence. Be honest, open, and frank in all your intercourse with mankind.

"O ye Twelve, and all saints! profit by this important KEY —that in all your trials, troubles, temptations, afflictions, bonds, imprisonments, and death, see to it, that you do not betray heaven; that you do not betray *Jesus Christ;* that you do not betray the *brethren;* that you do not betray the revelations of God, whether in the Bible, Book of Mormon, or Doctrine and Covenants, or any other that ever was or ever will be given and revealed unto man in this world or that which is to come. Yea, in all your kicking and flounderings

see to it that you do not this thing, lest innocent blood be found in your skirts, and you go down to hell. All other sins are not to be compared to sinning against the Holy Ghost, and proving a traitor to thy brethren." — *Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 295.

On July 3, 1839, Dr. Isaac Galland was baptized by Joseph Smith.

About this time six of the Twelve; viz., Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball, J. E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, and G. A. Smith, wrote a lengthy epistle to the elders, the churches, and the saints scattered abroad.

Sunday, July 7, there was an open air meeting at Commerce, when a large gathering assembled to hear the farewell addresses of the Twelve who were to go to England. The meeting was addressed by John E. Page, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, Orson Hyde, and Brigham Young, of the Quorum of the Twelve, and Sidney Rigdon of the First Presidency.

Their farewell.

Monday, July 28, Joseph and the Twelve were engaged in selecting hymns for the compiling of a hymn book.

During the months of July and August there was much sickness among the saints.

On August 4 several of the Twelve addressed a meeting at Commerce and declared their willingness to proceed to Europe, and the church passed a resolution, That the Twelve proceed as soon as possible, and that they would provide for their families during their absence.

August 29, 1839, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and Hiram Clark started for their mission to Europe, leaving Commerce by wagon.

September 18, Elders Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball also started.

September 21 Elders G. A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock, and Theodore Turley started by wagon.

A General Conference convened at Commerce, October 5, 1839. The following extracts are from the minutes as published in the *Times and Seasons:* –

Conference minutes.

"Proceedings of the General Conference, held at Com-

merce, Hancock County, Illinois, on Saturday, the 5th day of October, 1839.

"The meeting was opened by prayer by President Joseph Smith, Jr., after which he was appointed president, and James Sloan clerk of the conference, by the unanimous voice of the meeting.

"The President then spoke at some length upon the situation of the church, the difficulties they had to contend with, and the manner in which they had been led to this place; and wished to know the views of the brethren, whether they wished to appoint this a stake or not, stating that he believed it to be a good place and suited for the saints.

"It was then unanimously agreed upon that it should be appointed a stake and a place of gathering for the saints. The following officers were then appointed; viz.:—

"William Marks to be president. Bishop Whitney to be bishop of Middle Ward. Bishop Partridge to be bishop of Upper Ward. Bishop Knight to be bishop of Lower Ward. George W. Harris, Thomas Grover, Samuel Bent, Newel Knight, Henry G. Sherwood, Charles C. Rich, David Fulmer, David Dort, Alpheus Cutler, Seymour Brunson, William Huntington, Lewis D. Wilson, to be high council; who being respectfully called upon, accepted of their appointment.

"It was then voted, that a branch[5] of the church be established on the other side of the river, in Iowa Territory; over which Elder John Smith was appointed president, Alanson Ripley bishop, and Asael Smith, David Pettigrew, John M. Burke, Elijah Fordham, A. Owen Smoot, Edward Fisher, Richard Howard, Elias Smith, Willard Snow, John Patten, Erastus Snow, Stephen Chase, were elected High Council.

"Don C. Smith was elected to be continued as president of the high priesthood.

"Orson Hyde to stand in his former office, and William Smith to be continued in his standing.

"Letters were then read respecting the absence of members, from ill health.

[5] We are of the opinion that this should read stake.

"Judge Higbee was appointed to accompany Presidents J. Smith, Jr., and S. Rigdon to the city of Washington.

"The meeting then adjourned until Monday morning.

"Monday morning, October the 9th.

"Conference met pursuant to adjournment.

"The President spoke at some length to the elders, and explained many passages of scripture.

"Elder Lyman Wight spoke on the subject of the resurrection, and other important subjects. When he offered the following resolution, which passed unanimously:—

"Resolved, That a new edition of hymn books be printed immediately, and that the one published by D. W. Rogers be utterly discarded by the church. . . .

"After having referred the business not gone into, to the High Council; the President then returned thanks to the conference for their good attention and liberality; and having blessed them in the name of the Lord, the conference was dismissed.

"The next conference was appointed to be held on the 6th day of April next."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 31.

On October 21, the High Council indorsed President Smith's resolution to go to Washington to present the grievances of the church, and decided that he should have a recommend from the High Council. The 26th they also voted that Sister Emma Smith select and publish a hymn book for the use of the church, and that Brigham Young be informed of the same, and he not to publish the hymns taken by him from Commerce; and that the council assist in publishing a hymn book and the *Times and Seasons*.

Mission to Washing on.

Hymn book.

The 28th the council resolved to build a stone boarding house in upper Commerce. They resolved also to finish the office of President Joseph Smith. The council resolved to sign the recommend of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Elias Higbee as delegates of the church, to importune the President and Congress of the United States for redress.

The above delegates, accompanied by O. P. Rockwell, left Commerce, enroute to Washington, on October 29, in a two horse carriage.

Pratt's letter.

A letter written November 22, from New York, by Elder P. P. Pratt, gives quite a concise account of the condition of the church in the East.[6]

Times and Seasons.

Sometime in the month of November, 1839, the first issue of the *Times and Seasons* was published at Commerce, Illinois, by Don Carlos Smith and Ebenezer Robinson, under the firm name of "Robinson and Smith." It was a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of the church, from the pages of which we have frequently quoted in this work.

December 6 the High Council of Iowa ordained Alanson Ripley to the office of Bishop.

[6] The churches in these parts are prospering greatly, and are firm in the faith, and increasing in numbers continually. The church in New York and Brooklyn now numbers from one hundred and fifty to two hundred members, and additions are being made every week. A General Conference was held in this city on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week. Elders present: O. Pratt, W. Woodruff, Samuel James, Benjamin Winchester, Elders Foster, Layne, Jenks, Brown, Benedict, and myself. Priests present: A. Everett, Birge, and Vanvelver. Many branches of the church in the region round about were represented; several hundred members in all, and mostly increasing. Great doors are open for preaching, and crowded houses are the order of the day.

I have also received letters from Maine and from Michigan, with joyful accounts of the spread of the work of the Lord. You would now find churches of the saints in Philadelphia, in Albany, in Brooklyn, in New York, in Sing Sing, in Jersey, in Pennsylvania, on Long Island, and in various other places all around us. Our New York meetings are now held three times every Sabbath in Columbia Hall, Grand Street, a few doors east of the Bowery; it is very central, and one of the best places in the city; it will hold nearly a thousand people, and is well filled with attentive hearers. Brother Winchester has a good hall well fitted up in Philadelphia, where stated meetings are held—several every week, and crowded audiences.

In short the truth is spreading more rapidly than ever before, in every direction, far and near. There is a great call for our books. I am now reprinting the "Voice of Warning," "The History of the Persecution," and my "Poems." There is a great call for "hymn books," but none to be had. I wish Sister Smith would add to the old collection such new ones as is best, and republish them immediately. If means and facilities are lacking in the West, send it here, and it shall be nicely done for her; and at least one thousand would immediately sell in these parts wholesale and retail. The "Book of Mormon" is not to be had in this part of the vineyard for love or money; hundreds are wanted in various parts hereabouts, but there is truly a famine in this respect.

The conference took into consideration the pressing calls for this book, and have appointed a committee to raise means for the publication of the same, and also to publish it if we can obtain leave from you, who hold the copyright. Any "hymn book" which Sister Smith or the church will favor us with, shall also be published on similar conditions.

P. P. PRATT.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 420.

Advice to Kirtland.

The 8th of December, 1839, the High Council, the Presidency concurring, resolved to issue an epistle to the saints, advising them not to return to Kirtland, Ohio, as some contemplated doing.[1]

The year 1839 closed in Western Illinois and Eastern Iowa with all the activity possible for the inclement season of the

[1] To the saints scattered abroad, in the region westward from Kirtland, Ohio.

Beloved brethren:—Feeling that it is our duty, as the servants of God, to instruct the saints from time to time in those things which to us appear to be wise and proper: therefore we freely give *you*, a few words of advice at this time.

We have heard it rumored abroad, that some at least, and probably many, are making their calculations to remove back to Kirtland next season.

Now brethren, this being the case, we advise you to abandon such an idea; yea, we warn you, in the name of the Lord, not to remove back there unless you are counseled so to do by the First Presidency and the High Council of Nauvoo. We do not wish by this to take your agency from you; but we feel to be plain and pointed in our advice, for we wish to do our duty, that your sins may not be found in our skirts. All persons are entitled to their agency, for God has so ordained it. He has constituted mankind moral agents, and given them power to choose good or evil; to seek after that which is good, by pursuing the pathway of holiness in this life, which brings peace of mind and joy in the Holy Ghost here, and a fullness of joy and happiness at his right hand hereafter; or to pursue an evil course, going on in sin and rebellion against God, thereby bringing condemnation to their souls in this world and an eternal loss in the world to come. Since the God of heaven has left these things optional with every individual, we do not wish to deprive them of it. We only wish to act the part of a faithful watchman, agreeably to the word of the Lord to Ezekiel the prophet (Ezekiel 33: 2–5), and leave it for others to do as seemeth them good. Now for persons to do things merely because they are advised to do them, and yet murmur all the time they are doing them, is of no use at all; they might as well not do them.

There are those who profess to be saints who are too apt to murmur and find fault when any advice is given which comes in opposition to their feelings, even when they themselves ask for counsel; much more so when counsel is given unasked for, which does not agree with their notion of things; but, brethren, we hope for better things from the most of you; we trust that you desire counsel from time to time, and that you will cheerfully conform to it whenever you receive it from a proper source.

It is very probable that it may be considered wisdom for some of us, and perhaps others, to move back to Kirtland, to attend to important business there; but notwithstanding that, after what we have written, should any be so unwise as to move back there without being first counseled so to do, their conduct will be highly disapprobated.

Done by order and vote of the First Presidency and High Council for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Nauvoo, December 8, 1839.

H. G. Sherwood, Clerk.
—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, p. 29.

year, with events incident to new settlements. There had been much sickness since their advent into this country, some of which was fatal; but with commendable energy and resignation they took up the burdens of social and business life as only those can who have confidence in the triumph of right.

Sickness.

CHAPTER 19.

1839–1840.

COMMITTEE'S WORK IN WASHINGTON—RIGDON'S ILLNESS—INTERVIEWS WITH VAN BUREN AND CALHOUN—JOSEPH RETURNS—HIGBEE REMAINS—HIGBEE'S REPORTS—ACTION OF GENERAL CONFERENCE.

THE mission of the committee to Washington, so far as immediate and visible results were concerned, seemed to have been a failure. Yet they had been obedient to the commands of God, and what real effect it may have had or may yet have, no one can tell.

Committee's work in Washington.

Elder Rigdon, of the committee who left Commerce on October 29, 1839, was quite ill during the journey, which delayed them considerably.

On November 1, they met Dr. R. D. Foster, who accompanied them for the purpose of waiting upon Elder Rigdon.

A letter from Joseph explains the situation and is valuable as showing Joseph's feeling towards his family.[1]

[1] SPRINGFIELD, Illinois, November 9, 1839.

My Dear Wife:—

Perhaps you may think strange that we are not further on our journey at this date, but I will say that we have done all that we could for the safety of Elder Rigdon on account of his weak state of health, and this morning we are under the necessity of leaving him at Bro. Snyder's and pursuing our journey without him. We think he will soon recover his health, as he is not dangerously sick. We regret that he cannot go on with us very much, but cannot help ourselves, but must commit him to the hands of God, and go on, being filled with constant anxiety for our families and friends behind.

I shall be filled with constant anxiety about you and the children until I hear from you, and in a particular manner little Frederick. It was so painful to leave him sick. I hope you will watch over those tender offspring in a manner that is becoming a mother and a saint, and try to cultivate their minds and learn them to read and be sober. Do not let them be exposed to the weather to take cold, and try to get all the rest you can. It will be a long and lonesome time during my absence from you, and nothing but a sense of humanity could have urged me on to so great a sacrifice. But shall I see so many perish and not seek redress? No, I will try this once in the name of the Lord; therefore be patient until I come, and do the best you can.

They had been so much delayed by the illness of Elder Rigdon, and the time was so near for the assembling of Congress, that it was concluded best for President Smith and Judge Higbee to proceed with more dispatch; accordingly, on November 18, when near Columbus, Ohio, they took stage, leaving Rigdon, Rockwell, and Foster to come at their leisure in the carriage.

On November 27, the day before reaching Washington, a little incident occurred, an account of which we will give in President Smith's own language:—

"While on the mountains some distance from Washington, our coachman stepped into a public house to take his grog, when the horses took fright and ran down the hill at full speed. I persuaded my fellow travelers to be quiet and retain their seats, but had to hold one woman to prevent her throwing her infant out of the coach. The passengers were exceedingly agitated, but I used every persuasion to calm their feelings; and opening the door, I secured my hold on the side of the coach the best way I could, and succeeded in placing myself in the coachman's seat and reining up the horses, after they had run some two or three miles, and neither coach, horses, or passengers received any injury. My course was spoken of in the highest terms of commendation, as being one of the most daring and heroic deeds, and no language could express the gratitude of the passengers when they found themselves safe and the horses quiet. There were some members of Congress with us, who proposed naming the incident to that body, believing they would reward such conduct by some public act; but on inquiring my name, to mention as the author of their safety, and finding it to be Joseph Smith the 'Mormon Prophet,' as they called it, I heard no more of their praise, gratitude, or reward.

"Thursday, 28th. I arrived at Washington City this morning, and put up at the corner of Missouri and Third Streets."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 420, 421.

I cannot write what I want, but believe me, my feelings are of the best kind towards you all. My hand cramps so I must close. I am,

Your husband until death,

To Emma Smith. JOSEPH SMITH.

The following is a copy of the petition presented to Congress:—

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:*—

"Your petitioners, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Elias Higbee, would most respectfully represent, that they have been delegated, by their brethren and fellow citizens, known as 'Latter Day Saints' (commonly called Mormons), to prepare and present to you a statement of their wrongs, and a prayer for their relief, which they now have the honor to submit to the consideration of your honorable body.

"In the summer of 1831 a portion of the society abovenamed commenced a settlement in the county of Jackson, in the State of Missouri. The individuals making that settlement had emigrated from almost every State in the Union to that lovely spot in the far West, with the hope of improving their condition, of building houses for themselves and posterity, and of erecting temples, where they and theirs might worship their Creator according to the dictates of their conscience. Though they had wandered far from the homes of their childhood, still they had been taught to believe that a citizen born in any one State in this great republic might remove to another and enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens of the State of his adoption—that wherever waved the American flag, beneath its stars and stripes an American citizen might look for protection and justice, for liberty in person and in conscience.

"They bought farms, built houses, and erected churches. Some tilled the earth, others bought and sold merchandise, and others again toiled as mechanics. They were industrious and moral, and they prospered; and though often persecuted and vilified for their difference in religious opinion from their fellow citizens, they were happy; they saw their society increasing in numbers, their farms teemed with plenty, and they fondly looked forward to a future big with hope. That there was prejudice against them, they knew; that slanders were propagated against them, they deplored; yet they felt that these were unjust; and hoped that time and an uprightness of life, would enable them to outlive

them. While the summer of peace, happiness, and hope shone over the infant settlement of the saints, the cloud was gathering, unseen by them, that bore in its bosom the thunderbolt of destruction.

"On the 20th July, 1833, around their peaceful village a mob gathered, to the surprise and terror of the quiet 'Mormons'—why, they knew not; they had broken no law, they had harmed no man, in deed or thought. Why they were thus threatened, they knew not. Soon a committee from the mob called upon the leading 'Mormons' of the place; they announced that the store, the printing office, and the shops must be closed, and that forthwith every 'Mormon' must leave the county. The message was so terrible, so unexpected, that the 'Mormons' asked time for deliberation and consultation, which being refused, the brethren were severally asked, 'Are you willing to abandon your home?' The reply was, 'We will not go;' which determination being reported to the committee of the mob, one of them replied that he was sorry; for, said he, 'The work of destruction must now begin.' No sooner said than it was done. The printing office, a two-story brick building, was assailed by the mob and tore down, and, with its valuable appurtenances, destroyed. They next proceeded to the store with a like purpose. Its owner in part, Mr. Gilbert, agreed to close it, and they delayed their purpose.

"They then proceeded to the dwelling of Mr. Partridge, the beloved bishop of the church there, dragged him and his family to the public square, where, surrounded by hundreds, they partially stripped him of his clothing and tarred and feathered him from head to foot. A man by the name of Allen was at the same time treated in a similar manner. The mob then dispersed with an agreement to meet again on the next Tuesday, the above outrages having been committed on Saturday.

"Tuesday came, and with it came the mob, bearing a red flag, in token of *blood*. They proceeded to the houses of Isaac Morley and others of the leading men, and seized them, telling them to bid their families farewell, that they would never see them again. They were then driven, at the

point of the bayonet, to jail, and there, amid the jeers and insults of the crowd, they were thrust in prison, to be kept as hostages; in case any of the mob should be killed, they were to die to pay for it. Here some two or three of the 'Mormons' offered to surrender up their lives, if that would satisfy the fury of the mob, and purchase peace and security for their unoffending brethren, their helpless wives and children. The reply of the mob was, that the 'Mormons' must leave the county *en masse*, or that every man should be put to death.

"The 'Mormons,' terrified and defenseless, then entered into an agreement to leave the county—one half by the first of January, the other half by the first of April next ensuing. This treaty being made and ratified, the mob dispersed. Again, for a time, the persecuted 'Mormons' enjoyed a respite from their persecutions; but not long was the repose permitted them.

"Sometime in the month of October a meeting was held at Independence, at which it was determined to remove the 'Mormons' or die. Inflammatory speeches were made, and one of the speakers swore he would remove the 'Mormons' from the county if he had to wade up to his neck in blood.

"Be it remarked that up to this time the 'Mormons' had faithfully observed the treaty, and were guilty of no offense against the laws of the land or of society, but were peaceably following the routine of their daily duties.

"Shortly after the meeting above referred to, another persecution commenced; some of the 'Mormons' were shot at, others were whipped, their houses were assailed with brickbats, broken open, and thrown down; their women and children were insulted; and thus for many weeks, without offense, without resistance, by night and by day, were they harassed, insulted, and oppressed.

"There is a point beyond which endurance ceases to be a virtue. The worm when trampled upon will turn upon its oppressor. A company of about thirty 'Mormons' fell in with twice that number of the mob engaged in the destruction of 'Mormon' property, when a battle ensued, in which one 'Mormon' was killed, and two or three of the mob; act-

ing in concert with the officer who commanded the mob, was Lilburn W. Boggs, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Missouri. When the noise of the battle was spread abroad, the public mind became much inflamed. The militia collected in arms from all quarters and in great numbers, and inflamed to fury. They demanded that the 'Mormons' should surrender up all their arms and immediately quit the county. Compelled by overpowering numbers, the 'Mormons' submitted. They surrendered up fifty-one guns, which have never been returned or paid for.

"The next day parties of the mob went from house to house threatening women and children with death if they did not immediately leave their homes. Imagination cannot paint the terror which now pervaded the 'Mormon' community. The weather was intensely cold, and women and children abandoned their homes and fled in every direction without sufficient clothing to protect them from the piercing cold. Women gave birth to children in the woods and on the prairies. One hundred and twenty women and children, for the space of ten days, with only three or four men in company, concealed themselves in the woods in hourly expectation and fear of massacre, until they finally escaped into Clay County. The society of 'Mormons,' after the above disturbances, removed to the county of Clay, where they were kindly received by the inhabitants and their wants administered to by their charity.

"In the meantime the houses of the 'Mormons' in the county of Jackson, amounting to about two hundred, were burned down or otherwise destroyed by the mob, as well as much of their crops, furniture, and stock.

"The damage done to the property of the 'Mormons' by the mob in the county of Jackson as above related, as near as they can ascertain, would amount to the sum of one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The number of 'Mormons' thus driven from the county of Jackson amounted to about twelve hundred souls. For the property thus destroyed they have never been paid.

"After the expulsion of the 'Mormons' from the county of Jackson as above related, they removed to and settled in

the county of Clay. They there purchased out some of the former inhabitants, and entered at the land office wild lands offered for sale by the general government. The most of them became freeholders, owning each an eighty or more of land.

"The 'Mormons' lived peaceably in the county of Clay for about three years, and all that time increased rapidly in numbers, by immigration, and also in wealth by their industry. After they had resided in that county about three years, the citizens not connected with them began to look upon them with jealousy and alarm. Reports were again put in circulation against them; public meetings were held in the counties of Clay and Jackson, at which violent resolutions were passed against the 'Mormons,' and rumors of mobs began again to spread alarm among the 'Mormons.' At this juncture the 'Mormons,' desirous of avoiding all conflict with their fellow citizens, and anxious to preserve the peace and harmony of the society around them, as well as their own, deputized a committee of their leading men to make terms of peace with their fellow citizens of Clay. An interview took place between them and a committee of citizens, at which it was agreed that the 'Mormons' should leave the county of Clay, and that the citizens of Clay County should buy their lands.

"These terms were complied with. The 'Mormons' removed to and settled in the county of Caldwell, and the citizens never paid them value for their lands. Many received nothing at all for their land. The 'Mormons' by this removal sacrificed much both of money and feeling, but the sacrifice was made upon the altar of duty, for the peace of the community.

"Your memorialists would beg here to give what they believe a just explanation of the causes of the prejudice and persecution against the 'Mormons' related above, and which will follow. That there might have been some unworthy members among them cannot be denied; but many aver that as a community they were as moral, as upright, and as observant of the laws of the land as any body of people in the world. Why then this prejudice and persecution? An

answer they trust will be found in the fact that they were a body of people distinct from their fellow citizens, in religious opinions, in their habits, and in their associations. They were numerous enough to make the power of their numerical and moral force a matter of anxiety and dread to the political and religious parties by which they are surrounded; which arose not from what the 'Mormons' had done, but from the fear of what they might do.

"In addition, the 'Mormons' have purchased of the settlers, or of the government, or obtained by preëmption, the best lands in all those regions of the State; and at the times of speculation, the cupidity of many was aroused to possess those lands by driving off the 'Mormons,' and taking forcible possession, or constraining them to sell, through fear or coercion, at a price merely nominal.

"After the 'Mormons' removed from Clay they settled in the county of Caldwell as aforesaid.

"Your memorialists do not deem it necessary for their purpose to detail the history of the progress, the cares, and anxieties of the 'Mormons' from the time they settled in Caldwell in the year 1836 until the fall of 1838. They would, however, state, that during all that time they deported themselves as good citizens, obeying the laws of the land, and the moral and religious duties enjoined by their faith. That there might have been some faithless among the faithful, is possible. They would not deny that there might have been some who were a scandal to their brethren; and what society, they would ask, has not some unworthy member? Where is the sect, where the community, in which there cannot be found some who trample under foot the laws of God and man? They believe the 'Mormon' community to have as few such as any other association, religious or political. Within the above period the 'Mormons' continued to increase in wealth and numbers, until in the fall of the year 1838 they numbered about fifteen thousand souls.

"They purchased of the government, or of the citizen, or held by preëmption, almost all the lands in the county of Caldwell and a portion of the lands in Daviess and Carroll.

The county of Caldwell was settled almost entirely by 'Mormons,' and 'Mormons' were rapidly filling up the counties of Daviess and Caldwell. When they first commenced settling in those counties there were but few settlements made there; the lands were wild and uncultivated. In the fall of 1838 large farms had been made, well improved and stocked. Lands had risen in value and sold for from ten to twenty-five dollars. The improvement and settlement had been such that it was a common remark that the county of Caldwell would soon be the wealthiest in the State.

"Thus stood their affairs in the fall of 1838, when the storm of persecution again raged over the heads of the 'Mormons,' and the fierce demon of the mob drove them forth houseless and homeless and penniless upon the charities of the world, which to them, thank God! have been like angels' visits, but not few, or far between. This last persecution began at an election which was held in Daviess County on the first Monday of August, 1838. A 'Mormon' went to the polls to vote. One of the mob standing by opposed his voting, contending that a 'Mormon' had no more right to vote than a negro; one angry word brought on another, and blows followed. They are, however, happy to state that the 'Mormon' was not the aggressor, but was on the defensive; others interfered, not one alone, but many assailed the 'Mormon.' His brethren, seeing him thus assailed by numbers, rushed to the rescue; then came others of the mob, until finally a general row commenced. The 'Mormons' were victorious. The next day a rumor reached the 'Mormons' of Caldwell, that two of their brethren had been killed in this fight, and that a refusal had been made to surrender their bodies for burial. Not knowing at the time that this rumor was false, they became much excited, and several of them started for Daviess County with a view of giving the brethren, whom they supposed to have been killed, a decent interment; where they arrived next morning. Among the citizens this fight produced a great excitement. They held a public meeting and resolved to drive the 'Mormons' from the county. Individuals began also to

threaten the 'Mormons' as a body, and swear that they should leave the county in three days. When the 'Mormons' who had gone from Caldwell to Daviess, as aforesaid, arrived there, they found this state of excitement to exist. They also heard that a large mob was collecting against them, headed by Adam Black, one of the judges of the county court of Daviess County.

"Under these circumstances, and with a view to allay the excitement, they called on Mr. Black, and inquired of him whether the reports they had heard in relation to him were true. Upon his denying them to be true, they then requested him to give that denial in writing, which he freely did. This writing they published with a view of calming the public mind and allaying the excitement. Having done this, they rested in quiet for some time after, hoping that their efforts would produce the desired effect. Their surprise can, under these circumstances, be easily imagined, when a short time after they learned that said Black had gone before Judge King and made oath that he was forced to sign the instrument by armed 'Mormons,' and procured a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith, Jr., and Lyman Wight, which was placed in the hands of the sheriff. It was also reported that the said individuals had refused to surrender themselves, and that an armed force was collecting to come and take them.

"Your memorialists aver that the sheriff had never made any efforts to serve the writ, and that the said Smith and Wight, so far from making any resistance, did not know that such a writ had been issued until they learned it first by report as above related. In the meantime the rumor had run over the whole country that the 'Mormons' were compelling individuals to sign certain instruments in writing, and that they were resisting the process of the law. The public mind became much inflamed, and the mob began to collect from all quarters and in large numbers, with pretensions of assisting the sheriff to serve the process; and here let it be observed in passing that Adam Black had sold the improvement and preëmption claim on which he then resided, to the 'Mormons,' received his pay for the same, and that through

his instrumentality the 'Mormons' were driven off, and now retains both their money and the improvement.

"As soon as the above reports reached the ears of the said Smith and Wight, they determined immediately upon the course they ought to pursue, which was to submit to the laws. They both surrendered themselves up to Judge King, underwent a trial, and in the absence of all sufficient testimony they were discharged. They hoped that this voluntary submission of theirs to the law, and their triumphant vindication of the charge, would allay the excitement of the community. But not so—the long-desired opportunity had arrived when the oppression and extermination of the 'Mormons' might be made to assume the form of legal proceeding. The mob that had assembled for the pretended purpose of assisting the officers in the execution of process did not disperse upon the acquittal of Smith and Wight, but continued embodied with the encampments and forms of a military force, and committing depredations upon 'Mormon' property. The 'Mormons' in this extremity called upon the laws of the land and the officers of the law, for protection. After much delay, the militia under Generals Atchison, Doniphan, and Parks, were sent to their relief. They arrived on the 13th September, and encamped between the 'Mormons' and the mob.

"The above officers made no attempt to disperse the mob, excusing themselves by saying, 'that their own men had sympathies with the mob.' After remaining there for several days, those officers adopted the following expedient of settling the difficulties: they mustered the mob, and enrolled them with their own troops, and then disbanded the whole, with orders to seek their several homes. The officers went home, excepting Parks, who remained for their protection, with his men.

"The 'Mormons' made an agreement with the citizens of Daviess to buy out their lands and preëmption rights, and appointed a committee to make the purchase, and to go on buying till they had purchased to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars. While these purchases were going on, the citizens were heard to say that as soon as they had sold

out to the 'Mormons' and received their pay, they would drive the 'Mormons' off and keep both their lands and the money.

"The mob, when disbanded in Daviess by the generals as aforesaid, instead of repairing to their homes as commanded, proceeded in a body to the adjoining county of Carroll and encamped around De Witt, a village built and inhabited by 'Mormons;' while thus encamped around De Witt they sent to the county of Jackson and procured a cannon. They invested the place so closely that no person could leave the town in safety; when they did so, they were fired upon by the mob. The horses of the 'Mormons' were stolen and their cattle killed. The citizens of De Witt, amounting to about seventy families, were in great extremity and worn out by want and sickness. In their extremity they made application to Governor Boggs for protection and relief; but no protection, no relief, was granted them. When reduced to the last extremity, no alternative was left them but to seek protection by flight and the abandonment of their homes. Accordingly on the evening of the 11th of October, 1838, they retreated from De Witt and made their way to the counties of Daviess and Caldwell, leaving many of their effects in the possession of the mob.

"Your memorialists will not detail the horrors and sufferings of such a flight, when shared with women and children. They might detail many. One lady who had given birth to a child just before the flight commenced, died on the road and was buried without a coffin. Many others, sick, worn-out, starved, deprived of medical aid, died upon the road. The remnant of 'Mormons' from De Witt arrived in Daviess and Caldwell, and found a short relief and supply of their wants from their friends and brethren there.

"After the abandonment of De Witt and the flight of the 'Mormons' from Carroll, one Sashiel Woods addressed the mob, advising them to take their cannon and march to the county of Daviess and drive the 'Mormons' from that county and seize upon their lands and other property, saying that the 'Mormons' could get no benefit of the law, as they had recently seen. They then commenced their march from

Carroll to Daviess, carrying with them the cannon which they had received from Jackson. On their way they captured two 'Mormons,' made them ride on the cannon, and taunted them as they went along, telling them that they were going to drive the 'Mormons' from Daviess to Caldwell, and from Caldwell to hell; and that they should find no quarter but at the cannon's mouth. The mob at this time was reported to number about four hundred strong.

"The 'Mormons,' in these distresses, in pursuance of the laws of Missouri, made application to Judge King, the circuit judge of that circuit, for protection, and for the aid of the officers of the law to protect them. Judge King, as they have been informed, and believe, gave an order to Major General D. R. Atchison to call out the militia to protect the 'Mormons' against the fury of the mob. General Atchison thereupon gave orders to Brigadiers Parks and Doniphan. In pursuance of these orders issued as aforesaid, on the 18th of October, 1838, General Doniphan arrived at Far West, a 'Mormon' village in the county of Caldwell, with a small company of militia. After he had been at Far West two days, General Doniphan disbanded his company, alleging to the 'Mormons' as his reason for so doing that his company had the same feelings as the mob, and that he could not rely upon them. In a short time General Parks arrived at Far West, and also disbanded his company. At this time the mob was marching from Carroll to Daviess. General Doniphan, while at Far West, directed the 'Mormons' to raise a company to protect themselves, telling them that one Cornelius Gillium was raising a mob to destroy their town, and also advising them to place out guards to watch the motions of the mob. He also directed them to raise a company and send them to Daviess to aid their brethren there against the mob which was marching down upon them from Carroll. This the 'Mormons' did; they mustered a company of about sixty men, who proceeded to Diahman. When General Parks arrived at Far West as aforesaid and learned that General Doniphan had disbanded his men, he expressed great dissatisfaction. The same evening on which General Parks disbanded his company as aforesaid he pro-

ceeded to Diahman, in order to learn what the mob were doing there, and if possible to protect the 'Mormons.'

"When General Parks had arrived in Daviess he found that the mob had commenced its operations there, which was on the 20th October, 1838. They commenced by burning the house of a man who had gone to Tennessee on business and left his wife at home with two small children. When the house was burned down, the wife and two small children were left in the snow, and she had to walk three miles before she could find a shelter, carrying her two children all that distance, and had to wade Grand River, which was three feet deep. The mob on the same evening burned seven other houses, burning and destroying all the property that they thought proper. The next morning, Colonel Lyman Wight, an officer in the militia, inquired of General Parks what was to be done, as he now saw the course the mob was determined to pursue. General Parks replied that he (Wight) should take a company of men and give the mob battle, and that he would be responsible for the act, saying that they could have no peace with the mob until they had given them a scourging.

"On the next morning, in obedience to his order, David W. Patten was dispatched with one hundred men under his command to meet the mob as they were advancing from Carroll, with directions to protect the citizens and collect and bring into Far West such of the 'Mormons' as were scattered through the county, and unprotected, and if the mob interfered he must fight them. The company under the command of Patten was the same, in part, that had gone from Far West by the order of General Doniphan to protect the citizens of Daviess. As Patten went in the direction of the mob, they fled before him, leaving their cannon, which Patten took possession of. The mob dispersed. Patten with his men then returned to Daviess County. Patten in a few days after returned to Far West. It was now supposed that the difficulties were at an end. But contrary to expectation, on the evening of the 23d October messengers arrived at Far West and informed the citizens that a body of armed men had made their appearance in the south part of

the county, and that they were burning houses, destroying property, and threatening the 'Mormon' citizens with death unless they left the county the next morning by ten o'clock, or renounced their religion.

"About midnight another messenger arrived with news of the like tenor. Patten collected about sixty men and proceeded to the scene of the disturbance, to protect if possible the lives and property of the 'Mormon' citizens. On his arrival at the neighborhood where the first disturbance had commenced, he found that the mob had gone to another neighborhood to prosecute their acts of plunder and outrage. He marched a short distance and unexpectedly came upon the encampment of the mob. The guards of the mob fired upon him and killed one of his men. Patten then charged the mob, and after a few fires the mob dispersed and fled, but Patten was killed and another of his men. After the fight and the dispersion of the mob, Patten's company returned to Far West. The report of the proceedings created much excitement. The community were made to believe that the 'Mormons' were in rebellion against the law; whereas the above facts show they were an injured people, standing up in the defense of their persons and their property.

"At this time the Governor of the State issued an order to General Clark to raise several thousand men and march against the 'Mormons' and drive them from the State, or 'exterminate them.' Major-General Lucas and Brigadier-General Wilson collected three or four thousand men; and with this formidable force commenced their march and arrived at Far West. In their rear marched General Clark with another formidable force.

"In the meantime the 'Mormons' had not heard of these immense preparations, and so far from expecting an armed force under the orders of the State to war against them, were daily expecting a force from the Governor to protect their lives and their property from the mob.

"When this formidable array first made its appearance, intent upon peace the 'Mormons' sent a white flag several miles to meet them, to ascertain the reason why an armed

force was marching against them, and what we might expect at their hands. They gave us no satisfaction, but continued marching towards Far West. Immediately on their arrival a man came bearing a white flag from their camp. He was interrogated about his business; he answered the interrogations, saying they wanted three persons out of Far West before they massacred the rest. Those persons refused to go, and he returned back to the camp. He was closely followed by General Doniphan and his whole brigade marching to the city of Far West in line of battle. The citizens also of Far West formed a line of battle in full front of Doniphan's army; upon this Doniphan ordered a halt, and then a retreat. Night closed upon both parties without any collision.

"On the next day, towards evening, the 'Mormons' were officially informed that the Governor of the State had sent this immense force against them to massacre them or drive them from the State. As soon as the 'Mormons' learned that this order had the sanction of the Governor of the State, they determined to make no resistance; to submit themselves to the authorities of the State, however tyrannical and unjust soever the exercise of that authority might be.

"The commanders of the Missouri militia before Far West sent a messenger into the town, requesting an interview in their camp with five of the principal citizens among the 'Mormons,' pledging their faith for their safe return on the following morning at eight o'clock. Invited, as they supposed, to propose and receive terms of peace, and under the pledge of a safe conduct, Lyman Wight, George W. Robinson, Joseph Smith, Jr., P. P. Pratt, and Sidney Rigdon went towards the camp of the militia. Before they arrived at the camp, they were surrounded by the whole army; and by order of General Lucas put under guard, and marched to the camp, and were told that they were prisoners of war. A court-martial was held that night, and they, without being heard, and in the absence of all proof, condemned to be shot next morning.

"The execution of this bloody order was prevented by the manly protest of General Doniphan. He denounced the act

as cold-blooded murder, and withdrew his brigade. This noble stand taken by General Doniphan prevented the murder of the prisoners. It is here worthy of note that seventeen preachers of the gospel were on this court-martial, and were in favor of the sentence.

"The next morning the prisoners were marched under a strong guard to Independence, in Jackson County, and after being detained there for a week, they were marched to Richmond, where General Clark then was with his troops. Here a court of inquiry was held before Judge King; this continued from the 11th until the 28th of November; while the five prisoners were kept in chains, and about fifty other 'Mormons,' taken at Far West, were penned up in an open, unfinished courthouse. In this mock court of inquiry the defendants were prevented from giving any testimony on their part, by an armed force at the courthouse; they were advised by their lawyers not to bring any, as they would be in danger of their lives, or drove out of the county; so there was no testimony examined only against them.

"In this inquiry a great many questions were asked relative to religious opinions. The conclusion of the court of inquiry was to send the prisoners to jail upon a charge of treason.

"They do not deem it necessary to detail their sufferings while in prison; the horrors of a prison for four long months, in darkness, in want, alone, and during the cold of winter, can better be conceived than expressed. In the following April the prisoners were sent to the county of Daviess for trial; they were then indicted for treason, and a change of venue was taken to Boone County. The prisoners were sent to the county of Boone, and while on their way made their escape and fled to the State of Illinois.

"That they were suffered to escape, admits of no doubt. The truth is, the State of Missouri had become ashamed of their proceedings against the 'Mormons,' and as the best means of getting out of the scrape, gave the prisoners an opportunity to escape. In proof of this, the prisoners have ever since been living publicly in the State of Illinois, and the Executive of Missouri have made no demand upon the

Executive of Illinois. Can it be supposed that the people of Missouri would thus tamely submit to the commission of treason by a portion of their citizens, and make no effort to punish the guilty, when they were thus publicly living in an adjoining State? Is not this passiveness evidence [that] they knew the 'Mormons' were innocent and the citizens of Missouri wrong?

"But to return to the operations of General Lucas before Far West; we need only say that the exterminating order of Governor Boggs was carried into full effect. After the above-named individuals were taken prisoners, all the 'Mormons' in Far West, about five hundred in number, surrendered up their arms to the militia without any resistance. The 'Mormons' now fled in every direction—women and children, through the dead of winter, marked their footsteps with blood as they fled from the State of Missouri.

"The orders of the Governor were that they should be driven from the State or destroyed. About fifteen thousand souls, between the sacking of Far West and spring, abandoned their homes, their property, their all, hurried by the terrors of their armed pursuers, in want of every necessary of life, with bleeding hearts sought refuge in the State of Illinois, where they now reside.

"We cannot trespass upon your time by the relation of cases of individual suffering; they would fill a volume. We forbear for our regard to humanity, to detail the particulars of the conduct of the Missouri militia. We could relate instances of house burnings, destruction of property, robbings, rapes, and murder, that would shame humanity. One instance as a sample of many which they enacted: Two hundred of the militia came suddenly upon some 'Mormon' families emigrating to the State, and then encamped at Haun's mill in Caldwell County. The 'Mormon' men and children took refuge in an old log house which had been used as a blacksmith's shop. On seeing the militia approach, the 'Mormons' cried for quarter, but in vain; they were instantly fired upon; eighteen fell dead; and their murderers, putting the muzzles of their guns between the logs, fired indiscriminately upon children, upon the dead and

dying. One little boy, whose father (Warren Smith) had just been shot dead, cried piteously to the militia to spare his life. The reply was, 'Kill him, kill him [with an oath], he is the son of a damned Mormon.' At this they shot his head all open and left him dead by the side of his father. About the same time an old man by the name of McBride, a soldier of the Revolution, came up to them and begged his life; but they hewed him to pieces with an old corn cutter. They then loaded themselves with plunder and departed.

"Your petitioners have thus given a brief outline of the history of the 'Mormon' persecutions in Missouri—all which they can prove to be true, if an opportunity be given them. It will be seen from this their brief statement, that neither the 'Mormons' as a body nor individuals of that body have been guilty of any offense against the laws of Missouri, or of the United States; but their only offense has been their religious opinion.

"The above statement will also show that the 'Mormons' on all occasions submitted to the laws of the land, and yielded to its authority in every extremity, and at every hazard, at the risk of life and property. The above statement will illustrate another truth: that wherever the 'Mormons' made any resistance to the mob, it was in self-defense; and for these acts of self-defense they always had the authority and sanction of the officers of the law for so doing. Yet they, to the number of about fifteen thousand souls, have been driven from their homes in Missouri. Their property, to the amount of two millions of dollars, has been taken from them, or destroyed. Some of them have been murdered, beaten, bruised, or lamed, and have all been driven forth, wandering over the world without homes, without property.

"But the loss of property does not comprise half their sufferings. They were human beings, possessed of human feelings and human sympathies. Their agony of soul was the bitterest drop in the cup of their sorrows.

"For these wrongs the 'Mormons' ought to have some redress; yet how and where shall they seek and obtain it? Your Constitution guarantees to every citizen, even the

humblest, the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. It promises to all, religious freedom, the right to all to worship God beneath their own vine and fig tree, according to the dictates of their conscience. It guarantees to all the citizens of the several States the right to become citizens of any one of the States, and to enjoy all the rights and immunities of the citizens of the State of his adoption. Yet of all these rights have the 'Mormons' been deprived. They have, without a cause, without a trial, been deprived of life, liberty, and property. They have been persecuted for their religious opinions. They have been driven from the State of Missouri, at the point of the bayonet, and prevented from enjoying and exercising the rights of citizens of the State of Missouri. It is the theory of our laws that for the protection of every legal right there is provided a legal remedy. What, then, we would respectfully ask, is the remedy of the 'Mormons?' Shall they apply to the legislature of the State of Missouri for redress? They have done so. They have petitioned, and these petitions have been treated with silence and contempt. Shall they apply to the federal courts? They were, at the time of the injury, citizens of the State of Missouri. Shall they apply to the court of the State of Missouri? Whom shall they sue? The order for their destruction, their extermination, was granted by the Executive of the State of Missouri. Is not this a plea of justification for the loss of individuals, done in pursuance of that order? If not, before whom shall the 'Mormons' institute a trial? Shall they summon a jury of the individuals who composed the mob? An appeal to them were in vain. They dare not go to Missouri to institute a suit; their lives would be in danger.

"For ourselves, we see no redress, unless it is awarded by the Congress of the United States. And here we make our appeal as *American Citizens*, as *Christians*, and as *men*—believing that the high sense of justice which exists in your honorable bodies will not allow such oppression to be practiced upon any portion of the citizens of this vast republic with impunity; but that some measures which your wisdom may dictate may be taken, so that the great body of people who

have been thus abused may have redress for the wrongs which they have suffered. And to your decision they look with confidence; hoping it may be such as shall tend to dry up the tear of the widow and orphan, and again place in situations of peace those who have been driven from their homes and have had to wade through scenes of sorrow and distress.

"And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc."— *Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 433-441.

The following letter and postscript give some interesting information concerning the movements and experiences of the committee:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, Corner of Missouri and Third Streets, December 5, 1839.

"*Dear Brother Hyrum, President, and to the Honorable High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints – to whom be fellowship, love, and the peace of Almighty God extended, and the prayer of faith forever and ever. Amen.*

"Your fellow laborers, Joseph Smith, Jr., Elias Higbee, and agents as well as the servants that are sent by you to perform one of the most arduous and responsible duties, and also to labor in the most honorable cause that ever graced the pages of human existence, respectfully show by these lines that we have taken up our cross thus far, and that we arrived in this city on the morning of the 28th November, and spent the most of that day in looking up a boarding house, which we succeeded in finding. We found as cheap boarding as can be had in this city.

"On Friday morning, 29th, we proceeded to the house of the President. We found a very large and splendid palace, surrounded with a splendid inclosure, decorated with all the fineries and elegancies of this world. We went to the door and requested to see the President, when we were immediately introduced into an upper appartment, where we met the President, and were introduced into his parlor, where we presented him with our letters of introduction. As soon as he had read one of them he looked upon us with a kind of half frown, and said, 'What can I do? I can do nothing for

you! If I do anything I shall come in contact with the whole State of Missouri.'

"But we were not to be intimidated; and demanded a hearing, and constitutional rights. Before we left him he promised to reconsider what he had said, and observed that he felt to sympathize with us on account of our sufferings.

"Now we shall endeavor to express our feelings and views concerning the President, as we have been eyewitnesses of his majesty. He is a small man, sandy complexion, and ordinary features; with frowning brow, and considerable body, but not well proportioned as to his arms and legs; and to use his own words, is 'quite fat.' On the whole we think he is without body or parts, as no one part seems to be proportioned to another; therefore instead of saying body and parts, we say body and part, or partyism if you please to call it. And in fine, to come directly to the point, he is so much a fop or a fool (for he judged our cause before he knew it) we could find no place to put truth into him.

"We do not say the saints shall not vote for him, but we do say boldly, (though it need not be published in the streets of Nauvoo, neither among the daughters of the Gentiles,) that we do not intend he shall have our votes.

"We have spent the remainder of our time in hunting up the representatives, in order to get our case before the House; in giving them letters of introduction, etc., and in getting acquainted. A meeting of the delegation of the State of Illinois was appointed to-day, to consult for bringing our case before Congress. The gentlemen from Illinois are worthy men, and have treated us with the greatest kindness, and are ready to do all that is in their power; but you are aware, brethren, that they with us have all the prejudices, superstition, and bigotry of an ignorant generation to contend with; nevertheless we believe our case will be brought before the House, and we will leave the event with God; he is our Judge, and the avenger of our wrongs.

"For a general thing there is but little solidity and honorable deportment among those who are sent here to represent the people; but a great deal of pomposity and show.

"We left President Rigdon and others on the road, and received a letter from them this day. They were, at the date of the letter, on the 29th of November, near Washington, in Pennsylvania, expecting to stop a day or two at his brother's on account of his ill health. He has occasionally a chill yet, but is not dangerous. We expect him here soon.

"We have already commenced forming some very honorable acquaintances, and have thus far been prospered as much as we had anticipated, if not more. We have had a pleasing interview with Judge Young, who proposed to furnish us with expense money. We can draw on him for funds to publish our book, and we want you to raise some more money for us, and deposit it in the Branch Bank in Quincy, to be drawn to the order of Judge Young. Send us the amount of your deposit, taking a receipt of the same. You need not be afraid to do this. We think from the proceeds of the sale of books we can make it all straight. Do therefore be punctual, as much depends upon it. We cannot accomplish the things for which we were sent without some funds. You very well know, brethren, we were contented to start, trusting in God, with little or nothing. We have met with but one accident since we started. The lock of our trunk was broken off, and Brother Lyman Wight's petition is missing; but we trust there is a copy of it preserved; if there is, you will please forward it immediately, with the name and affidavit affixed to it.

"For God's sake, brethren, be wide-awake, and arm us with all the power possible, for now is the time or never. We want you should get all the influential men you can of that section of country, of Iowa, and of every other quarter, to write letters to the members of Congress, using their influence in our behalf, and to keep their minds constantly upon the subject.

"Please to forward this to our wives.

"Yours in the bonds of the everlasting covenant,

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
"ELIAS HIGBEE.

"P. S.—Congress has been in session four days, and the House of Representatives is not yet organized, in consequence of some seats being contested in the New Jersey delegation. They have this day succeeded in electing John Q. Adams to the chair pro tem.; but whether they will get their speaker and clerk chosen, is yet unknown, as there is a great deal of wind blown off on the occasion on each day. There is such an itching disposition to display their oratory on the most trivial occasions, and so much etiquette, bowing and scraping, twisting and turning, to make a display of their witticism, that it seems to us rather a display of folly and show, more than substance and gravity, such as becomes a great nation like ours. However, there are some exceptions.

"A warm feeling has been manifested in the discussion of the House to-day, and it seems as much confusion as though the nation had already began to be vexed. We came with one of the Missouri members from Wheeling to this place, who was drunk but once, and that however was most of the time; there was but one day but what he could navigate, and that day he was keeled over, so he could eat no dinner. The horses ran away with the stage; they ran about three miles; Brother Joseph climbed out of the stage, got the lines, and stopped the horses, and also saved the life of a lady and child. He was highly commended by the whole company for his great exertions and presence of mind through the whole affair. Elias Higbee jumped out of the stage at a favorable moment, just before they stopped, with a view to assist in stopping them, and was but slightly injured. We were not known to the stage company until after our arrival.

"In our interview with the President, he interrogated us wherein we differed in our religion from the other religions of the day. Brother Joseph said we differed in mode of baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. We considered that all other considerations were contained in the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we deemed it unnecessary to make many words in preaching the gospel to him. Suffice it to say he has got our testimony. We watch

the post office, but have received no letters from our sections of the country. Write instantly.

"Yours with respect,

"J. S., Jr.
"E. H."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 452–454.

Further information is chronicled in the following letter:—

"Washington City, Corner of Missouri and Third Streets, December 7, 1839.

"*To Seymour Brunson and the Honorable High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints:*—

"Your humble servants, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Elias Higbee, again address you for the purpose of informing you of our proceedings here in relation to our business and prospects of success. We deem it unimportant to say anything in relation to our journey, arrival, and interview with his Excellency, the President of these United States; as they were mentioned in a letter lately addressed to President Hyrum Smith and the High Council. We mentioned in that letter the appointment of a meeting to be held by the Illinois delegation, to consult upon the best measures of getting our business brought before Congress. They met yesterday in one of the committee rooms of the Capitol. All the delegation except the ex-Governor Reynolds were present—who is now one of the representatives in Congress, and on account of whose absence the meeting was adjourned until to-day at eleven o'clock; however, the subject was partially introduced, and Mr. Robinson took a stand against us, so far as concerned our presenting claims to be liquidated by the United States.

"We took a stand against him, asserting our constitutional rights. Brother Joseph maintained the ground in argument against him firmly and respectfully, setting forth the injuries that we have received, and the appeals that we have made to the judiciary of Missouri, and also the Governor; their refusals from time to time to do us justice, also the impracticability of doing anything in the judiciary courts of Missouri, which tribunal Mr. Robinson thought was the only proper place for our claims; but he finally said

it was his first impression on the subject, not having considered the matter, but would take it into further consideration.

"Judge Young of the Senate made some remarks in our favor, saying he would get the opinion of some of the prominent members of the Senate, who were also lawyers, and would report to us the next meeting. We met this day according to appointment, and very friendly feelings were manifested on the occasion. Our business was taken up, and Judge Young stated that he had asked the opinion of Judge White, of Tennessee, of Mr. Wright and several other members whose names we do not recollect, but were prominent members of the Senate. They all declined giving an opinion at present, as it was a matter that they had not considered sufficiently to decide upon at this time. The meeting then, after some deliberations, decided in our favor, which decision was that a memorial and petition be drawn up in a concise manner, (our representatives promising so to do,) and Judge Young present them to the Senate, that they might thereby refer it to the proper committee, with all the accompanying documents, and order the same to be printed.

"We want you to assist us now, and also to forward us your certificates that you hold for lands in Missouri; your claims to preëmption rights, and affidavits to prove that soldiers were quartered on us and in our houses without our consent or any special act of law for that purpose, contrary to the Constitution of the United States. We think Brother Ripley and others will recollect the circumstances and facts relative to this matter. You will also recollect the circumstances of Brother Joseph and others being refused the privilege of *habeas corpus* by the authorities of Missouri.

"These facts must be authenticated by affidavits. Let any particular transaction of the outrages in Missouri that can be sworn to by the sufferers or those who were eyewitnesses to the facts, be sent, specifying the particulars. Have the evidence *bona fide* to the point.

"The House of Representatives is not yet organized. Much feeling and confusion have prevailed in the House for a few days past. The House succeeded in electing John Q.

Adams chairman pro tem. on the 5th instant. They have not yet elected their speaker or clerk. The Senate can do nothing of consequence until the House is organized; neither can the President's Message until then be received. We design taking a paper and forwarding it to you.

"Your brethren in the bonds of the everlasting covenant,

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR.
"ELIAS HIGBEE."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 471, 472.

During the latter part of December President Smith made a visit to Philadelphia, and Elders Higbee and Rockwell followed him by carriage, leaving Elder Rigdon in Washington, sick, attended by Doctor Foster.

The 14th of January, 1840, Elder Rigdon and Doctor Foster arrived at Philadelphia. Until about the last of the month they visited and preached in different places, when Joseph Smith, Elias Higbee, Doctor Foster, and O. P. Rockwell returned to Washington, leaving Elder Rigdon sick in Philadelphia.

President Smith had interviews with President Van Buren, also with John C. Calhoun, of which he writes as follows:—

Interviews with Van Buren and Calhoun.

"During my stay I had an interview with Martin Van Buren, the President, who treated me very insolently, and it was with great reluctance he listened to our message, which when he had heard, he said, '*Gentlemen*, YOUR CAUSE IS JUST, BUT I CAN DO NOTHING FOR YOU;' and, '*If I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri.*' His whole course went to show that he was an office-seeker, that self-aggrandizement was his ruling passion, and that justice and righteousness were no part of his composition. I found him such a man as I could not conscientiously support at the head of our noble republic. I also had an interview with Mr. John C. Calhoun, whose conduct towards me very ill became his station. I became satisfied there was little use for me to tarry to press the just claims of the saints on the protection of the President or Congress, and staid but a few days, taking passage in company with Rockwell and Foster on the railroad

Joseph returns.

and stages back to Dayton, Ohio."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 584, 585.

Higbee remains.

Judge Higbee, who remained in Washington to look after the interests of the petition, wrote under date of February 20, 1840, as follows:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, February 20, 1840.

"*Dear Brother:*—I have just returned from the committee room, wherein I spoke about one hour and a half. There were but three of the committee present, for which I am very sorry. I think they will be obliged to acknowledge the justice of our cause. They paid good attention, and I think my remarks were well received. It was a special meeting appointed to hear me by my request. The Missouri senators and representatives were invited to attend. Dr. Linn and Mr. Jamieson attended, and God gave me courage, so that I was not intimidated by them. Dr. Linn, I thought, felt a little uneasy at times; but manifested a much better spirit afterwards than Mr. Jamieson.

"I told them firstly that I represented a suffering people, who had been deprived, together with myself, of their rights in Missouri; who numbered something like fifteen thousand souls; and not only they, but many others were deprived of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. At least the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand freeborn citizens are deprived of the enjoyment of citizenship in each or every State; that we had no ingress in the State of Missouri; nor could any of us have, only at the expense of our lives; and this by the order of the Executive.

"I then took their own declaration of the cause of our expulsion; referred them to P. P. Pratt's pamphlet, which I held in my hand; then showed that the first accusation therein contained was on account of our religious tenets; furthermore, that the others were utterly groundless. I went on to prove that the whole persecution from beginning to end was grounded on our religious faith. For evidence of this I referred them to Porter Rockwell's testimony and P. Powell's. I stated that there was abundant testimony to prove this to be a fact, among the documents.

"I then gave a brief history of the persections from the first settlement in the State to our final expulsion. I also stated that the society were industrious, inoffensive, and innocent of crime; had the *Times and Seasons*, from which I read Governor Lucas' letter to Alanson Ripley. I also referred to Judge Young's letter from Pike County, the clerk's, and others, respecting our character in their section of country. I gave them some hints of the Haun's mill massacre, and the murder of the two little boys, but referred them more particularly to the documents for information concerning those things; and furthermore that I had not come here to instruct them in what they were to do in the case, but to present them with the facts, having all confidence in this honorable body (the Congress), believing them to be honorable men.

"I demanded from them a restitution of all our rights and privileges as citizens of the United States, and damages for all the losses we had sustained in consequence of our persecutions and expulsion from the State; and told them we could have recourse nowhere else on earth that I knew of; that we could not sue an army of soldiers, neither could we go into the State to sue anyone else. I told them that I knew not how far Congress had jurisdiction in this case, or how far they had not; but as far as they had, we claimed the exercise of it for our relief; for we were an injured people.

"These and some others were the principal subjects of my speech, after which Mr. Jamieson said he was once in the 'Mormons'' favor; but afterwards learned that it was impossible to live among them, for they stole their neighbors' hogs; and there being so much testimony, he believed it, etc., etc. I replied something like this: making statements was one thing, and proving them was another. Mr. Linn then said he wished me to answer one thing; viz.: If the legislature of Missouri did not refuse to investigate the subject of our difficulties solely on account of the trials then pending. In reply I assured him that I knew they had refused us an investigation; but as to that being the cause, I did not know, but told him they might have done it

when those trials were discharged. He seemed to think it injustice for Congress to take it up before the legislature had acted on it.

"I occupied all but a few minutes of the time when the Senate were to go into session, so they adjourned until the morrow at ten o'clock, when the Missourians are to reply. Mr. Linn observed that there was a gentleman whom he would have before the committee on the morrow who lived in the upper part of Missouri, that knew everything relative to the affair. I presume *he* is to put in his gab. I suppose I must attend the committee, as I am solicited by the chairman; but I would rather take a flogging, because I must sit still and hear a volubility of lies concerning myself and brethren. *Lies* I say, for they have nothing but *lies* to tell, that will in the least degree justify their conduct in Missouri. Mr. Linn said he had written to Missouri to get all the evidence taken before Judge King, so that if the thing must come up he would be prepared to have a full investigation of the matter, and that the committee should have power to send for persons, papers, etc., etc.

"In my remarks I stated that an article of the Constitution was violated in not granting compulsory process for witnesses in behalf of the prisoners; and that the main evidence adduced, upon which they were committed, (as I understood,) was from Dr. Avard, who once belonged to our society, and was compelled to swear as suited them best, in order to save his life; that I knew him to be a man whose character was the worst I ever knew in all my associations or intercourse with mankind; and that I had evidence by affidavits before them, of five or six respectable men, to prove that all he swore to was false.

"Brethren and sisters, I want your especial prayers that God may give me wisdom to manage this case according to his will, and that he will protect me from our foes, both publicly and privately.

"Yours in the bonds of love,

"ELIAS HIGBEE."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 598, 599.

The next day he wrote as follows:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, February 21, 1840.

"*Dear Brethren:*—I have just returned again from the committee room. Mr. Linn and Mr. Jamieson made some remarks, to which I replied. Mr. Linn is much more mild and reasonable (mostly perhaps from policy) than Mr. Jamieson, who related a long lingo of stuff, which he said was proven before the legislature, which amounted to about this: that Joseph Smith gave the 'Mormons' liberty to trespass on their neighbors' property; also told them that it all belonged to them, as they were Israelites. Upon the strength of this they became the aggressors. I replied that the Jackson County people in their declaration of causes that induced them to unite in order to drive the 'Mormons,' the crime of stealing or trespassing was not mentioned; and there was no docket, either clerk's or justice's, that could show it, in Jackson, Clay, Caldwell, or in Daviess Counties; and that no man ever heard such teaching or doctrine from Joseph Smith or any other 'Mormon;' that we held to no such doctrine, neither believed in any such thing.

Higbee's reports.

"I mentioned some things contained in our Book of Doctrine and Covenants; Government and Laws in General. I told them we had published long ago our belief on that subject. Some things I recollected, which were that all persons should obey the laws of the government under which they lived, and that ecclesiastical power should not be exercised to control our civil rights in any way; particularly that ecclesiastical power should only be used in the church, and then no further than fellowship was concerned. I think they injured their cause to-day. There is another appointment for them on the morrow at ten o'clock. Their friend they said was sick, consequently could not attend to-day. Mr. Linn said he thought it would be time enough to take it up in Congress when they could not get justice from the State, and that he was confident there was a disposition in the State of Missouri to do us justice, should we apply; that the reason of their refusing to investigate before was, the trials of the prisoners were pending; and further said (when speaking of the trials before Judge King) that he understood

from gentlemen that the prisoners commended the Judge for his clemency and fair dealing towards them and acknowledged they were guilty in part of the charge preferred against them. Mr. Linn said he presumed I was not present when said men were tried. I replied in the negative, that I was not there, neither anybody else that could be a witness in their favor. The lawyers advised them to keep away if they desired the salvation of their lives. I observed that I had read the proceedings of the legislature, but did not now recollect them; but since yesterday I have been reflecting on the subject, and recollect a conversation I had with Mr. Harvey Redfield, who was the bearer of the petition to Jefferson City, and he informed me that the reasons why they refused an investigation was on account of the upper Missouri members being so violently opposed to it that they used their utmost exertions, and finally succeeded in getting a majority against it; and the reason of their taking this course was in consequence of one of their members being in the massacre at Haun's mill; viz., Mr. Ashley; and Cornelius Gillium was a leader of the first mob in Daviess County, which the militia were called out to suppress.

"Mr. Linn said if it must come out in Congress it should be fully investigated, and they, the committee, should have power to send for persons and papers; for if we have a right to claim damages of the United States, so had they, if all were true concerning the acts alleged against the 'Mormons;' that they had a right to ask the government to pay the war against the 'Mormons;' but finally seemed to disapprove of the exterminating order, which was admitted to have existed by Mr. Jamieson, or was issued by their legislature, but that no one ever thought of carrying it into effect. He said that General Clark merely advised the 'Mormons' to leave the State. To which I replied, General Clark's speech was before them; that I had stated some of its contents yesterday, and if it were necessary I could prove it by four or five hundred affidavits.

"Then Mr. Jamieson stated something about the prisoners making their escape, and that he had no doubt but that they could have a fair trial in Missouri, for the Legislature, to

his certain knowledge, passed a law whereby they had a right to choose any county in the State to be tried in; to which I replied that I understood such a law was passed, but notwithstanding, they could not get their trials in the county wherein they desired; for they were forced to go to Boone, whereas they desired to have their trials in Palmyra, where they could get their witnesses, as that was only sixteen miles from the river, and the other was a great distance. He said that Judge King certainly would not go contrary to law. I told him there were some affidavits in those documents that would tell him some things very strange concerning Judge King. Mr. Linn then wished to know if the affidavits were from anybody else save 'Mormons.' I replied that there were some others, but how many I knew not. He then wanted to know how they were certified, whether any clerk's name was attached in the business. I told him they were well authenticated by the courts of record, with the clerk's name attached thereto.

"After these things and some others were said, the committee refused to consult on the subject. Only the same three attended that were in yesterday. The chairman observed that they had not expressed any opinion relative to the subject, but observed his mind was made up in relation to the matter. I think, from all I have discovered, Mr. Smith, of Indiana, will be on the side of justice; but how the thing will terminate I cannot tell. Mr. Crittenden and Mr. Strange are the two absent members of the committee.

"Yours in the bond of love,

"ELIAS HIGBEE."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 599, 600.

On the 22d Mr. Higbee again wrote:—

"WASHINGTON, February 22, 1840.

"*Dear Brother:*—I have just returned from the committee room. The committee being present to-day, a Mr. Corwin, of St. Louis, formerly a Democratic editor, emptied his budget; which was as great a bundle of nonsense and stuff as could be thought of; I suppose not what he knew, but what gentlemen had told him; for instance, the religious General Clark and others. I confess I had hard work to restrain my

feelings some of the time, but I did succeed in keeping silence tolerably well. Himself, Mr. Jamieson, and Mr. Linn summoned all the energies of their minds to impress upon the assembly that Joe Smith, as he called him, led the people altogether by revelation, in their temporal, civil, and political matters, and by this means caused all the 'Mormons' to vote the whole hog ticket on one side, except two persons. But when I got an opportunity of speaking I observed that Joseph Smith never led any of the church in these matters, as we considered him to have no authority, neither did he presume to exercise any of that nature; that revelations were only concerning spiritual things in the church; and the Bible being our standard, we received no revelations contrary to it. I also observed that we were not such ignoramuses, perhaps, as he fain would have people believe us to be; and some other things on this subject. I then told him that every man exercised the right of suffrage according to his better judgment, or without any ecclesiastical restraint being put upon him; that it was all false about a revelation on voting; and the reason of our voting that ticket was in consequence of the democratic principles having been taught us from our infancy that they ever believed and extended equal rights to all; and that we had been much persecuted previous to that time, many threatenings being made from the counties round about, as well as among us, who took the lead in political affairs. It was true we advised our brethren to vote this ticket, telling them we thought that party would protect our rights, and not suffer us to be driven from our lands as we had hitherto been, believing it to be by far the most liberal party; but in that we were mistaken, because when it came to the test there were as many Democrats turned against us as Whigs; and indeed less liberality and political freedom was manifested by them; for one Whig paper came out decidedly in our favor.

"I made these remarks partly from motives which I may at another time explain to you. He laid great stress on the trials at Richmond, and a constitution, that he said Avard and others (who were in good standing in the 'Mormon' Church at this time) swore to; then went on to relate what

it contained, and that it was written by Sidney Rigdon.

"I flatly denied it, and I could bring all the 'Mormons,' both men, women, and children, besides myself, that would swear before all the world that no such thing ever existed nor was thought of among the 'Mormons.'

"He then related some things which he said John Corrill had told him at the legislature, in Missouri; which were to the effect that the 'Mormons' had burnt a number of houses in Daviess County, and that for himself, if he could not get to heaven by being an honest man, he would never go there. Then, I, speaking of some of the dissenters, told him Corrill was anxious to get into the church again, and that it was the fact in regard to damages having been done, after we had been driven from Jackson and Clay, relating the De Witt scrape, and calling of the militia, and the mob's marching to Daviess, and saying they would drive the 'Mormons' from there to Caldwell, and then to hell; there burning our houses; that small parties on both sides were on the alert, and probably did some damages; though I was not personally knowing to, as I was not there. I told him Joseph Smith held no office in the country, neither was he a military man, and did not take gun in hand in the affair to my knowledge. I then stated that John Corrill's affidavit, which contained some important facts, was before them,—which facts I forgot to mention yesterday,—importing that he (J. Corrill) was convinced he would get no redress in Missouri (he being a member of the legislature, ought to know). I saw the chairman of the committee not long since, who informed me that the committee had not come to a final conclusion on this matter as yet.

"I saw Mr. Jamieson on the walk, who said the first thing the committee would do was to decide whether they would take it up and consider it or not; and if they do take it up according to request, the Senate will grant the committee power to send for persons and papers. The committee made some inquiries respecting our religion, and I answered them as a matter of course, as well as I was able. They inquired very particularly concerning how much land we had entered there, and how much of it yet remained unsold; when Mr.

Corwin observed that we had never entered much land there, but were squatters. I then described the size of Caldwell and Daviess Counties, giving an explanation on these matters.

"I suppose perhaps on Monday or Tuesday we shall know something relative to this matter. Whether power be given them to send for persons and papers, you may see where they depend to rally their forces; viz., by endeavoring to make us treasonable characters, by the Constitution, said to govern us, and that everything both civil and political among us is done by revelation. These points I desire to blow to the four winds, and that you will select a number of firm brethren, possessing good understanding, who will tell the truth and willingly send me their names when they know they are wanted. Send plenty of them. They will get two dollars per day, and ten cents a mile to and from, expense money. Do not send them until their subpœnas get there, for they will not draw expense money only for going home.

"I will suggest a few names: Alanson Ripley, King Follet, Amasa Lyman, Francis M. Higbee, as they know concerning the De Witt scrape; also send Charles C. Rich, Seymour Brunson, and others. You will know whom to send better than myself.

"If the Missourians should send for you, I would say consult God about going.

"E. HIGBEE.

"P. S.--Mr. Jamieson stated to me this evening, if the 'Mormons' could make it appear that they had been wronged, they would use their influence in having them redressed, so the shame should not fall on the whole State, but on those which had been guilty. I then observed that there was a minority in the legislature much in our favor, which seemed to please him, as they attended several times to it. The cause of my being so particular is to show you the whole ground I have taken in this matter; that there may be no inconsistency. If I have erred in this matter, it is my head and not my heart.

"E. HIGBEE."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 611, 612.

Again he wrote:—

"WASHINGTON, February 26, 1840.

"*Dear Brother:*—I am just informed by General Wall (the chairman of the committee), before whom or to whom our business is referred, that the decision is against us, or in other words unfavorable; that they believe redress can only be had in Missouri, the courts, and legislature. He says they will report this week. I desire to get a copy of it, and also the papers. I feel a conscience void of offense towards God and man in this matter; that I have discharged my duty here; and as I wish not to be on expense, as soon as I can write to President Rigdon, get my papers, and draw some money to bear my expenses, I shall bid adieu to this city, to return to my family and friends. I feel now that we have made our last appeal to all earthly tribunals; that we should now put our whole trust in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. We have a right now which we could not heretofore so fully claim—that is, of asking God for redress and redemption, as they have been refused us by man.

"ELIAS HIGBEE.

"To Joseph Smith, Jr."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 613.

The committee reported as follows:—

Committee report.

"Twenty-sixth Congress—First Session.—In Senate of the United States, March 4, 1840. Submitted, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed, the following report, made by Mr. Wall.

"The committee on the judiciary to whom was referred the memorial of a delegation of the Latter Day Saints, report:—

"The petition of the memorialists set forth in substance that a portion of their sect commenced a settlement in the county of Jackson, in the State of Missouri, in the summer of 1831; that they bought lands, built houses, erected churches, and established their homes, and engaged in all the various occupations of life; that they were expelled from that county in 1833 by a mob, under circumstances of great outrage, cruelty, and oppression, and against all law, and without any offense committed on their part, and to the destruction of property to the amount of $120,000; that the

society thus expelled amounted to about 12,000 souls; that no compensation was ever made for the destruction of their property in Jackson; that after their expulsion from Jackson County they settled in Clay County, on the opposite side of the Missouri River, where they purchased lands, and entered others at the land office; where they resided peaceably for three years, engaged in cultivation and other useful and active employments, when the mob again threatened their peace, lives, and property; and they became alarmed, and finally made a treaty with the citizens of Clay County, that they should purchase their lands, and the saints should remove; which was complied with on their part, and the saints removed to the county of Caldwell, where they took up their abode and reëstablished their settlement, not without heavy pecuniary losses and other inconveniences; that the citizens of Clay County never paid them for their lands, except for a small part; they remained in Caldwell from 1836 until the fall of 1838, and during that time had acquired, by purchase from the government, the settlers, and preëmptioners almost all the lands in the county of Caldwell and a portion of the lands in Daviess and Carroll Counties—the former county being almost entirely settled by the saints, and they were rapidly filling up the two latter counties.

"Those counties, when the saints first commenced their settlement, were for the most part wild and uncultivated, and they had converted them into large and well-improved farms, well stocked. Land had risen in value to ten or even twenty-five dollars per acre, and these counties were rapidly advancing in cultivation and wealth.

"That in August, 1838, a riot commenced, growing out of an attempt of a saint to vote, which resulted in creating great excitement and the perpetration of many scenes of lawless outrage, which are set forth in the petition. That they were finally compelled to fly from those counties, and on the 11th October, 1838, they sought safety by that means, with their families, leaving many of their effects behind. That they had previously applied to the constituted authorities of Missouri for protection, but in vain. They allege that they were pursued by the mob; that con-

flicts ensued; deaths occurred on each side; and finally a force was organized under the authority of the Governor of the State of Missouri, with orders to drive the saints from the State, or exterminate them. The saints thereupon determined to make no further resistance, but to submit themselves to the authorities of the State.

"Several of the saints were arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treason against the State, and the rest, amounting to about 15,000 souls, fled into other States, principally in Illinois, where they now reside.

"The petition is drawn up at great length, and sets forth with feeling and eloquence the wrongs of which they complain; justifies their own conduct, and aggravates that of those whom they call their persecutors, and concludes by saying they see no redress, unless it be obtained of the Congress of the United States, to whom they make their solemn, last appeal, as American citizens, as Christians, and as men; to which decision they say they will submit.

"The committee have examined the case presented by the petition, and heard the views urged by their agent, with care and attention; and after full examination and consideration, unanimously concur in the opinion—

"That the case presented for their investigation is not such a one as will justify or authorize any interposition by this government.

"The wrongs complained of are not alleged to be committed by any of the officers of the United States, or under the authority of its government in any manner whatever. The allegations in the petition relate to the acts of its citizens, and inhabitants and authorities of the State of Missouri, of which State the petitioners were at the time citizens or inhabitants.

"The grievances complained of in the petition are alleged to have been done within the territory of the State of Missouri. The committee under these circumstances have not considered themselves justified in inquiring into the truth or falsehood of the facts charged in the petition. If they are true, the petitioners must seek relief in the courts of judicature of the State of Missouri, or of the United States, which

has the appropriate jurisdiction to administer full and adequate redress for the wrongs complained of, and doubtless will do so fairly and impartially; or the petitioners may, if they see proper, apply to the justice and magnanimity of the State of Missouri—an appeal which the committee feel justified in believing will never be made in vain by the injured or oppressed.

"It can never be presumed that a State either wants the power or lacks the disposition to redress the wrongs of its own citizens, committed within her own territory, whether they proceed from the lawless acts of her officers or any other persons. The committee therefore report that they recommend the passage of the following resolution:—

" 'Resolved, That the committee on the judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the memorial in this case; and that the memorialists have leave to withdraw the papers which accompany their memorial.' "—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 613, 614.

On March 9 Elder Higbee again wrote:—

"WASHINGTON, March 9, 1840.

"*Dear Brother:*—I expected by this time that we would be through with our business, but the chairman of the committee gave notice last week he should call it up to-day in the Senate; though Mr. Young's having gone to Philadelphia, it will not be called up until his return, which will be on next Thursday, according to the information that I have obtained relative to this matter. If the resolution is passed, as annexed to the report, I shall get my papers and leave the city.

"I have written some letters to Brother Rigdon, which it seems he did not get. Brother Samuel Bennett writes that Bro. Rigdon left Philadelphia for the Jerseys on the 5th instant. He stated that he expects me to come there to go with him home, and that he would write me soon on the subject. I shall write for him to make the necessary arrangements. He says, Dr. Ells'[2] family left about a week ago for Commerce. Also that the church there numbers about one

[2] Josiah Ells, afterwards well known as one of the Twelve Apostles of the Reorganized Church.

hundred; and P. P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Brother Kimball, Brother Young, G. A. Smith, and Brother Hedlock were to sail from New York to England on the 7th instant.

"As I have lately written several letters to you, I shall bid adieu, not to write again until after the Senate acts upon our business. Mr. Robinson says he has sent you a report; notwithstanding, I shall inclose another for you.

"I have changed my place of boarding in consequence of Mrs. Richey's breaking up housekeeping, and gone to Baltimore. I am busy here at chimney corner preaching.

"Yours as ever in the bonds of everlasting love,

"E. HIGBEE.

"To President J. Smith, Jr., Commerce, Illinois.

"P. S.—Lest my previous letters should not come to hand, I merely say that I have been before the committee three days, and done all in my power to effect the object of our mission; have spoken my mind freely on the subject; and feel to have a conscience void of offense towards God in this matter. The submission of which the report makes mention was on condition they could not lawfully do anything for us; after examination we were to submit and wait until the Great Disposer of human events shall adjust these things, in that place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest (this I think is nearly the sentiment, though perhaps not the very words); and I for one hope and pray the time will soon come when they will not trouble us in the West, as they have hitherto done.

"There is a man here who owns two printing presses and much type, reading our books, (on whom I occasionally call,) I will with the assistance of God, get to come to the West as soon as possible with his press, that you may set him to printing the truth. He told me if we had any printing to do, he would do it cheap, and even go to the West if necessary.

"Give my respects to P. Rockwell, Dr. Foster, and also all the household of faith.

"E. H."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 615, 616.

On March 24 Elder Higbee reported as follows:—

"WASHINGTON CITY, March 24, 1840.

"*Dear Brother:*—Our business is at last ended here. Yesterday a resolution passed the Senate that the committee should be discharged, and that we might withdraw the accompanying papers, which I have done. I have also taken a copy of the memorial, and want to be off for the West immediately. I have not gotten a letter from President Rigdon, although I have frequently written to him. I have received a letter from Brother Bennett, stating that he was in the Jerseys, and that he was calculating to have me come that way and go home with him; and also that he had business which he wanted me to attend to at the office here. When he last wrote he stated that as yet he had no money to get home with, and I hardly know what course to take in regard to the matter. If I do not receive a letter in two or three days, I design leaving for Philadelphia or the West.

"There is one honest Quaker-looking sort of a man here, by the name of William Green, (instead of John Green, as I stated in a letter to Brother Robinson,) who has two iron printing presses, with other things necessary, that would come to Commerce, provided you could find work for him and inform him of the same. How much work there is to do I know not, therefore merely write that if such a man and establishment are wanted, you could easily obtain them, or would know where they could be obtained. He believes as much in our religion as any other, but not much in any.

"Yours in the Lord,

"E. HIGBEE.

"P. S.—I would just observe that information has reached this place, through some of the newspapers, that you have come out for Harrison. It is said that the information came by some gentlemen who obtained it from you whilst in your company in passing through the State of Indiana. Another paper states that one thousand houses are to be built in Commerce this season, which I hope is the truth.

"I would just observe (on the subject of our business) I am sorry Judge Young had not insisted on the motion to print our papers, as it would have been opposed; then a

speech from Clay and Mr. Preston would have been brought forth, as I have since learned; but I think it was a trick of the Missouri Senators to slide it along without making a noise, by its going to the committee as it did. Judge Young says he was anxious to have it brought before the committee, but seemed disposed to let it slide along easily, rather than run the risk of its being refused.

"If he had let those speeches been made, almost every one would have read them; which would have shamed Missouri, (if there is any shame in her,) and waked up the whole country, so that by another year Congress would do something for us. But there is no need of crying for spilt milk. I have done all I could in this matter, depending on the good judgment of Judge Young to legislate for us to the best advantage. I am inclined, however, to think if it was an error, it was one of the head, and not of the heart.

"Mr. Hotchkiss, of Fair Haven, Connecticut, has addressed a letter to yourself, Brother Rigdon and myself, which seems to be written with much good feeling. He desires to know concerning our business here, inviting us to make his house our home, should we travel in that region. He writes that his health is very bad. I have been talking with Mr. Steward concerning a memorial, requesting him to bring it before the House; who has promised to do so if he can. He says he will talk with some of the members respecting it. I have answered Mr. Hotchkiss' letter this day, and sent him the report of the committee.

"E. H."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 663, 664.

Joseph Smith gives an account of his return to Commerce, then frequently called Nauvoo, as follows:—

"When I had returned as far as Dayton, I found the horses which we left on our journey out, and from thence I pursued my journey through Indiana on horseback, in company with Dr. Foster, leaving Brother Rockwell at Dayton. The traveling being exceedingly bad, my progress was slow and wearisome.

"My clerk, James Mulholland, died on November 3, 1839, while I was absent, aged thirty-five years. He was a man

of fine education, and a faithful scribe and elder in the church.

"Wednesday, March 4, 1840. I arrived safely at Nauvoo, after a wearisome journey, through alternate snows and mud, having witnessed many vexatious movements in government officers, whose sole object should be the peace and prosperity and happiness of the whole people; but instead of this, I discovered that popular clamor and personal aggrandizement were the ruling principles of those in authority; and my heart faints within me when I see, by the visions of the Almighty, the end of this nation, if she continues to disregard the cries and petitions of her virtuous citizens, as she has done, and is now doing.

"I have also enjoyed many precious moments with the saints during my journey.

"On my way home I did not fail to proclaim the iniquity and insolence of Martin Van Buren towards myself and an injured people, which will have its effect upon the public mind; and may he never be elected again to any office of trust or power by which he may abuse the innocent and let the guilty go free.

"I depended on Dr. Foster to keep my daily journal during this journey, but he has failed me."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 613.

Thus ended what would appear to have been a fruitless effort to obtain redress. We have, to save space, omitted numerous affidavits and statements concerning the Missouri outrages; but we think most of the general facts, as well as some of the details, are now before the reader; and we leave it with a candid public to judge who were the aggressors, and whether justice was done to the oppressed or not.

The General Conference on April 8, 1840, passed the following:—

Action of Conference.

"He[3] then gave some account of his mission to Washington City, in company with President Rigdon and Judge Higbee, the treatment they received, and the action of the Senate on the memorial which was presented to them.

[3] President Smith.

"The meeting then called for the reading of the memorial, and the report of the committee on judiciary, to whom the same had been referred.—Which were read.

"It was then resolved that a committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this conference in reference to the report.

"Resolved, that Robert D. Foster, Orson Hyde, John E. Page, Joseph Wood, and Robert B. Thompson compose said committee, and report to this conference.

"Resolved that this meeting adjourn until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

"A hymn was then sung and the meeting was dismissed by Elder John Smith.

"Wednesday morning [8th], conference met pursuant to adjournment.

"A number were confirmed who had been baptized the previous evening.

"The meeting was then opened with prayer by Elder Marks.

"The committee appointed to draft resolutions on the report which was read yesterday, were then called upon to make their report.

"Robert B. Thompson of the committee then read the resolutions, as follows:—

"Whereas, we learn with deep sorrow, regret, and disappointment that the committee on judiciary, to whom was referred the memorial of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (commonly called Mormons) complaining of the grievances suffered by them in the State of Missouri, have reported unfavorably to our cause, to justice and humanity,

"Therefore,

"Resolved, 1st. That we consider the report of the committee on judiciary unconstitutional and subversive of the rights of a free people; and justly calls for the disapprobation of all the supporters and lovers of good government and republican principles.

"Resolved, 2d. That the committee state in their report that our memorial *aggravated* the case of our oppressors,

and at the same time say that they have not examined into the truth or falsehoods of the facts mentioned in said memorial.

"Resolved, 3d. That the memorial does not aggravate the conduct of our oppressors, as every statement set forth in said memorial was substantiated by indubitable testimony, therefore, we consider the statement of the committee in regard to that part as false and ungenerous.

"Resolved, 4th. That that part of the report referring us to the justice and magnanimity of the State of Missouri for redress, we deem it a great insult to our good sense, better judgment, and intelligence, when from numerous affidavits which were laid before the committee proved that we could only go into the State of Missouri contrary to the exterminating order of the Governor, and consequently at the risk of our lives.

"Resolved, 5th. That after repeated appeals to the constituted authorities of the State of Missouri for redress, which were in vain, we fondly hoped that in the Congress of the United States ample justice would have been rendered us; and upon that consideration alone, we pledged ourselves to abide their decision.

"Resolved, 6th. That the exterminating order of Governor Boggs is a direct infraction of the Constitution of the United States, and of the State of Missouri; and the committee in refusing to investigate the proceedings of [the] Executive and others of the State of Missouri, and turning a deaf ear to the cries of widows, orphans, and innocent blood, we deem no less than seconding the proceedings of that murderous mob, whose deeds are recorded in heaven, and justly calls down upon their heads the righteous judgments of an offended God.

"Resolved, 7th. That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the citizens of the State of Illinois for their kind, liberal, and generous conduct towards us; and that we call upon them, as well as every patriot in this vast republic, to aid us in all lawful endeavors to obtain redress for the injuries we have sustained.

"Resolved, 8th. That the thanks of this meeting be

tendered to the delegation of Illinois, for their bold, manly, noble, and independent course they have taken in presenting our case before the authorities of the nation, amid misrepresentation, contumely, and abuse which characterized us in our suffering condition.

"Resolved, 9th. That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Governor Carlin, of Illinois, Governor Lucas, of Iowa, for their sympathy, aid, and protection; and to all other honorable gentlemen who have assisted us in our endeavors to obtain redress.

"Resolved, 10th. That Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, and Elias Higbee, the delegates appointed by this church to visit the city of Washington to present our sufferings before the authorities of the nation, accept of the thanks of this meeting for the prompt and efficient manner in which they have discharged their duty; and that they be requested in the behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints throughout the world to continue to use their endeavors to obtain redress for a suffering people; and if all hopes of obtaining satisfaction (for the injuries done us) be entirely blasted, that they then appeal our case to the court of heaven, believing that the great Jehovah, who rules over the destiny of nations and who notices the falling sparrow, will undoubtedly redress our wrongs and ere long avenge us of our adversaries.

"It was then resolved that the report of the committee on judiciary, as well as the foregoing preamble and resolutions, be published in the Quincy papers."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 93, 94.

CHAPTER 20.

1839-1840.

AFFIDAVITS PRESENTED TO CONGRESS—SIMEON CARTER—W. F. CALHOON—J. M. BURK—JOHN LOWRY—JEDEDIAH OWEN—T. ALVORD—WM. HAWK—T. B. CLARK—U. V. STEWART—JOHN SMITH—SAMUEL SMITH—JAMES POWELL—JOHN SMITH—SMITH HUMPHREY—HENRY ROOT—JOSEPH CLARK—T. D. CASPER—J. W. JOHNSTON—OWEN COLE—E. MAGINN—A. GREEN—J. P. GREEN—A. A. LATHROP—BURR RIGGS—S. P. CURTIS—E. H. GROVES—JACOB FOUTS—F. G. WILLIAMS—JACOB SHUMAKER—LEVI RICHARDS—GIBSON GATES—DAVID PETTIGREW.

IN this chapter we introduce without special comment the statements and affidavits of several of the saints, and others, prepared for and introduced by the Washington committee to the Congress committee on judiciary:—

Simeon Carter.

"I, Simeon Carter, certify that I have been a resident of the State of Missouri for six years and upwards, and that I have suffered many things by a lawless mob; both me and my family having been driven from place to place, and suffered the loss of much property, and finally expelled from the State. I further certify that I belong to the Church of the Latter Day Saints, commonly called 'Mormons.' And I certify that in the year eighteen hundred and thirty-eight both me and my people suffered much by the people of the State of Missouri. And I further certify that in this same year, in the month of November, between the first and sixth, were surrounded by a soldiery of the State of Missouri, in the city of Far West, in Caldwell County, both me and many of my 'Mormon' brethren, and were compelled by their soldiery, which were armed with all the implements of war to shed blood, by a public declaration of our entire extermination, to sign away our all, our property, personal and real estate, and to leave the State of Missouri immediately.

"I certify I had at that time one hundred and sixty-two acres of land, the same which I held the certificates for. I

further certify that I was obliged to give up my duplicates to help me to a small sum to carry me out of the State. I further certify not.

"SIMEON CARTER.

"Territory of Iowa, Lee County.

"Sworn to and subscribed before me a justice of the peace for said county, this 2d day January, 1840.

"D. W. KILBOURN, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 551.

W. F. Cahoon.

"I hereby certify that in the year 1838 I was residing in Daviess County, Missouri, and while from home I was taken prisoner in Far West, by the militia, and kept under guard for six or eight days, in which time I was forced to sign a deed of trust, after which I was permitted to return home to my family in Daviess County, and found them surrounded by an armed force, with the rest of my neighbors, who were much frightened. The order from the militia was to leave the county within ten days, in which time my house was broken open and many goods taken out by the militia. We were not permitted to go from place to place without a pass from the General, and on leaving the county I received a pass as follows:—

"'I permit William F. Cahoon to pass from Daviess to Caldwell County, and there remain during the winter, and thence to pass out of the State of Missouri.

"'Signed November 10, 1838.

"'REEVES, a Brigadier-General.'

"In which time both me and my family suffered much on account of cold and hunger because we were not permitted to go outside of the guard to obtain wood and provision; and according to orders of the militia, in the spring following I took my family and left the State with the loss of much property, and trouble.

"WILLIAM F. CAHOON.

"Territory of Iowa, Lee County, etc., subscribed and sworn before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 566.

"(January, 1840.)

"I hereby certify that General John Clark and his Aid, at

their arrival at Far West, in Caldwell County, Missouri, came to my tavern stand and without my leave pitched their marquees in my yard, and did take my wood and hay to furnish the same, and did bring their horses in also, and without my leave take hay for them, and did take possession of my house and use it for a council house, and did place a strong guard around it so as to hinder any person from going in or out, and I myself was not permitted to go in and out; for all this I have received no remuneration, and was not even permitted to pass out of town to water travelers' horses without a permit. The above took place in the first part of November, 1838.

J. M. Burk.

"I also certify that Caleb Baldwin, Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Joseph Smith, Junior, and Mr. McRae, in Clay County, Missouri, did apply for a writ of habeas corpus and did not get it.

"JOHN M. BURK.

"Sworn before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 580.

"I certify that I saw General John Clark and his Aid, on their arrival at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, in the yard of John M. Burk, and gave orders to their waiters to pitch their marquees in his yard, and to take of his wood for fire.

John Lowry.

"I also saw Captain Samuel Bogart with his men come near my dwelling, and did pitch their camp, and took my house logs without my leave, and did burn them. I also saw him with the horse of Joseph Smith, Junior, in his possession.

"JOHN LOWRY.

"Sworn before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 580.

"*To whom it may concern.*—This is to certify that on the day following on which the troops arrived at Far West, that two men of said troops came to my house, broke open my trunk, and took therefrom both money and clothing, and also a number of papers, among which were deeds and notes, and also a number of cooking utensils, and in consequence of the cruel and inhuman treatment which I

Jedediah Owen.

and others have received from those troops, we are reduced to a state of almost absolute starvation; and Daniel Avery and myself are appointed as a committee to go out and beg corn and meal, or anything we may obtain that can render them assistance or relieve them in their suffering condition.

"JEDEDIAH OWEN.

"Sworn before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 580, 581.

T. Alvord.

"I removed my family from the State of Michigan to Clay County, Missouri, in the year 1835, where I lived in peace with the people, on my own land, eighteen months or more, when the people began to be excited in consequence of the emigration of our people to that county. The excitement became so great that I was obliged to sell my place at half price, and removed to the County of Caldwell, where I purchased me a farm, settled my family, and made a good improvement, and was in a good situation to support my family, and there lived in peace with the people until the summer and fall of 1838, when the mob began to arise, and we were obliged to fly to arms in self-defense; but notwithstanding our exertion, they murdered and massacred many of our people. We applied to the Governor for assistance, and his reply to us was, 'If you have got into a scrape with the mob, you must fight it out yourselves, for I cannot help you.' The mob still increased, until I was obliged to remove my family to Far West and there remain, surrounded with mobs of murderers until General Clark arrived with his army, with the Governor's exterminating order. Then we were all taken prisoners, our arms taken away; they then treated us with all the cruelty they were masters of, and took possession of whatever they pleased, burnt timber, and laid waste town and country.

"I heard General Clark say that he would execute the Governor's order; 'but notwithstanding, I will vary so much as to give some lenity, for the removal of this people, and you must leave the State immediately; for you need not expect to raise another crop here.' What were not taken to prison were permitted to return to their homes to make preparations to leave the State. Finding I had no safety for

myself and family in Missouri, I fled to Illinois for safety.

"T. ALVORD.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 581.

"MONTROSE, Lee County, Iowa, January 7, 1840.

"I hereby certify, that sometime in the month of October, 1838, an armed force collected in the County of Carroll, near De Witt, and in open daylight drove a man by the name of Humphrey out of his house, and set fire to it and burnt it to ashes, and then sent an express ordering all the 'Mormons' to leave the place as soon as the next day. The next day they sent another express ordering them to leave in six hours, or they would be massacred upon the ground. They also fired their guns at different persons traveling the road near the town. The 'Mormons' were at length compelled to leave their possessions, and all removed to Caldwell, consisting of seventy and perhaps one hundred families, many of whom were in want of the sustenance of life, sick, and some died upon the way.

Wm. Hawk.

"About two weeks after this another armed force invaded Far West, took my gun, and compelled me to sign away my property, both real and personal, and leave the State forthwith.

"WILLIAM HAWK.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 581.

"MONTROSE, Lee County, Iowa, January 7, 1840.

"This is to certify that I was at work on my farm on the last of October, 1838, when an armed company, under General Lucas, came and took myself and my three sons prisoners, and threw down my fences and opened my gates, and left them open, and left my crops to be destroyed, and while I was a prisoner, they declared that they had made clean work in destroying the crops as they passed through the country; and they took from me two yoke of oxen, and three horses, and two wagons, and compelled me and my sons to drive them loaded with produce of my own farm, to supply their army.

T. B Clark.

"I had in possession at the time, four hundred and eighty

acres of land, and rising of an hundred acres improved, with a small orchard and nursery, the necessary buildings of a farm, etc.; and in consequence of my imprisonment my fences remained down and most of my crops were destroyed; and further this deponent saith not.

"TIMOTHY B. CLARK.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 581.

"MONTROSE, Lee County, Iowa Territory, January 7, 1840.

U. V. Stewart.

"This is to certify that about the middle of October I was driven, by the threats of the Daviess County armed force, to leave my possessions, consisting of a preëmption right to a quarter section of land with thirty acres under improvement, and a good house. I went to Di-Ahman and remained until about first of November, when I was driven from there by an armed force under General Wilson. I then went to Far West. While at Ondi-Ahman the armed force took from me one cow and calf, and a yoke of oxen, one horse, and five sheep; they also took from me fifteen hogs. While at Far West they took two cows belonging to me and I saw the soldiery killing the live stock of the inhabitants without leave or remuneration, and burning building timber, fences, etc.

"URBAN V. STEWART.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 581, 582.

"Lee County, Iowa Territory.

John Smith.

"This day personally appeared before me D. W. Kilbourn, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, John Smith, and after having been duly sworn, deposeth and saith, 'That in the months of October and November, 1838, I resided in the town of Adam-ondi-ahman, Daviess County, Missouri, and whilst being peaceably engaged in the ordinary vocations of life, that in the early part of November, my house was entered by a body of armed men painted after the manner or customs of the Indians of North America, and proceeded to search my house for firearms,

stating that they understood the Mormons knew how to hide their guns; and in their search of a bed on which lay an aged sick female, whom they threw to and fro in a very rough manner, without regard to humanity or decency. Finding no arms they went off without further violence.

" 'Shortly after this above-described outrage there was a number of armed men, say about twenty, rode into my yard and inquired for horses which they said they had lost, and stated, under confirmation of an oath, that they would have the heads of twenty "Mormons," if they did not find their horses. These last were painted in like manner as the first. These transactions took place when the village citizens and its vicinity were engaged in a peaceable manner in the ordinary pursuits of life.'

"This deponent further saith, 'That the mob took possession of a store of dry goods belonging to the Church of Latter Day Saints, over which they placed a guard. I went into the store to get some articles to distribute to the suffering poor, and the officer who had the charge of the store ordered me out peremptorily, stating it was too cold to wait on me, that I must come the next morning; and returning the next morning I found the store almost entirely stripped of its contents. Thereupon we as a church were ordered to depart the county and State, under the pains and penalty of death, or a total extermination of our society. Having no alternative, (having my wagon stolen,) I was compelled to abandon my property, except a few movables which I got off with in the best way that I could, and on receiving a permit or pass which is hereto appended, I then proceeded to depart the State: "I permit John Smith to remove from Daviess to Caldwell County, there remain during the winter, or remove out of the State unmolested. Daviess County, November 9, 1838. R. Wilson, Brigadier-General. By F. G. Cochnu." I accordingly left the State in the month of February following, in a destitute condition.'

"John Smith.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 582.

"MONTROSE, Lee County, Iowa, January 7, 1840.

"I do hereby certify that I, Samuel Smith, made an improvement and obtained a preëmption right upon one hundred and sixty acres of land in Daviess County, Missouri, in 1837. On the first of November, 1838, I was compelled to leave the county by order of General Wilson, in ten days. They took without my consent, two horses, which have never been returned nor remunerated for; also destroyed my crop of corn, drove off four head of cattle.

Samuel Smith.

"SAMUEL SMITH.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 582.

"Illinois, Adams County, March 11, 1840.

"I, James Powell, do certify that I was a citizen of the State of Missouri in 1838. I solemnly declare that while I was peaceably traveling to one of my nearest neighbors, I was assaulted by a company of men, to the number of five—Autherston Wrathey, John Gardner, Phillomen Ellis, Jesse Clark, and Ariel Sanders. First they threw a stone and hit me between the shoulders, which very much disabled me; they then shot at me, but did not hit me. One of them then struck me with his gun, and broke my skull about six inches—a part of my brain run out. I have had fourteen pieces of bone taken out of my skull. My system is so reduced that I have not done a day's work since.

James Powell.

"I know no reason why they should have done so, as I did not belong to the Mormon Church, neither had I ever heard one preach. In this situation I was forced to leave the State forthwith. I was carried three days without having my head dressed. When I arrived at Huntsville, Doctor Head offered me assistance. I refer to him for further testimony.

"JAMES POWELL.

"Attest, John Smith.

"We certify that the foregoing affidavit of James Powell's is true and correct, as we stood by and saw it with our eyes. We also heard them say they would kill the Mormons

if they did not clear out. We carried the wounded man in our wagon till he was out of reach of the mob.

"PETER WIMMER.
"SUSAN WIMMER.
"ELLEN WIMMER.

"Sworn to before William Oglesby, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 629.

"Illinois, Columbus, Adams County, March 11, 1840.

John Smith.

"I, John Smith, certify that I was a resident in the State of Missouri in 1838, when I was driven from my house and a preëmption right, and forbid to stay in the State, threatening me if I did not go forthwith. I took my family and pursued my journey one hundred miles. In consequence of cold, snow, water, and ice, at the inclement season in which I was driven, I fell sick, and for four weeks I was unable to travel, during which time I was threatened daily; yet I was so sick it was considered by many that I could not live, and was compelled to start when I was not able to sit up through the day. I landed in Illinois. The long and fatiguing journey, lying out in the cold open air, proved too much for my companion; it threw her into a violent fever, with which she died. Many others in company took sick and died with the same hard fare.

"JOHN SMITH.

"Sworn to before William Oglesby, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 629.

"Illinois, Adams County, March 16, 1840.

Smith Humphrey.

"I, Smith Humphrey, certify that I was a citizen of Missouri in eighteen hundred and thirty-eight; and sometime in the month of October of the same year I was fallen upon by a mob commanded by Hyrum Standley. He took my goods out of my house; and said Standley set fire to my house and burnt it before my eyes, and ordered me to leave the place forthwith. I removed from De Witt to Caldwell County, where I was again assailed by Governor Boggs' exterminating militia. They took me prisoner, and robbed my wagon of four hundred dollars in cash, and one thousand dollars worth of goods, and drove me out of the State.

"SMITH HUMPHREY.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk of Circuit Court."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 630.

"QUINCY, Illinois, 16th March, 1840.

"This is to certify that I, Henry Root, am and was a citizen of De Witt, Carroll County, Missouri, at the time the persecutions (known by the name of the 'Mormon War') commenced and terminated between the citizens of said State of Missouri and the Mormons; that in the fall of 1838, in the month of September, a mob (under no regular authority) headed by William W. Austin, Sr., consisting of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men, came into De Witt and ordered the Mormons to leave that place within ten days from that time; that if they did not leave they would be driven from there by force.

Henry Root.

"The Mormons did not leave; the appointed time came, and the mob came, armed and equipped for war. The Mormon citizens petitioned to the Governor of the State, but no relief came. They sent to the General of that brigade, who ordered the militia to repair to De Witt to disperse the mob. On the arrival of the militia, Brigadier-General Parks told me the Mormons had better leave their property and go off, as his men were prejudiced against them, and he could do them no good nor relieve them. With that the Mormons left.

"HENRY ROOT.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk of Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 630.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 16, 1840.

"I, Joseph Clark, certify that I was a citizen of the State of Missouri in 1838; and when peaceably traveling the highway I was shot at twice by Governor Boggs' exterminating militia; commanded by Major-General John Clark.

Joseph Clark.

"JOSEPH CLARK.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk of Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 630.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 16, 1840.

"This is to certify that I, Thomas D. Casper, was a resident of the State of Missouri in the year 1838. I was not a

member of the Church of Mormons or Latter Day Saints,
T. D. Casper. but witnessed the following acts of distress: As I was on business, I inquired for Perry Moppin, and learned that he, with Samuel Snowden, Esq., had gone after Mr. Wilson, a Mormon, and had threatened and sworn to take his life if he did not tell his name; and they swore they had the tools to take his life if he had not told them his name.

"Further they agreed that the Mormons should leave the country of Missouri except they would deny the faith, or their religion. And I heard Anthony McCussian say that he would head a mob in any case to prevent the lawyers from attending to any case of their (the Mormons') grievances; and he was a postmaster. And I saw two men that said they had been at Haun's mill at the murder; and one by the name of White and the other Moppin stated that he had slain three Mormons. And I, Thomas D. Casper, witnessed other things too tedious to mention; and solemnly swear before God and men that what is here written is a true statement of facts relative to the suffering of the Mormons in the State of Missouri.

"THOMAS D. CASPER."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 630.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 16, 1840.

"I, Jesse W. Johnston, certify that the following circumstances took place in the State of Missouri while I was a
J. W. Johnston. resident of that State; viz.: I was taken prisoner by Governor Boggs' exterminating militia. I saw one man killed belonging to the Mormon Church, and was forced by them to take corn out of the fields of the Mormon Church without leave. This was in the fall of 1838.

"JESSE W. JOHNSTON.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk of Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 630, 631.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 17, 1840.

"This is to certify that I, Owen Cole, was a resident of Caldwell County, State of Missouri, and while residing at my dwelling house the militia under Governor Boggs,

Owen Cole.

and by his orders, plundered my house, and shot me through my thigh. My damage sustained by the militia by being driven from the State, besides my wound, was five hundred dollars. The militiamen were quartered on the lands of the people called Mormons, contrary to the laws and Constitution of the State. I hereby certify this to be a true statement.

"OWEN COLE.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit Court."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 646.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 17, 1840.

E Maginn.

"I, Ezekiel Maginn, certify that I was a citizen of the State of Missouri in the year 1838, and was an eyewitness to the following facts: First, I saw the militia, called for by Governor Boggs' exterminating order, enter the house of Lyman Wight, and took from it a bed and bedding, pillows, and dishes, personally known to me to be his property.

"EZEKIEL MAGINN.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit Court, Adams County."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 646.

"QUINCY, March 17, 1840.

A. Green.

"I, Addison Green, do certify that in the month of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, when I was peaceably walking the high road in Ray County, State of Missouri, I was molested and taken prisoner by ten armed men, who took from me one double barrel fowling piece and equipage, threatening to blow out my brains, and swore that if I was a Mormon they would hang me without further ceremony. They had previously been to my lodging and taken my horse, saddle, and bridle. All was then taken into the woods about one mile to Bogart's camp.

"I was kept a prisoner until the next morning, when I was let go; but have not obtained any part of my property, which was worth about one hundred and fifty dollars.

"A. GREEN.

"Sworn before John H. Holton, notary public."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 646.

"I John P. Green, was in company with several of my neighbors walking the road in peace, when one of our com-
J. P. Green. pany, a young man, by the name of O'Banion, was shot down at my side! being shot by a company of mobbers; and soon after this we were fired upon again, and two more were killed and several others wounded. This was about the 25th day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, in the State of Missouri. And I do hereby certify the above to be true according to the best of my knowledge.

"JOHN P. GREEN.

"Sworn to before John H. Holton, notary public."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 646.

"This is to certify that I, Asahel A. Lathrop, was a citizen of the State of Missouri at the time the difficulty originated
A. A. Lathrop. between the people called Mormons and the inhabitants of the aforesaid State, and herein give a statement of the transactions that came under my observation, according to the best of my recollection.

"I settled in Missouri in the summer of 1838, in Caldwell County, where I purchased land and erected buildings. The said land I now have a deed of; and in the fall I purchased a claim on what is called the East Fork of Grand River, together with a large stock of cattle and horses, sheep and hogs; it being about sixty miles from the aforesaid county where I first located; and moved on to the latter place, supposing that I was at peace with all men But I found by sad experience that I was surrounded by enemies, for in the fall of 1838, whilst at home with my family, I was notified by a man by the name of James Welden that the people of Livingston County had met at the house of one Doctor William P. Thompson, then living in the attached part of said county, for the purpose of entering into measures respecting the people called Mormons; and the same Welden was a member of the same, and also the aforesaid W. P. Thompson was a justice of the peace; and they all jointly agreed to drive every Mormon from the State; and notified me that I must leave immediately, or I would be in danger of losing my life.

"At this time my family, some of them, were sick; but after listening to the entreaties of my wife to flee for safety, I committed them into the hands of God and left them, it being on Monday morning; and in a short time after I left, there came some ten or fifteen men to my house, and took possession of the same and compelled my wife to cook for the same, and also made free to take such things as they saw fit; and whilst in this situation my child died, which I have no reason to doubt was for the want of care; which owing to the abuse she received and being deprived of rendering that care that she would, had she been otherwise situated. My boy was buried by the mob, my wife not being able to pay the last respects to her child.

"I went from my home into Daviess County and applied to Austin A. King and General Atchison for advice, as they were acting officers in the State of Missouri, and there were men called out to go and liberate my family, which I had been absent from some ten or fifteen days; and on my return I found the remainder of my family confined to their beds, not being able the one to assist the other, and my house guarded by an armed force.

"I was compelled to remove my family in this situation, on a bed, to a place of safety. This, together with all the trouble and for the want of care, was the cause of the death of the residue of my family, as I have no doubt; which consisted of a wife and two more children, as they died in a few days after their arrival at my friend's. Such was my situation that I was obliged to assist in making their coffins.

"I will give the names of some of the men that have drove me from my house and abused my family—those that I found at my house on my return: Samuel Law, Calvin Hatfield, Stanley Hatfield, Andy Hatfield; and those that were leading men were James Welden, Doctor William P. Thompson, a justice of the peace, and William Cochran, and many others, the names I do not recollect.

"And I have also seen men abused in various ways; and that whilst they were considered prisoners, such as the mob cocking their guns and swearing that they would shoot with their guns to their face, and the officers of the militia so-

called, standing by, without uttering a word; and in these councils they have said if a Missourian should kill a Mormon, he should draw a pension, same as a soldier of the Revolution.

"I was also compelled to give up my gun; and the terms was, I was to leave the aforesaid State of Missouri, or be exterminated. My property is yet remaining in said State, whilst I am deprived of the control of the same.

"Written this 17th day of March, 1840.

ASAHEL A. LATHROP.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P., Lee County, Iowa Territory."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 646, 647.

Burr Riggs.

"I, Burr Riggs, of the town of Quincy, and State of Illinois, do hereby certify that in the year 1836, when moving to the State of Missouri with my family and others, we were met in Ray County, in said State, by a mob of one hundred and fourteen armed men, who commanded us not to proceed any further, but to return, or they would take our lives; and the leader stepped forward at the same time, and cocked his piece. We turned round with our team, and the mob followed us about six miles and left us.

"Some time after this I moved to Caldwell County in said State, and purchased about two hundred acres of land, and a village lot, on which I erected a dwelling house, staked, and commenced improving my land, and had at the time I was driven away, about forty acres of corn, vegetables, etc.; and in the year 1838, in the month of November, was compelled to leave my house and possessions in consequence of Governor Boggs' exterminating order, without means sufficient to bear my expense out of the State.

"Given under my hand at Quincy, Illinois, 17th March, 1840.

"BURR RIGGS.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk of the Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 647.

"I, Simons P. Curtis, a resident of Quincy, Adams

S. P. Curtis.

County, Illinois, certify that in the year 1838, I was a citizen of Caldwell County, Missouri, residing in the city of Far West. Also that I went in search of a lost steer, and in passing by Captain Bogart's camp, while he was guarding the city, I saw the hide and feet of said steer, which I knew to be mine; the flesh of which I suppose they applied to their own use.

"I also certify that Wiley E. Williams, one of the Governor's aids, who was gun keeper, caused me to pay thirty-seven and one half cents to him. I also paid twenty-five cents to a justice of the peace to qualify me to testify that the gun was mine. The said Wiley E. Williams is said to be the one that carried the story to Governor Boggs, which story was the cause of the exterminating order being issued, as stated by the Governor in said order.

"SIMONS P. CURTIS.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 647.

E. H. Groves.

"I, Elisha H. Groves, of the town of Quincy and State of Illinois, upon oath saith, that I was a resident of Daviess County, in the State of Missouri, and that on the 16th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1838, Judge Vinson Smith and others came to my house and ordered myself and family, Levi Taylor, David Osborn, and others, to leave our possession which we had bought of government and paid our money for the same, saying we must within three days leave the county, or they would take our lives, for there was no law to save us after that time. In consequence of these proceedings, together with Governor Boggs' exterminating order, we were compelled to leave the State of Missouri. Furthermore this deponent saith not.

"Given under my hand at Quincy, the 17th day of March, A. D. 1840.

"ELISHA H. GROVES.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit Court."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 647, 648.

"QUINCY, Illinois, March 17, 1840.

Jacob Fouts.

"This is to certify that I was a citizen, resident of Caldwell County, Missouri, at the time Governor Boggs' exterminating order was issued, and that I was quartered on by the mob militia without my leave or consent at different times, and at one time by William Mann, Hiram Comstock, and brother, who professed to be the captain; also Robert White; and that I was at the murder at Haun's mill, and was wounded; and that I was driven from the State, to my inconvenience, and deprived of my freedom, as well as to my loss of at least four hundred dollars.

"JACOB FOUTS.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 648.

F. G. Williams.

"I do certify that I was a resident of Caldwell County, in the State of Missouri, in the year of our Lord 1838, and owned land to a considerable amount, building lots, etc., in the village of Far West; and in consequence of mobocracy, together with Governor Boggs' exterminating order, was compelled to leave the State under great sacrifice of real and personal property, which has reduced and left myself and family in a state of poverty, with a delicate state of health, in an advanced stage of life. Furthermore this deponent saith not.

"Given under my hand at Quincy, Illinois, March 17, 1840.

"F. G. WILLIAMS.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 648.

"QUINCY, Illinois, Adams County, March 18, 1840.

Jacob Shumaker.

"I, Jacob Shumaker, do certify that I went back to the State of Missouri about the first of October last, with the calculation to live with my family, but finding it impossible, as the mob surrounded my house and threatened me with my life—say to the amount of twenty or thirty of them—and whilst they were quarreling about me, what they should do and in what way they should dispose of me, I crept out of the back window and made my escape; and leaving my family to their most scandalous abuses, my

wife and oldest daughter barely escaping from their unholy designs.

"I was thus a second time obliged to leave the State, or remain at the risk of my life. The former alternative I chose. My loss sustained by the above-mentioned abuses was not less than three hundred dollars. A lot of land containing forty acres, for which I paid four dollars per acre, situated in Caldwell County, was unjustly and unlawfully taken from me, and is still retained by some person or persons to me unknown. I hereby certify that the above is a true statement.

"JACOB SHUMAKER.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 660, 661.

Levi Richards.

"I, Levi Richards, a resident of Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, practitioner of medicine, certify that in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight I was a citizen of Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, and that in the fall of said year I saw the city invaded by a numerous armed soldiery, who compelled its inhabitants to surrender, give up their firearms, and submit to their dictation. They then set a strong guard round the city, thereby preventing egress or ingress without special permission. Then they collected the citizens together upon the public square, formed round them a strong guard of soldiers, and then at the mouths of their rifles compelled them to sign what was termed a deed of trust, thereby depriving them of all their property and civil rights.

"This occupied several days of most inclement weather, when they were brought to the same order by General Clark, and I judge some forty or fifty were made special prisoners by him. At this time he delivered his speech to the 'Mormons,' which has been published, and which is substantially correct. I was compelled by a company of men armed with rifles to leave my house and go to Captain Bogart's camp (he commanded, as I understood, a part of the guard which surrounded the city) upon an indirect charge or insinuation; was detained a prisoner two days, examined, and then liberated. I then asked the clerk of the company,

who had been my keeper, the following questions, which he readily answered:—

"Were those men who massacred the 'Mormons' at Haun's mill, out under the Governor's order, or were they mobbers?

"*A.* Mobbers.

"Are Captain Cornelius Gillium and his company out by legal authority, or are they mobbers?

"*A.* Mobbers.

"Where are those mobbers now?

"*A.* They have joined the army.

"This company at the surrender at Far West were painted like Indians. The army wore a badge of red (blood!). I saw a large amount of lumber and timber destroyed, and used for fuel by the soldiers. The destruction of cattle, hogs, etc., seemed to be their sport, as their camp and the fields testified when they withdrew. An excellent gun was taken from me, which I have never seen or heard of since. A gun that was left in my care was taken at the same time, which I afterwards found with Wiley E. Williams, of Richmond (reputed one of the Governor's aids), to obtain which I had to prove property, affirm before a magistrate, and pay said Williams fifty cents!

"I was called to extract lead, dress the wounds, etc., for several persons (saints) who were shot in the above siege, two of whom died. Immediately previous to the above transactions, and for a long time before, the citizens of Caldwell, and particularly Far West, were called upon to watch for mobs by day and guard against them by night, till it became a burden almost intolerable.

"LEVI RICHARDS.

"Sworn to before C. M. Woods, Clerk Circuit Court, Adams County, Illinois."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 661.

"I, Gibson Gates, do hereby certify that I was residing in Jackson County, Missouri, in the fall of the year 1833, and had been for the space of about one year. I was at a meeting one day for worship, when a man by the name of Masters came to us, stating that he was sent by the

Gibson Gates.

mob to inform us that if we would forsake our religion they were willing to be our brethren and fight for us; 'but if not,' said he, 'our young men are ready, and we can scarce constrain them from falling upon you and cutting you to pieces.'

"Soon after this there came a large company of men, armed, to my place, and with much threatening and profane words ordered me to be gone by the next day, or they would kill me and my family; in consequence of which threatening we quit our house in the month of November, leaving most of our effects; suffering very much with cold, fatigue, and hunger, we took on the prairie, and went southward twenty miles or more, where we stayed a few weeks. But still being threatened by the mob, we removed to Clay County, where we lived in peace until the fall of 1838, when a mob arose against the people of the church of Latter Day Saints, when we were again obliged to leave our home, seek safety in another place for a few weeks. When we returned, our house had been broken open, and the lock of a trunk broken open and the most valuable contents thereof taken away; the most of our bedding and furniture was either stolen or destroyed; and we were then ordered to leave the State.

"GIBSON GATES.

"Sworn to before David W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 661, 662.

David Pettigrew.

"This is to certify that I, David Pettigrew, was a citizen of Jackson County, Missouri, and owned a good farm, lying on the Blue River, six miles west of Independence, and lived in peace with the inhabitants until the summer and fall of 1833, when the inhabitants began to threaten us with destruction. I was at work in my field and a man by the name of Allen and others with him came along and cried out, 'Mr. Pettigrew, you are at work as though you was determined to stay here, but we are determined that you shall leave the county immediately.' I replied that I was a freeborn citizen of the United States, and had done harm to no man. 'I therefore claim protection by the law of the land,' and that the law and Constitution of the land would not suffer them to commit so horrid a crime.

They then replied, that 'the old law and Constitution is worn out, and we are about to make a new one.'

"I was at a meeting where we had met for prayer, and a man by the name of Masters came and desired an interview with us; he then stated that he was sent by the mob to inform us that if we would forsake our 'Mormon' and prophet religion, and become of their religion, they, the mob, would be our brothers, and would fight for us; 'but if you will not, we are ready and will drive you from the county.'

"A few days after this a large mob came to my house, commanded by General Moses Wilson, Hugh Brazeale, and Lewis Franklin, and broke down my door and burst into my house, armed with guns, clubs, and knives; some of them were painted red and black. This was in the night, and my family was much frightened. They threatened me with immediate death if I did not leave the place. After much abuse they left us for the night, but in a few days after they returned and drove me and my family into the street, not suffering us to take anything with us. I saw that we must go or die; we went south to Van Buren County, in company with eighty or ninety others. In a short time after I returned to my farm and found my house plundered, my grain and crop, stock, and all my farm and farming tools laid waste and destroyed; and shortly after my house was burned to ashes.

"I called to Esquire Weston, of Independence, and inquired of him if he could inform me what all this mobbing and riot meant, informing him of the destruction and plundering of my house; to which he gave me no satisfaction, but insulted me and treated me roughly. Governor Boggs lived in the county, and I have seen him passing through among us in our great distress, and gave no attention to our distresses. He was then Lieutenant Governor of the State. On my return to my family in Van Buren County I was much abused by a man by the name of Brady; he said he would kill me if ever I attempted to go to my farm, or if he saw me passing that way again. I returned to my family, and in a few days after a company of men came where we

lived and said they would spill my blood if I did not leave the place immediately. The leaders of this company were John Cornet, Thomas Langley, and Hezekiah Warden; they lived in Jackson County.

"This was in the cold winter, and our sufferings were great. I fled across the Missouri River to Clay County, where I lived three years, in which time I often heard Judge Cameron and others say that 'your Mormons cannot get your rights in any of the courts of the upper country;' and I had not the privilege of voting as a free citizen.

"I moved to Caldwell County, bought land and opened a good farm, and lived in peace until the summer and fall of 1838, when mobs arose in counties round about, and I with the rest was obliged to take up arms in self-defense; for the cry was that the mob law should prevail if we stood against them, until the army came and took us all prisoners of war. I with the rest was obliged to sign a deed of trust at the point of the sword. I with sixty others was selected out and marched to Richmond and Ray County, by the command of General Clark, where they kept us a number of weeks, pretending to try us as treasoners and murderers. At length I obtained my liberty and returned to my family in Caldwell County; and I found that there was no safety there, for there was no law, but all a scene of robbing, and plundering, and stealing. They were about to take me again, and I was obliged to leave my family and flee to Illinois. In about two months my family arrived, having suffered much abuse and loss of health and property. Soon after the arrival of my family, my son, a young man, died; and I attribute his death to the cruel barbarity of the mob of Missouri, he being a prisoner among them, and having suffered much because of them.

"My father was a soldier, and served in the Revolutionary War, under the great Washington, but I have not had protection on my own lands; and I have not been permitted to see my farm in Jackson County, Missouri, in seven years. Soldiers were stationed or quartered in different parts of Far West; and they treated us roughly, threatening to shoot us, and making use of anything they pleased, such as burn-

ing house, timber, and rails, and garden fences, and stealing and plundering what they pleased.

"When I was at Richmond, a prisoner before Judge King, we sent for many witnesses; and when they came they were taken and cast into prison with us, and we were not permitted to have any witnesses. The day I came out of prison they compelled me to sign a writing which was not true, or remain in prison.

"DAVID PETTIGREW.

"Sworn to before D. W. Kilbourn, J. P."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 662, 663.

CHAPTER 21.

1840.

COMMITTEE TO COLLECT EVIDENCE—MISSION TO PALESTINE—CONFERENCE BUSINESS—HYDE AND PAGE START FOR JERUSALEM—COMMERCE CHANGED TO NAUVOO—MILLENNIAL STAR—BISHOP PARTRIDGE DIES—PROGRESS AT NAUVOO—FIRST EMIGRANTS FROM ENGLAND—JOSEPH SMITH RELIEVED FROM RESPONSIBILITY—INSTRUCTS THE HIGH COUNCIL—KIDNAPPING—MAGNANIMOUS SPIRIT—J. C. BENNETT—DEATH OF THE PATRIARCH—BLESSES HIS FAMILY—BOGGS MAKES REQUISITION—CONFERENCE BUSINESS—STAKES ORGANIZED—TIMES AND SEASONS—CHARTERS GRANTED—LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

IN the early part of the year 1840 there was not much done in Nauvoo and vicinity, except the duties incident to preparing homes, preparing for spring farming, and other work; only the regular routine of church business and the preaching of the elders in the regions round about.

The High Council of the church for Iowa met at Montrose on March 6 and among other things passed the two following resolutions:—

Committee to collect evidence.

"2d. That a committee of three be appointed, consisting of Wheeler Baldwin, Lyman Wight, and Abraham O. Smoot, to obtain affidavits and other documents to be forwarded to the city of Washington.

"3d. That the clerk of this council be directed to inform Judge Higbee, that it is the wish of this council that he should not, upon any consideration, consent to accept of anything of Congress short of our just rights and demands for our losses and damages in Missouri."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 615.

Mission to Palestine.

The General Conference convened in Nauvoo, Illinois, April 6, 1840. The first day of the conference the mission to Palestine was considered as follows:—

"Elder Orson Hyde addressed the conference and stated that it had some years previous been prophesied of him,

that he had a great work to perform among the Jews; and that he had recently been moved upon by the Spirit of the Lord to visit that people and gather up all the information he could from them respecting their movements, expectations, etc., and communicate the same to this church and to this nation at large. Stated that he intended to visit the Jews in New York, London, Amsterdam, and then visit Constantinople and the Holy Land.

"It was then unanimously resolved that Elder Hyde proceed in his mission, and that his letter of recommendation be signed by the president and clerk of the conference.

"Elder John E. Page then rose, and spoke with much force on the object of Elder Hyde's mission, the gathering together of the Jews, and the restoration of the house of Israel; proving in a short but convincing manner from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, that these things must take place and that the time had now nearly arrived for their accomplishment."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, p. 92.

Conference business.

The resolutions quoted in chapter 19 were passed, as well as other business, of which the following are extracts:—

"The President called upon the clerk to read the report of the Presidency and High Council with regard to their proceedings in purchasing lands and securing a place of gathering for the saints. The report having been read, the President made some observations respecting the pecuniary affairs of the church, and requested the brethren to step forward and assist in liquidating the debts on the town plot, so that the poor might have inheritances. . . .

"Resolved that a committee of three be appointed to investigate the recommendations those persons may have who wish to obtain an ordination to the ministry and to ordain such as may be thought worthy; that Elder Samuel Bent, Joseph Wood, and Orson Hyde compose said committee.

"Resolved, that this meeting feel satisfied with the proceedings of the Presidency with regard to the sales of town property, etc., and that they be requested to continue in their agency. . .

"He then spoke to the elders respecting their mission, and advised those who went into the world to preach the gospel to leave their families provided for with the necessaries of life, and to teach the gathering as set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

"That it had been wisdom too, for the greater body of the church to keep on this side of the river, in order that a foundation might be established in this place, but that now it was the privilege of the saints to occupy the lands in the Iowa, or wherever the Spirit might lead them.

"That he did not wish to have any political influence, but wished the saints to use their political franchise to the best of their knowledge.

"He then stated that since Elder Hyde had been appointed to visit the Jewish people, he had felt an impression that it would be well for Elder John E. Page to accompany him on his mission.

"It was resolved, that Elder John E. Page be appointed to accompany Elder Orson Hyde on his mission, and that he have proper credentials given him.

"It was then resolved, that as a great part of the time of the conference had been taken up with charges against individuals which might have been settled by the different authorities of the church, that in future no such cases be brought before the conferences.

"The committee on ordination reported that they had ordained thirty-one persons to be elders in the church, who were ordained under the hands of Alpheus Gifford and Stephen Perry, which report was accepted.

"F. G. Williams presented himself on the stand and humbly asked forgiveness for his conduct and expressed his determination to do the will of God in future. His case was presented to the conference by President Hyrum Smith, when it was unanimously resolved, that F. G. Williams be forgiven and be received into the fellowship of the church.

"It was reported that seventy-five persons had been baptized during the conference, and that upwards of fifty had been received into the quorum of the seventies."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 93, 94, 95.

April 15 Elder Orson Hyde left Commerce for his mission to Jerusalem, meeting his companion, John E. Page, on the 16th, at Lima, Illinois.

The name of the post office was officially changed from Commerce to Nauvoo, on April 21, 1840, as the following notice and letter will show:—

"POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, Appointment
"Office, 21st April, 1840.

Commerce changed to Nauvoo.

"*Sir:*—I have the honor to inform you, that the Postmaster General has this day changed the name of the post office at Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois, to 'Nauvoo,' and appointed George W. Robinson postmaster thereof.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"ROBERT JOHNSTONE,
"Second Assistant Postmaster General.

"To the Hon. R. M. Young, U. S. Senate."

"WASHINGTON CITY, April 22, 1840.

"*Dear Sir:*—After your departure from this city I received, under cover from the Reverend Sidney Rigdon, the petition mentioned by you for the appointment of George W. Robinson as postmaster at Commerce. This petition I laid before the Honorable Robert Johnstone, Second Assistant Postmaster General, who has appointed Mr. Robinson as requested.

"We found on an examination of the papers and a letter from Dr. Galland, that there was a request that the name of the post office should be changed to that of Nauvoo, a Hebrew term, signifying a beautiful place. Mr. Johnstone, at my instance, has changed the name accordingly, in the supposition that it would be agreeable to the citizens concerned. Will you please advise with the Rev. Joseph Smith and others most immediately interested, and if the change of the name to Nauvoo should not be acceptable, it can on application be restored to that of Commerce.

"I received a letter from Malcom McGregor, Esq., postmaster at Carthage, a few days ago, in which he urges the necessity of having the mail carried twice a week between Carthage and Nauvoo, and expresses the opinion that the

additional expenses would not exceed one hundred and fifty dollars, as the mail is carried on horseback. I have brought the subject before the proper department as requested by Mr. McGregor, and hope to be able to succeed; although the Post Office Department, owing to pecuniary embarrassments, is not in a situation to extend facilities at the present time.

"Please present my respects to Mr. Smith, and accept for yourself my kindest regards.

"Very respectfully, etc.,

"RICHARD M. YOUNG.

"To Judge E. Higbee."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, p. 743.

In May, 1840, the first number of the *Millennial Star* was issued from Manchester, England, Parley P. Pratt, editor.

May 27, 1840, Bishop Edward Partridge died at Nauvoo, Illinois. Joseph Smith says of him: "He lost his life in consequence of the Missouri persecutions, and is one of that number whose blood will be required at their hands."

Bishop Partridge dies.

Under date of June 1, 1840, Joseph Smith states: "The saints have already erected about two hundred and fifty houses at Nauvoo, mostly blockhouses, a few framed, and many more in lively operation."

Progress at Nauvoo.

June 6, 1840, the first company of saints, numbering forty, emigrating from England to America, sailed from Liverpool for New York under charge of Elder John Moon.

July 3, 1840, the High Council of Nauvoo, at his own request, released Joseph Smith from the responsibility of attending to sale of town lots, attaching by virtue of his being on the committee on location, and appointed H. G. Sherwood as clerk for him. This was made necessary, as he explains, that he might "devote himself exclusively to those things which relate to the spiritualities of the church." Bishop Alanson Ripley was appointed to see that the necessities of the First Presidency were supplied, including appropriations for clerks. July 4, 1840, the Presidency decided to organize a stake at

Joseph Smith released from responsibility.

Crooked Creek, Illinois, according to a request from a branch located there.

July 11, Joseph Smith gave the following instruction to the High Council at Nauvoo:—

Instructs the High Council.

"Saturday, 11th. The High Council met at my office, when I taught them principles relating to their duty as a council, and that they might be guided by the same in future, I ordered it to be recorded as follows: 'That the council should try no case without both parties being present, or having had an opportunity to be present, neither should they hear one party's complaint before his case is brought up for trial; neither should they suffer the character of anyone to be exposed before the High Council without the person being present and ready to defend him or herself; that the minds of the councilors be not prejudiced for or against anyone whose case they may possibly have to act upon.'"—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, p. 55.

Kidnapping.

About this time several of the members of the church, among them Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce, and Noah Rogers, were kidnapped and carried to Missouri, where they were abusively treated. The following affidavit, made by Allred, will illustrate the procedure:—

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
"Hancock County. }

"This day personally appeared before the undersigned, an acting justice of the peace in and for said county, James Allred, a credible witness, who first being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says, that William Allensworth, John H. Owsly, and William Martin, on the seventh day of July, A. D. 1840, within the limits of the said county of Hancock, aided by several other persons to this affiant unknown, forcibly arrested this affiant and one Noah Rogers, whilst affiant and said Rogers were peaceably pursuing their own lawful business; and that the said Allensworth, Owsly, and Martin, after said arrest, aided by sundry persons to this affiant unknown, did forcibly take, kidnap, and carry this affiant and said Rogers from the said county of Hancock, in the State of Illinois, on the day and year above-

mentioned, into the State of Missouri, without having established a claim for such procedure according to the laws of the United States.

"Affiant further states that in a short time after he had been so taken into the State of Missouri he was put into a room with said Rogers, and there kept until sometime during the following night, when they were taken out of the room where they were confined, into the woods near by, and this affiant was bound by the persons conducting him to a tree, he having been first forcibly stripped by them of every particle of clothing. Those having him in charge then told affiant that they would whip him, one of them by the name of Monday, saying to this affiant, 'God-dam you, I'll cut you to the hollow.' They, however, at last unbound the affiant without whipping him. Affiant states that said Rogers was taken just beyond the place where affiant was bound with a rope about his neck, and he heard a great number of blows which he then supposed, and has since learned, were inflicted upon said Rogers, and heard him cry out several times as if in great agony; after which affiant together with Rogers was taken back and placed in the room from which they were taken, together with one Boyce and Brown, and detained until Monday next succeeding the day on which he was kidnapped; at which time he received from one of the company who had imprisoned him, a passport, of which the following is a copy:—

"TULLY, Mo., July 12, 1840.

"The people of Tully, having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

"By order of the committee,

"H. M. WOODYARD.

"And then this affiant was permitted to return home into the State of Illinois. This place in Missouri to which affiant and said Rogers were taken he has learned is called Tully, and is situated in the county of Lewis, and at which place [in] Missouri the said Allensworth, Owsly, and Martin are now living.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing affidavit, was this day subscribed and duly sworn to before me by the said James Allred.

"DANIEL H. WELLS,
"Justice of the Peace.

"July 16, 1840."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 141, 142.

A similar statement was also made by Brown.

This was the occasion of a public meeting held in Nauvoo, at which resolutions were passed expressive of their feelings on the subject. The following are the minutes of the meeting:—

"At a meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, 13th July, 1840, Elias Higbee was called to the chair and R. B. Thompson was appointed secretary.

"On motion a committee was appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting, consisting of the following persons; to wit: Isaac Galland, R. B. Thompson, Sidney Rigdon, and D. H. Wells, who retired and after a short absence reported the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted.

"PREAMBLE.

"The committee appointed to express the sense of this meeting in relation to the recent acts of abduction and other deeds of cruelty and inhumanity committed upon our citizens by the citizens of the State of Missouri, beg leave respectfully to report;

"That having under consideration the principal matters involved in the discharge of their duty, they have been forced to arrive at the following conclusion.

"1st, That the people of Missouri not having sufficiently slaked their thirst for blood and plunder, are now disposed to pursue us with a repetition of the same scenes of brutality which marked their whole course of conduct towards us during our unhappy residence among them.

"2dly, That notwithstanding they have already robbed us of our homes—murdered our families, stolen and carried away our property, and to complete the measure of their infamy as a State their Executive caused unoffending thou-

sands to be banished from the State, without even the form of a trial, or the slightest evidence of crime,—they are now sending their gangs of murdering banditti and thieving brigands to wreak further vengeance and satisfy their insatiable cupidity in the State of Illinois, and that too before we have even had time to erect shelters for our families.

"3dly, That for the purpose of giving a semblance of justification to their most unhallowed conduct, of the people of Missouri, have again commenced concealing goods within the limits of our settlements, as they had done before in the State of Missouri, in order to raise a charge of stealing against our citizens, and under this guise they have within a few days kidnapped and carried away several honest and worthy citizens of this county.

"4thly, Under these circumstances the first duty and the only redress which seems to offer itself to our consideration is an appeal to the Executive of the State of Illinois for redress, and protection from further injuries, with a confident assurance that he, unlike the Governor of Missouri, will extend the Executive arm to protect from lawless outrage, unoffending citizens.

"Therefore, Resolved first: that we view with no ordinary feelings the approaching danger as a necessary consequence following the lawless and outrageous conduct of the citizens of Missouri in setting at defiance the laws of this as well as all other States of this Union, by forcing from their homes and from the State civil citizens of Illinois, and taking them into the State of Missouri without any legal process whatever, and there inflicting upon them base cruelties in order to extort false confessions from them, to give a coloring to their (the Missourians') iniquities, and screen themselves from the just indignation of an incensed public.

"Resolved secondly, that while we deeply deplore the cause which has brought us together on this occasion, we cannot refrain from expressing our most unqualified disapprobation at the infringement of the laws of this State, as set forth in the above preamble, and strongest indignation at the manner in which the people of Missouri treated those whom they had thus inhumanly taken from among us.

"Resolved thirdly, that inasmuch as we are conscious of our honest and upright intentions, and are at all times ready and willing to submit to the just requirements of the laws, we claim of the citizens and authorities of this State protection from such unjust and before unheard of oppressions.

"Resolved fourthly, that the forcible abduction of our citizens by the citizens of Missouri is a violation of the laws regulating the federal compact, subversive of the rights of freemen, and contrary to our free institutions and republican principles.

"Resolved fifthly, that the cruelties practiced upon our citizens since their abduction is disgraceful to humanity, the height of injustice and oppression, and would disgrace the annals of the most barbarous nations, in either ancient or modern times, and can only find its parallel in the *Auto da fa* —the inquisitions in Spain.

"Resolved sixthly, that such unconstitutional and unhallowed proceedings on the part of the citizens of Missouri ought to arouse every patriot to exertion and diligence, to put a stop to such procedure and use all constitutional means to bring the offenders to justice.

"Resolved seventhly, that we memorialize the Executive of this State of the gross outrage which has been committed on our citizens, and pledge ourselves to aid him in such measures as may be deemed necessary to restore our citizens to freedom, and have satisfaction for the wrongs we have suffered.

"ELIAS HIGBEE, Chairman.
"R. B. THOMPSON, Secretary."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 1, pp. 142, 143.

The following petition was sent to Governor Carlin:—

"*To His Excellency Governor Carlin:* — The undersigned being a committee to draft a memorial to your Excellency relative to the recent outrages, would respectfully represent: That after being driven from our homes and pleasant places of abode, in the State of Missouri, by the authorities of said State, Illinois seemed to be the first shelter or asylum which presented itself to our view; that having left the State of Missouri, your memorialists found an asylum in the

State of Illinois; and notwithstanding the false reports which were circulated to our prejudice, we were received with kindness by the noble-hearted citizens of Illinois; who relieved our necessities, and bade us welcome; for which kindness we feel thankful.

"That under your Excellency's administration we have had every encouragement given us, and have every reason, from the kindness and sympathy which you have ever manifested towards us in our sufferings, to feel confident that your aid will ever be offered to us in common with the rest of the citizens of the State. That feeling ourselves so happy and secure, and beginning again to enjoy the comforts of life, we are sorry to say that our quiet has been disturbed, our fears alarmed, and our families annoyed by the citizens of Missouri; who, with malice and hatred which is characteristic of them, have unconstitutionally sent an armed force and abducted some of our friends; namely, James Allred, Noah Rogers, Alanson Brown, and one Boyce, and carried them into the State of Missouri, and treated them with the greatest barbarity and cruelty; even now their wives and children, as well as their friends, are alarmed for the safety of their lives.

"Therefore we have felt it our duty to place the circumstances of this unheard-of outrage before you, and appeal to your Excellency for protection from such marauders, and take such measures as you may deem proper, that our friends may be again restored to the bosom of their families, and the offenders punished for their crimes.

"We have the greatest confidence in your Excellency, that every constitutional means will be resorted to to restore our friends to the society of their families, etc., that we, in common with other citizens of the State of Illinois, may enjoy all the rights and privileges of freemen.

"Your memorialists have under all circumstances paid the greatest respect to the laws of the country, and if any should break the same they have never felt a disposition to screen such from justice, but when under false pretenses, to gratify and satiate a revengeful disposition; for the citizens of another State, regardless of both the laws of God and

man, to come and kidnap our friends, to carry off our citizens, to cruelly treat our brethren, — such offenders, we think, should be brought to an account, to be dealt with according to their merit or demerit, that we may enjoy the privileges guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States.

"We therefore humbly pray that your Excellency will satisfy yourself of the gross outrage which has been committed on the citizens of the State, and with that energy which is so characteristic of your Excellency's administration, take such steps as you may deem best calculated to repair the injuries which your memorialists have sustained; that you will vindicate the injured laws of the State.

"In conclusion, we beg leave to assure your Excellency that in the discharge of this as well as every other constitutional movement you may rely upon the hearty coöperation of your memorialists, who respectfully submit to your Excellency the accompanying resolutions, which were passed at a large meeting held in this place on this day, and also the affidavit of one of those persons who was kidnapped, but fortunately has made his escape."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 71, 72.

Magnanimous spirit.

To show the magnanimous spirit that characterized the church and its President, we here give a letter from one who proved a traitor in an hour of distress, together with the answer.

"DAYTON, Ohio, June 29, 1840.

"*Brother Joseph:*—I am alive, and with the help of God I mean to live still. I am as the prodigal son, though I never doubt or disbelieve the fullness of the gospel. I have been greatly abased and humbled, and I blessed the God of Israel when I lately read your prophetic blessing on my head as follows:—

" 'The Lord will chasten him because he taketh honor to himself, and when his soul is greatly humbled he will forsake the evil. Then shall the light of the Lord break upon him as at noonday, and in him shall be no darkness,' etc.

"I have seen the folly of my way, and I tremble at the gulf I have passed. So it is, and why I know not. I prayed

and God answered, but what could I do? Says I, 'I will repent and live, and ask my old brethren to forgive me, and though they chasten me to death, yet I will die with them, for their God is my God. The least place with them is enough for me, yea it is bigger and better than all Babylon.' Then I dreamed that I was in a large house with many mansions, with you and Hyrum and Sidney, and when it was said, 'Supper must be made ready,' by one of the cooks, I saw no meat, but you said there was plenty, and showed me much, and as good as I ever saw; and while cutting to cook, your heart and mine beat within us, and we took each other's hand and cried for joy, and I awoke and took courage.

"I know my situation, you know it, and God knows it, and I want to be saved if my friends will help me. Like the captain that was cast away on a desert island; when he got off he went to sea again and made his fortune the next time, so let my lot be. I have done wrong, and am sorry. The beam is in my own eye. I have not walked with my friends according to my holy anointing. I ask forgiveness in the name of Jesus Christ of all the saints, for I will do right, God helping me. I want your fellowship; if you cannot grant that, grant me your peace and friendship, for we are brethren, and our communion used to be sweet; and whenever the Lord brings us together again, I will make all the satisfaction on every point that saints or God can require. Amen.

"W. W. PHELPS."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, p. 6.

"NAUVOO, Hancock County, Illinois, July 22, 1840.

"*Dear Brother Phelps:*—I must say that it is with no ordinary feelings I endeavor to write a few lines to you in answer to yours of the 29th ultimo; at the same time I am rejoiced at the privilege granted me.

"You may in some measure realize what my feelings, as well as Elder Rigdon's and Brother Hyrum's were when we read your letter – truly our hearts were melted into tenderness and compassion when we ascertained your resolves, etc. I can assure you I feel a disposition to act on your case

in a manner that will meet the approbation of Jehovah (whose servant I am) and agreeably to the principles of truth and righteousness which have been revealed; and inasmuch as long-suffering, patience, and mercy have ever characterized the dealings of our heavenly Father towards the humble and penitent, I feel disposed to copy the example, cherish the same principles, and by so doing be a savior of my fellow men.

"It is true that we have suffered much in consequence of your behavior—the cup of gall, already full enough for mortals to drink, was indeed filled to overflowing when you turned against us. One with whom we had oft taken sweet counsel together, and enjoyed many refreshing seasons from the Lord—'had it been an enemy, we could have borne it.' 'In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day when strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Far West, even thou wast as one of them; but thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger, neither shouldest thou have spoken proudly in the day of distress.'

"However, the cup has been drunk, the will of our Father has been done, and we are yet alive, for which we thank the Lord. And having been delivered from the hands of wicked men by the mercy of our God, we say it is your privilege to be delivered from the powers of the adversary, be brought into the liberty of God's dear children, and again take your stand among the saints of the Most High, and by diligence, humility, and love unfeigned, commend yourself to our God, and your God, and to the Church of Jesus Christ.

"Believing your confession to be real, and your repentance genuine, I shall be happy once again to give you the right hand of fellowship and rejoice over the returning prodigal.

"Your letter was read to the saints last Sunday, and an expression of their feeling was taken, when it was unanimously

"Resolved, that W. W. Phelps should be received into fellowship.

"'Come on, dear brother, since the war is past,
For friends at first, are friends again at last.'

"Yours as ever,

"JOSEPH SMITH, JR."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, p. 85.

J. C. Bennett.

About this time Gen. J. C. Bennett, "Quartermaster General of the State of Illinois," began a series of letters of a friendly and complimentary character, which finally resulted in his uniting with the church. He became quite prominent as an officer of the Nauvoo Legion and as mayor of the city, but held no high position of trust in the church. He afterward became disaffected and was expelled from the church, and in 1842 published a Book entitled "Mormonism Exposed." By the church he was accused of gross immorality, and he by way of retaliation accused the leaders of the church with serious wrongdoing. A minute tracing of his career would be unprofitable; nor is he, according to his own testimony, worthy of it. Whatever of wrong or error, if any, may have been committed by Joseph Smith or his colleagues, the evidence of it must rest upon other testimony than that of Mr. Bennett. When a man confesses, as Mr. Bennett did, that at one time in life he was a hypocrite and liar, fair-minded men will discard his testimony, whether favorable to their own views or not. Mr. Bennett has this to say of himself:—

"It at length occurred to me that the surest and speediest way to overthrow the impostor, and expose his iniquity to the world, would be to profess myself a convert to his doctrines, and join him at the seat of his dominion. I felt confident that from my standing in society, and the offices I held under the State of Illinois, I should be received by the Mormons with open arms; and that the course I was resolved to pursue would enable me to get behind the curtain, and behold, at my leisure, the secret wires of the fabric, and likewise those who moved them." — Mormonism Exposed, pp. 6, 7.

Again he says: —

"The fact that in joining the Mormons I was obliged to make a pretense of belief in their religion does not alter the case. That pretense was unavoidable in the part I was acting, and it should not be condemned like hypocrisy towards a Christian church. For so absurd are the doctrines of the Mormons that I regard them with no more reverence than I would the worship of Manitou or the Great Spirit of the Indians, and feel no more compunction at joining in the former than in the latter, to serve the same useful purpose."—Ibid., p. 9.

A man who will confess to such high-handed hypocrisy, and then say he has no compunction of conscience, is only worthy a passing historical notice, if so much.

Death of the Patriarch.

September 14, 1840, Joseph Smith, Sr., Patriarch of the whole church, died at Nauvoo, Illinois. He was born at Topsfield, Essex County, Massachusetts, on the 12th of July, 1771, and hence was sixty-nine years, two months, and two days old at the time of his death.

His son, Joseph the Prophet, stated of him: "After I and my brother Hyrum were thrown into the Missouri jails by the mob, he fled from under the exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, and made his escape to Quincy, Illinois, whence he removed to Commerce in the spring of 1839. The exposure he suffered brought on consumption, of which he died."

Blesses his family.

On his deathbed he pronounced blessings on his family, some of which are very peculiar. We invite attention to the promise made to William and Sophronia to live as long as they desired life. Each lived to a good old age and was reconciled to go. The promise of long life to Catharine is peculiar, as she yet lives, and as she attends the general gatherings often and bears faithful testimony, the hearer is reminded of the words: "Then shall she rise up and defend her cause."

In connection with the fact that Joseph's and William's children are identified with the Reorganization, while Hyrum's and Samuel's are in Utah, it is interesting to note that the children of the two former were to be blessed after them, while the children of the two latter are not mentioned.

The account of this deathbed scene and the blessings, as given by Lucy Smith, the mother of the Prophet and widow of the Patriarch, is as follows:—

"They were all with him, except Catharine, who was detained from coming by a sick husband. Mr. Smith, being apprised of this, sent Arthur Millikin (who, but a short time previous was married to our youngest daughter) after Catharine and her children; but before he went my husband blessed him, fearing that it would be too late when he returned. He took Arthur by the hand, and said:—

" 'My son, I have given you my youngest darling child, and will you be kind to her?' 'Yes, father,' he replied, 'I will.' 'Arthur,' he continued, 'you shall be blessed, and you shall be great in the eyes of the Lord; and if you will be faithful, you shalt have all the desires of your heart in righteousness. Now, I want you to go after my daughter Catharine, for I know, that because of the faithfulness of your heart, you will not come back without her.'

"Arthur then left, and my husband then addressed himself to me:—

" 'Mother, do you not know that you are the mother of as great a family as ever lived upon the earth. The world loves its own, but it does not love us. It hates us because we are not of the world; therefore all their malice is poured out upon us, and they seek to take away our lives. When I look upon my children and realize that, although they were raised up to do the Lord's work, yet they must pass through scenes of trouble and affliction as long as they live upon the earth; and I dread to leave them surrounded by enemies.' . . .

"He then laid his hands upon Hyrum's head, and said:—

" 'My son Hyrum, I seal upon your head your patriarchal blessing, which I placed upon your head before, for that shall be verified. In addition to this, I now give you my dying blessing. You shall have a season of peace, so that you shall have sufficient rest to accomplish the work which God has given you to do. You shall be as firm as the pillars of heaven unto the end of your days. I now seal upon your head the patriarchal power, and you shall bless the people.

This is my dying blessing upon your head in the name of Jesus. Amen.'

"To Joseph he said:—

" 'Joseph, my son, you are called to a high and holy calling. You are even called to do the work of the Lord. Hold out faithful, and you shall be blessed, and your children after you. You shall even live to finish your work.' At this Joseph cried out, weeping, 'Oh! my father, shall I?' 'Yes,' said his father, 'you shall live to lay out the plan of all the work which God has given you to do. This is my dying blessing on your head, in the name of Jesus. I also confirm your former blessing upon your head; for it shall be fulfilled. Even so. Amen.'

"To Samuel he said:—

" 'Samuel, you have been a faithful and obedient son. By your faithfulness you have brought many into the church. The Lord has seen your diligence, and you are blessed, in that he has never chastised you, but has called you home to rest; and there is a crown laid up for you, which shall grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. When the Lord called you, he said, "Samuel, I have seen thy sufferings, have heard thy cries, and beheld thy faithfulness; thy skirts are clear from the blood of this generation." Because of these things I seal upon your head all the blessings which I have hitherto pronounced upon you; and this is my dying blessing, I now seal upon you. Even so. Amen.'

"To William he said:—

" 'William, my son, thou hast been faithful in declaring the word, even before the church was organized. Thou hast been sick, yet thou hast traveled to warn the people. And when thou couldst not walk thou didst sit by the wayside and call upon the Lord, until he provided a way for thee to be carried. Thou wast sick and afflicted, when thou wast away from thy father's house, and no one knew it to assist thee in thy afflictions; but the Lord did see the honesty of thine heart, and thou wast blessed in thy mission. William, thou shalt be blessed, and thy voice shall be heard in distant lands, from place to place, and they shall regard thy teachings. Thou shalt be like a roaring lion in the forest, for

they shall hearken and hear thee. And thou shalt be the means of bringing many sheaves to Zion, and thou shalt be great in the eyes of many, and they shall call thee blessed, and I will bless thee and thy children after thee. And the blessings which I sealed upon thy head before, I now confirm again, and thy days shall be many; thou shalt do a great work, and live as long as thou desirest life. Even so. Amen.'

"To Don Carlos he said:—

" 'Carlos, my darling son, when I blessed you your blessing was never written, and I could not get it done, but now I want you to get my book, which contains the blessings of my family. Take your pen and fill out all those parts of your blessing which were not written. You shall have the Spirit of the Lord, and be able to fill up all the vacancies which were left by Oliver when he wrote it. You shall be great in the sight of the Lord, for he sees and knows the integrity of your heart, and you shall be blessed; all that know you shall bless you. Your wife and your children shall also be blessed, and you shall live to fulfill all that the Lord has sent you to do. Even so. Amen.'

"To Sophronia he said:—

" 'Sophronia, my oldest daughter, thou hadst sickness when thou wast young, and thy parents did cry over thee to have the Lord spare thy life. Thou didst see trouble and sorrow, but thy troubles shall be lessened, for thou hast been faithful in helping thy Father and thy mother in the work of the Lord. And thou shalt be blessed, and the blessings of heaven shall rest down upon thee. Thy last days shall be thy best. Although thou shalt see trouble, sorrow, and mourning, thou shalt be comforted, and the Lord will lift thee up, and bless thee and thy family, and thou shalt live as long as thou desirest life. This dying blessing I pronounce and seal upon thy head, with thine other blessings. Even so. Amen.'

"After this he rested some time, and then said:—

" 'Catharine has been a sorrowful child, trouble has she seen, the Lord has looked down upon her and seen her patience, and has heard her cries. She shall be comforted

when her days of sorrow are ended; then shall the Lord look down upon her, and she shall have the comforts of life, and the good things of this world; then shall she rise up, and defend her cause. She shall live to raise up her family; and in time her sufferings shall be over, for the day is coming when the patient shall receive their reward. Then she shall rise over her enemies, and shall have horses and land, and things around her to make her heart glad. I, in this dying blessing, confirm her patriarchal blessing upon her head, and she shall receive eternal life. Even so. Amen.'

"To Lucy he said:—

" 'Lucy, thou art my youngest child, my darling. And the Lord gave thee unto us to be a comfort and a blessing to us in our old age, therefore, thou must take good care of thy mother. Thou art innocent, and thy heart is right before the Lord. Thou hast been with us through all the persecution; thou hast seen nothing but persecution, sickness, and trouble, except when the Lord hath cheered our hearts. If thou wilt continue faithful thou shalt be blessed with a house and land; thou shalt have food and raiment, and no more be persecuted and driven, as thou hast hitherto been. Now continue faithful, and thou shalt live long and be blessed, and thou shalt receive a reward in heaven. This dying blessing, and also thy patriarchal blessing, I seal upon thy head in the name of Jesus. Even so. Amen.'

"After this he spoke to me again, and said:—

" 'Mother, do you not know that you are one of the most singular women in the world?' 'No,' I replied, 'I do not.' 'Well, I do,' he continued, 'you have brought up my children for me by the fireside, and, when I was gone from home, you comforted them. You have brought up all my children, and could always comfort them when I could not. We have often wished that we might both die at the same time, but you must not desire to die when I do, for you must stay to comfort the children when I am gone. So do not mourn, but try to be comforted. Your last days shall be your best days, as to being driven, for you shall have more power over your enemies than you have had. Again I say, be comforted.'

"He then paused for some time, being exhausted. After which he said, in a tone of surprise, 'I can see and hear, as well as ever I could.' A second pause, of considerable length. 'I see Alvin.' Third pause. 'I shall live seven or eight minutes.' Then straightening himself, he laid his hands together, after which he began to breathe shorter, and in about eight minutes his breath stopped without even a struggle or a sigh, and his spirit took its flight for the regions where the justified ones rest from their labors. He departed so calmly that for some time we could not believe but that he would breathe again.

"Catharine did not arrive until the evening of the second day; still we were compelled to attend to his obsequies the day after his decease, or run the risk of seeing Joseph and Hyrum torn from their father's corpse before it was interred, and carried away by their enemies to prison. After we had deposited his last remains in their narrow house, my sons fled from the city, and I returned to my desolate home; and I then thought that the greatest grief which it was possible for me to feel had fallen upon me in the death of my beloved husband. Although that portion of my life, which lay before me seemed to be a lonesome, trackless waste, yet I did not think that I could possibly find, in traveling over it, a sorrow more searching or a calamity more dreadful than the present. But as I hasten to the end of my story, the reader will be able to form an opinion with regard to the correctness of my conclusion."[1]—Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors, pp. 285-289.

Boggs makes requisition.

On September 15, 1840, Governor Boggs of Missouri made a requisition on Governor Carlin of Illinois for the arrest of Joseph Smith, Jr., Sidney Rigdon, Ly-

[1] There is a discrepancy in the date of the ordination of Joseph Smith, Sen., as Patriarch of the church. Joseph Smith, Jr., his son in the body of history states that he was ordained January 21, 1836. See page 16 of this volume, but when his obituary was published in *Times and Seasons* it was stated that he was ordained December 18, 1833. See page 631 of volume one of this work. This last date is probably a typographical error, as there is no record of his officiating in the office until long after; while frequent mention is made of his officiating after January, 1836.

We think it is safe to say that the date of his ordination was January 21, 1836.

man Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin, and Alanson Brown, as "fugitives from justice." This demand was complied with by Governor Carlin, and writs issued for their arrest. The sheriff visited Nauvoo for the purpose of making the arrests, but failed to find any of the parties. They were all at the time absent from the city, whether from design or accident does not appear.

If any further effort was made at this time to execute these warrants, we have seen no account of it. This is perhaps the instance spoken of by Governor Ford in his "History of Illinois," but if so he has made a mistake of one year in the time. He states:—

"In the fall of 1841, the governor of Missouri made a demand on Governor Carlin for the arrest and delivery of Joe Smith and several other head Mormons, as fugitives from justice. An executive warrant was issued for that purpose. It was placed in the hands of an agent to be executed; but for some cause, unknown to me, was returned to Governor Carlin without being executed. Soon afterwards the Governor handed the same writ to his agent, who this time succeeded in arresting Joe Smith upon it."—Page 266.

Conference business.

A General Conference was held at Nauvoo beginning October 3, 1840. Not much of historical interest was done, but we mention a few items.

R. B. Thompson was appointed church clerk instead of G. W. Robinson, who had removed to Iowa. Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, and Almon Babbitt were appointed a committee to organize stakes between Nauvoo and Kirtland, Ohio.

It was resolved to build a "house of the Lord" in Nauvoo; and Reynolds Cahoon, Elias Higbee, and Alpheus Cutler were appointed a committee for that purpose.

The report of the First Presidency on the general condition of the church was very encouraging.

The following action was also had:—

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed to draft a bill for the incorporation of the town of Nauvoo, and other purposes."

"Resolved, that Joseph Smith, Jr., Dr. J. C. Bennett, and R. B. Thompson, compose said committee."

"Resolved, that Dr. J. C. Bennett be appointed delegate to Springfield, to urge the passage of said bill through the legislature."

Elias Higbee and R. B. Thompson were appointed a committee to obtain redress for wrongs sustained in Missouri.

During the month of October the committee appointed at General Conference organized stakes at the following-named places: Lima, Quincy, Mount Hope, in Adams County, and one at Freedom; and on November 1 they organized a stake in Morgan County, Illinois, called Geneva stake.

Stakes organized.

On December 14, Ebenezer Robinson and D. C. Smith, publishers, dissolved copartnership, Robinson withdrawing, and Smith continuing the *Times and Seasons*.

Times and Seasons.

On December 16, the charters of the city of Nauvoo, the Nauvoo Legion, and the University of the City of Nauvoo, were signed by the Governor, having previously been passed by the Senate and House by unanimous vote.

Charters granted.

The charters read as follows:—

"An act to incorporate the city of Nauvoo.

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois represented in the General Assembly, That all that district of country embraced within the following boundaries; to wit: beginning at the northeast corner of section thirty-one, in township seven, north of range eight west of the fourth principal meridian, in the county of Hancock, and running thence west to the northwest corner of said section, thence north to the Mississippi River, thence west to the middle of the main channel of the said river, thence down the middle of said channel to a point due west of the southeast corner of fractional section number twelve, in township six north of range nine west of the fourth principal meridian, thence east to the southeast corner of said section twelve, thence north on the range line between township six north and range eight and nine west, to the southwest corner of

section six, in township six, north of range eight west, thence east to the southeast corner of said section, thence north to the place of beginning, including the town plats of Commerce and Nauvoo, shall hereafter be called and known by the name of the 'City of Nauvoo,' and the inhabitants thereof are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic by the name aforesaid, and shall have perpetual succession, and may have and use a common seal, which they may change and alter at pleasure.

"Sec. 2. Whenever any tract of land adjoining the 'City of Nauvoo' shall have been laid out into town lots, and duly recorded according to law, the same shall form a part of the 'City of Nauvoo.'

"Sec. 3. The inhabitants of said city, by the name and style aforesaid, shall have power to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in all courts of law and equity, and in all actions whatsoever; to purchase, receive, and hold property, real and personal, in said city, to purchase, receive, and hold real property beyond the city for burying grounds, or for other public purposes, for the use of the inhabitants of said city; to sell, lease, convey, or dispose of property, real and personal, for the benefit of the city, to improve and protect such property, and to do all other things in relation thereto as natural persons.

"Sec. 4. There shall be a City Council to consist of a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors, who shall have the qualifications of electors of said city, and shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, and shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The City Council shall judge of the qualifications, elections, and returns, of their own members, and a majority of them shall form a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members under such penalties as may be prescribed by ordinance.

"Sec. 5. The mayor, aldermen, and councilors, before entering upon the duties of their offices shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation that they will support the Con-

stitution of the United States, and of this State, and that they will well and truly perform the duties of their offices to the best of their skill and abilities.

"Sec. 6. On the first Monday of February next, and every two years thereafter, an election shall be held for the election of one mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors; and at the first election under this act, three judges shall be chosen *viva voce* by the electors present; and said judges shall choose two clerks, and the judges and clerks before entering upon their duties shall take and subscribe an oath or affirmation such as is now required by law to be taken by judges and clerks of other elections; and at all subsequent elections, the necessary number of judges and clerks shall be appointed by the City Council. At the first election so held the polls shall be opened at nine o'clock a. m., and close at six o'clock p. m.; at the close of the polls the votes shall be counted and a statement thereof proclaimed at the front door of the house at which said election shall be held; and the clerks shall leave with each person elected, or at his usual place of residence, within five days after the election, a written notice of his election, and each person so notified shall within ten days after the election take the oath or affirmation hereinbefore mentioned, a certificate of which oath shall be deposited with the Recorder whose appointment is hereafter provided for, and be by him preserved; and all subsequent elections shall be held, conducted, and returns thereof made as may be provided for by ordinance of the City Council.

"Sec. 7. All free white male inhabitants who are of the age of twenty-one years, who are entitled to vote for State officers, and who shall have been actual residents of said city sixty days next preceding said election shall be entitled to vote for city officers.

"Sec. 8. The City Council shall have authority to levy and collect taxes for city purposes upon all property, real and personal, within the limits of the city, not exceeding one half per cent per annum, upon the assessed value thereof, and may enforce the payment of the same in any manner to

be provided by ordinance, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State.

"Sec. 9. The City Council shall have power to appoint a recorder, treasurer, assessor, marshal, supervisor of streets, and all such other officers as may be necessary, and to prescribe their duties, and remove them from office at pleasure.

"Sec. 10. The City Council shall have power to require of all officers appointed in pursuance of this act, bonds with penalty and security, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, such as may be deemed expedient; and, also, to require all officers appointed as aforesaid to take an oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their respective offices.

"Sec. 11. The City Council shall have power and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute, all such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, convenience, and cleanliness, of said city; for the protection of property therein from destruction by fire, or otherwise, and for the health and happiness thereof; they shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen by death, resignation, or removal, in any of the offices herein made elective; to fix and establish all the fees of the officers of said corporation not herein established; to impose such fines, not exceeding one hundred dollars, for each offense, as they may deem just, for refusing to accept any office in or under the corporation, or for misconduct therein; to divide the city into wards, to add to the number of aldermen and councilors and apportion them among the several wards, as may be most just and conducive to the interest of the city.

"Sec. 12. To license, tax, and regulate auctions, merchants, retailers, grocers, hawkers, peddlers, brokers, pawnbrokers, and money changers.

"Sec. 13. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance, to license, regulate, and restrain the keeping of ferries; to regulate the police of the city; to impose fines, forfeitures and penalties, for the breach of any ordinance, and provide for the recovery of

such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties, and to pass such ordinances as may be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act; *Provided* such ordinances are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State: and, in fine, to exercise such other legislative powers as are conferred on the City Council of the City of Springfield, by an act entitled 'An act to incorporate the city of Springfield,' approved, February third, one thousand eight hundred and forty.

"Sec. 14. All ordinances passed by the City Council shall within one month after they shall have been passed, be published in some newspaper printed in the city, or certified copies thereof be posted up in three of the most public places in the city.

"Sec. 15. All ordinances of the city may be proven by the seal of the corporation, and when printed or published in book or pamphlet form, purporting to be printed or published by authority of the corporation, the same shall be received in evidence in all courts or places without further proof.

"Sec. 16. The mayor and aldermen shall be conservators of the peace within the limits of said city, and shall have all the powers of justices of the peace therein, both in civil and criminal cases arising under the laws of the State: they shall as justices of the peace, within the limits of said city, perform the same duties, be governed by the same laws, give the same bonds and security, as other justices of the peace, and be commissioned as justices of the peace in and for said city by the Governor.

"Sec. 17. The mayor shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases arising under the ordinances of the corporation, and shall issue such process as may be necessary to carry said ordinances into execution and effect; appeals may be had from any decision or judgment of said mayor or aldermen, arising under the city ordinances, to the Municipal Court, under such regulations as may be presented by ordinance; which court shall be composed of the mayor as chief justice, and the aldermen as associate justices, and from the

final judgment of the Municipal Court, to the Circuit Court of Hancock County, in the same manner as appeals are taken from judgments of justices of the peace; *Provided*, that the parties litigant shall have a right to a trial by a jury of twelve men, in all cases before the Municipal Court. The Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of habeas corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council.

"Sec. 18. The Municipal Court shall sit on the first Monday of every month, and the City Council at such times and place as may be prescribed by city ordinance; special meetings of which may at any time be called by the mayor or any two aldermen.

"Sec. 19. All process issued by the mayor, aldermen, or Municipal Court, shall be directed to the marshal, and in the execution thereof he shall be governed by the same laws as are, or may be, prescribed for the direction and compensation of constables in similar cases. The marshal shall also perform such other duties as may be required of him under the ordinances of said city, and shall be the principal ministerial officer.

"Sec. 20. It shall be the duty of the recorder to make and keep accurate records of all ordinances made by the City Council, and of all their proceedings in their corporate capacity, which record shall at all times be open to the inspection of the electors of said city, and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the ordinances of the City Council, and shall serve as clerk of the Municipal Court.

"Sec. 21. When it shall be necessary to take private property for opening, widening, or altering, any public street, lane, avenue, or alley, the corporation shall make a just compensation therefor to the person whose property is so taken, and if the amount of such compensation cannot be agreed upon, the mayor shall cause the same to be ascertained by a jury of six disinterested freeholders of the city.

"Sec. 22. All jurors empaneled to inquire into the amount of benefits or damages that shall happen to the owners of property, so proposed to be taken, shall first be sworn to

that effect, and shall return to the Mayor their inquest in writing, signed by each juror.

"Sec. 23. In case the mayor shall at any time be guilty of a palpable omission of duty, or shall willfully and corruptly be guilty of oppression, malconduct, or partiality in the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall be liable to be indicted in the Circuit Court of Hancock County, and on conviction he shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars, and the court shall have power on the recommendation of the jury to add to the judgment of the court that he be removed from office.

"Sec. 24. The City Council may establish and organize an institution of learning within the limits of the city, for the teaching of the arts, sciences, and learned professions, to be called the 'University of the City of Nauvoo,' which institution shall be under the control and management of a Board of Trustees, consisting of a chancellor, registrar, and twenty-three regents, which board shall thereafter be a body corporate and politic with perpetual succession by the name of the 'Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo,' and shall have full power to pass, ordain, establish, and execute all such laws and ordinances as they may consider necessary for the welfare and prosperity of said university, its officers, and students; *Provided*, that the said laws and ordinances shall not be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this State; and *Provided*, also, that the trustees shall at all times be appointed by the City Council, and shall have all the powers and privileges for the advancement of the cause of education which appertain to the trustees of any other college or university of this State.

"Sec. 25. The City Council may organize the inhabitants of said city, subject to military duty, into a body of independent military men to be called the 'Nauvoo Legion,' the court-martial of which shall be composed of the commissioned officers of said legion, and constitute the lawmaking department, with full powers and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute, all such laws and ordinances as may be considered necessary for the benefit, government, and regulation of said legion; *Provided*, said court-martial shall

pass no law or act repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, or of this State; and *Provided*, also, that the officers of the legion shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State. The said legion shall perform the same amount of military duty as is now or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State, and shall be at the disposal of the mayor in executing the laws and ordinances of the city corporation and the laws of the State, and at the disposal of the Governor for the public defense, and the execution of the laws of the State or of the United States, and shall be entitled to their proportion of the public arms; and *Provided*, also, that said legion shall be exempt from all other military duty.

"Sec. 26. The inhabitants of the 'City of Nauvoo,' are hereby exempted from working on any road beyond the limits of the city, and for the purpose of keeping the streets, lanes, avenues, and alleys, in repair to require of the male inhabitants of said city, over the age of twenty-one, and under fifty years, to labor on said streets, lanes, avenues, and alleys, not exceeding three days in each year; any person failing to perform such labor when duly notified by the Supervisor, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one dollar per day for each day so neglected or refused.

"Sec. 27. The City Council shall have power to provide for the punishment of offenders by imprisonment in the county or city jail in all cases when such offenders shall fail or refuse to pay the fines and forfeitures which may be recovered against them.

"Sec. 28. This act is hereby declared to be a public act, and shall take effect on the first Monday of February next.

"WM. L. D. EWING, Speaker of the
House of Representatives.
"S. H. ANDERSON, Speaker of the Senate.

"Approved, Dec. 16, 1840.

"THO. CARLIN.

"STATE OF ILLINOIS,
"Office of Secretary of State.

"I, Stephen A. Douglass, Secretary of State, do hereby

certify that the foregoing is a true and perfect copy of the enrolled law now on file in my office.

[L. S.] "Witness my hand, and seal of State, at Springfield, this 18th day of December, A. D. 1840.

"S. A. DOUGLASS, Secretary of State.

"The following are the legislative powers alluded to in the 13th section of the foregoing act as pertaining to the City Council of the City of Springfield, and which, consequently, become a part of the charter of the City of Nauvoo; to wit:—

"OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

"Sec. 1. The City Council shall have powers and authority to levy and collect taxes upon all property, real and personal, within the city, not exceeding one half per cent per annum upon the assessed value thereof, and may enforce the payment of the same in any manner prescribed by ordinance not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and of this State.

"Sec. 2. The City Council shall have power to require of all officers appointed in pursuance of this charter, bonds with penalty and security for the faithful performance of their respective duties as may be deemed expedient, and also to require all officers appointed as aforesaid to take an oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their respective offices upon entering upon the discharge of the same.

"Sec. 3. To establish, support, and regulate common schools, to borrow money on the credit of the city: *Provided*, That no sum or sums of money shall be borrowed at a greater interest than six per cent per annum, nor shall the interest on the aggregate of all the sums borrowed and outstanding ever exceed one half of the city revenue arising for taxes assessed on real property within the corporation.

"Sec. 4. To make regulations to prevent the introduction of contagious diseases into the city, to make quarantine laws for that purpose, and enforce the same.

"Sec. 5. To appropriate and provide for the payment of the debt [and] expenses of the city.

"Sec. 6. To establish hospitals, and make regulations for the government of the same.

"Sec. 7. To make regulations to secure the general health of the inhabitants, to declare what shall be a nuisance, and to prevent and remove the same.

"Sec. 8. To provide the city with water, to dig wells and erect pumps in the streets for the extinguishment of fires, and convenience of the inhabitants.

"Sec. 9. To open, alter, widen, extend, establish, grade, pave, or otherwise improve and keep in repair streets, avenues, lanes, and alleys.

"Sec. 10. To establish, erect, and keep in repair, bridges.

"Sec. 11. To divide the city into wards, and specify the boundaries thereof, and create additional wards, as the occasion may require.

"Sec. 12. To provide for lighting the streets and erecting lamp posts.

"Sec. 13. To establish, support, and regulate night watches.

"Sec. 14. To erect market houses, establish markets, and market places, and provide for the government and regulation thereof.

"Sec. 15. To provide for erecting all needful buildings for the use of the city.

"Sec. 16. To provide for inclosing, improving, [and] regulating all public grounds belonging to the city.

"Sec. 17. To license, tax, [and] regulate auctioneers, merchants and retailers, grocers, taverns, ordinaries, hawkers, peddlers, brokers, pawnbrokers, and money changers.

"Sec. 18. To license, tax, and regulate hacking, carriages, wagons, carts, and drays, and fix the rates to be charged for the carriage of persons, and for the wagonage, cartage, and drayage of property.

"Sec. 19. To license and regulate porters and fix the rates of porterage.

"Sec. 20. To license and regulate theatrical and other exhibitions, shows, and amusements.

"Sec. 21. To tax, restrain, prohibit, and suppress, tip-

pling houses, dram shops, gaming houses, bawdy and other disorderly houses.

"Sec. 22. To provide for the prevention and extinguishment of fires, and to organize and establish fire companies.

"Sec. 23. To regulate the fixing of chimneys and the flues thereof, and stove pipes.

"Sec. 24. To regulate the storage of gunpowder, tar, pitch, rosin, and other combustible materials.

"Sec. 25. To regulate and order parapet walls and partition fences.

"Sec. 26. To establish standard weights and measures, and regulate the weights and measures to be used in the city, in all other cases not provided for by law.

"Sec. 27. To provide for the inspection and measuring of lumber and other building materials: and for the measurement of all kinds of mechanical work.

"Sec. 28. To provide for the inspection and weighing of hay, lime, and stone coal, the measuring of charcoal, firewood, and other fuel, to be sold or used within the city.

"Sec. 29. To provide for and regulate the inspection of tobacco, and of beef, pork, flour, meal, and whisky in barrels.

"Sec. 30. To regulate the weight, quality, and price of bread sold and used in the city.

"Sec. 31. To provide for taking the enumeration of the inhabitants of the city.

"Sec. 32. To regulate the election of city officers, and provide for removing from office any person holding an office created by ordinance.

"Sec. 33. To fix the compensation of all city officers and regulate the fees of jurors, witnesses, and others, for services rendered under this act or any ordinance.

"Sec. 34. To regulate the police of the city, to impose fines, and forfeitures, and penalties, for the breach of any ordinance, and provide for the recovery and appropriation of such fines and forfeitures, and the enforcement of such penalties.

"Sec. 35. The City Council shall have exclusive power within the city, by ordinance, to license, regulate, and sup-

press and restrain billiard tables, and from one to twenty pin alleys, and every other description of gaming or gambling.

"Sec. 36. The City Council shall have power to make all ordinances which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers specified in this act, so that such ordinance be not repugnant to, nor inconsistent with, the Constitution of the United States or of this State.

"Sec. 37. The style of the ordinances of the city shall be: 'Be it ordained by the City Council of the City of Springfield.'

"Sec. 38. All ordinances passed by the City Council shall, within one month after they shall have been passed, be published in some newspaper published in the city, and shall not be in force until they shall have been published as aforesaid.

"Sec. 39. All ordinances of the city may be proven by the seal of the corporation, and when printed and published by authority of the corporation, the same shall be received in evidence in all courts and places without further proof." —*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 281–286.

In the bustle incident to the organizing of a city government under the new charter the year closed.

Joseph Smith gives the list of publications for and against the church for the year 1840 as follows:—

"The following is a list of books, pamphlets, and letters published for and against the Latter Day Saints during the past year, so far as have come under my observation:—

"Fourteen numbers of the *Times and Seasons* have been issued from the office in Nauvoo, containing 224 pages, edited by E. Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, three numbers having been issued during 1839.

"Eight numbers of the *Millennial Star* have been published at 149 Oldham Road, Manchester, England, containing 216 pages, edited by Elder P. P. Pratt.

"A selection of hymns was published about the first of July, in England, by Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Parley P. Pratt, for the use of the saints in Europe.

"The Rev. Robert Heys, Wesleyan minister, Douglas,

Isle of Man, published three addresses in pamphlet form, against the Latter Day Saints, which were replied to in the following order:—

"An Answer to some False Statements and Misrepresentations, published by the Rev. Robert Heys, Wesleyan minister, in an address to his society in Douglas, and its vicinity on the subject of Mormonism. By John Taylor, October 7, 1840.

"Calumny Refuted, and the Truth Defended, being a reply to the second address of the Rev. Robert Heys. By John Taylor, Douglas, October 29, 1840.

"Truth Defended and Methodism Weighed in the Balances and Found Wanting; being a reply to the third address of the Rev. Robert Heys against the Latter Day Saints. And also an Exposure of the Principles of Methodism. By John Taylor, Liverpool, December 7, 1840.

"The Latter Day Saints and the Book of Mormon; being a few words of warning against the Latter Day Saints, from a minister to his flock. W. J. Morrish, Ledbury, Herefordshire, September.

"A second warning by the same W. J. Morrish, October 15.

"A few more facts relating to the self styled 'Latter Day Saints;' by John Simons, Church of England minister, Dymock, Herefordshire, September 14.

"Several letters written by Mr. J. Curran, and published in the *Manx Liberal*, Isle of Man, in October, were replied to by Elder John Taylor.

"Mormonism Weighed in the Balances of the Sanctuary and Found Wanting; the substance of four lectures, by Samuel Haining. Published in Douglas, Isle of Man; a tract of 66 pages.

"Interesting Account of several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records, giving an Account of the Commencement of the Work of the Lord in this Generation. By Elder Orson Pratt, Edinburgh, September.

"The Word of the Lord to the Citizens of London, of every sect and denomination; and to every individual into

whose hands it may fall; shewing forth the plan of salvation, as laid down in the New Testament; namely, Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ—Repentance—Baptism for the remission of sins—and the Gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. Presented by H. C. Kimball and W. Woodruff, Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

"An Exposure of the Errors and Fallacies of the self-named 'Latter Day Saints.' By William Hewitt, of Lane End, Staffordshire Potteries.

"An answer to Mr. William Hewitt's tract against the Latter Day Saints. By Elder Parley P. Pratt.

"Plain Facts; showing the falsehood and folly of the Rev. C. Bush (the Church of England minister, of the parish of Peover, Cheshire); being a reply to his tract against the Latter Day Saints. By Elder Parley P. Pratt.

"A few remarks by way of reply to an anonymous scribbler, calling himself 'a philanthropist,' disabusing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, of the slanders and falsehoods which he has attempted to fasten upon it. By Samuel Bennett, Philadelphia.

"Mormonism Unmasked, and Mr. Bennett's reply answered and refuted. By a philanthropist of Chester County. Published in Philadelphia.

"An appeal to the American People; being an account of the persecutions of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and of the barbarities inflicted on them by the inhabitants of the State of Missouri.

"A reply to Mr. Thomas Taylor's pamphlet, entitled, 'Complete Failure,' etc., and also to Mr. Richard Livesey's tract, 'Mormonism Exposed.' By Parley P. Pratt.

"The editor of the *London Dispatch*, published an article on November 8, against the Latter Day Saints, containing some of the false statements of Captain D. L. St. Clair, in his tract against them, which was replied to by Elder Parley P. Pratt, in the November number of the *Millennial Star*.

"'The Millennium, and other Poems:' to which is annexed, 'A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter.' By P. P. Pratt, New York."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 299, 300.

CHAPTER 22.

1837–1840.

THE ENGLISH MISSION—PECULIAR TRIALS—TWELVE RETURN—BRIEF HISTORY—QUORUM COUNCIL—GENERAL CONFERENCE—HYDE AND PAGE—SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

WHEN Apostles Kimball and Hyde left England in 1838, they left the church in charge of Elder Willard Richards; who, though meeting local opposition both within and without the church, remained faithfully at his post of duty, and presided with acceptability to the church during the dark days of American persecution, when assistance could not be sent him.

English mission.

In January, 1839, Elder Isaac Russell, who had formerly been a missionary to England, wrote to Alston, England, and caused much trouble. He claimed that Joseph the prophet had fallen and that the Lord had chosen him. President Richards, however, succeeded in meeting this influence and destroying its effect.

In England as well as in America the most ridiculous stories were told regarding the saints. On September 2, 1838, a lady by the name of Alice Hodgin died at Preston. Elder Richards was arraigned before the mayor's court on the charge of having killed her with a "black stick." He was discharged, however, before going to trial.

Some of the peculiar trials of Elder Richards are briefly told by Joseph Smith as follows:—

"While the persecutions were progressing against us in Missouri, the enemy of all righteousness was no less busy with the saints in England, according to the length of time the gospel had been preached in that kingdom. Temptation followed temptation, and being young in the cause, the saints suffered themselves to be buffeted by their adversary. From the time that Elder Wil-

Peculiar trials.

lard Richards was called to the apostleship, in July, 1838, the Devil seemed to take a great dislike to him, and strove to stir up the minds of many against him. Elder Richards was afflicted with sickness and several times was brought to the borders of the grave, and many were tempted to believe that he was under transgression or he would not be thus afflicted. Some were tried and tempted because Elder Richards took to himself a wife; they thought he should have given himself wholly to the ministry and followed Paul's advice to the letter. Some were tried because his wife wore a veil, and others because she carried a muff to keep herself warm when she walked out in cold weather; and even the president of the church there thought 'she had better done without it;' she had nothing ever purchased by the church, and to gratify their feelings wore the poorest clothes she had, and they were too good, so hard was it to buffet the storm of feeling that arose from such foolish causes. Sister Richards was very sick for some time, and some were dissatisfied because he did not neglect her entirely and go out preaching; and others, that she did not go to meeting when she was not able to go so far.

"From such little things arose a spirit of jealousy, tattling, evil speaking, surmising, covetousness, and rebellion, until the church but too generally harbored more or less of those unpleasant feelings; and this evening Elder Halsal came out openly in council against Elder Richards and preferred some heavy charges, none of which he was able to substantiate. Most of the elders in Preston were against Elder Richards for a season, except James Whitehead, who proved himself true in the hour of trial.

"Sunday, 10th. When Elder Richards made proclamation from the pulpit that if anyone had aught against him or his wife Jennetta, he wished they would come to him and state their grievances, and if he had erred in anything he would acknowledge his fault, one only of the brethren came to him, and that to acknowledge his own fault to Elder Richards in harboring unpleasant feelings without a cause. Elder Richards' wife[1] bore all these trials and persecutions with

[1] This should probably read Elder Richards and his wife.

patience; for he knew the cause, his calling having been made known to him by revelation; but he told no one of it. The work continued to spread in Manchester and vicinity, among the Staffordshire Potteries, and other places in England."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 16, p. 789.

Twelve return.

As already stated the Twelve resolved, in 1839, to go to England, accompanied by several of the seventy and some of the high priests. Their resolution was approved by the First Presidency and the church. They left Nauvoo at different times, as has been noted in these pages. They traveled through the Eastern States, preaching and building up churches, though sickness and adverse circumstances were against them.

Brief history.

The following brief history of the English mission is from the pen of Willard Richards, who had been connected with the mission from its beginning:—

"About the first of June, 1837, Elder Heber C. Kimball was called by the Spirit of revelation and set apart by the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, then at Kirtland, Ohio, North America, to preside over a mission to England, accompanied by Elder Orson Hyde, who was set apart for the same work at the same time. In a few days, Brother Joseph Fielding, priest, was set apart; and on the eve of the 12th, Elder Willard Richards (having been absent several months on a long journey, and having returned the day previous) was called and set apart for the same mission.

"The following morning, Tuesday, 13th, these brethren gave the parting hand, bade farewell to home, and without purse or scrip started for England. They were accompanied twelve miles to Fairport, on Lake Erie, by Elders Brigham Young, John P. Green, and Brother Levi Richards, and Sisters Kimball, Green, and Fielding (Brother R. B. Thompson and wife accompanied the mission to Buffalo, and Brother Fitch Brigham to Utica), and others, with whom they parted in the afternoon, and went on board a steamer for Buffalo, where they arrived next day.

"At this place the brethren expected to receive some means from Canada to assist them on their journey, but they

were disappointed. In the evening they took passage on a canal boat, and arrived in Albany on the 19th, Elder Hyde having gone forward to New York from Rochester. Brother Fielding proceeded to New York, and on the 20th Elder Kimball accompanied Elder Richards to his father's house in Richmond, Massachusetts, thirty miles east, where they spent one day, and having received some assistance from his friends, bade them farewell for the last time, his father and mother having since died, also a sister whom he had left in Kirtland, and on the 21st returned to Albany, and arrived in New York on the 22d, where they found Brothers O. Hyde and Fielding; also Elders John Goodson, Isaac Russell, and John Snyder, priest (who had come from Canada to join the mission), anxiously waiting their arrival so that they might take passage on board the United States, which was to sail next day, but they arrived too late.

"In New York Elder Richards received some further means, quite providentially, and on the 23d the brethren engaged passage to Liverpool, on board the Garrick, which was to sail on the 1st of July.

"In the meantime the brethren received every possible assistance from Elder Elijah Fordham, for at that time he was the only member of the church residing in the city, and having no house of his own, he procured his father's store-house for the use of the brethren, where they lodged on the floor, amid straw and blankets, one week, eating their cold morsel, and conversing with the people as they had opportunity; for no place could be procured to preach in, and there was no one to receive them into their houses.

"Sunday, the 25th, the brethren held a council at their lodgings (Mr. Fordham's store), and organized ready for taking their departure.

"On the 29th, the brethren sealed, superscribed, and forwarded one hundred and eighty of Elder Orson Hyde's 'Timely Warnings' to the ministers of the different denominations in the city, and went on board the Garrick, which hauled out into the river and cast anchor.

"July 1st the ship weighed anchor, and was towed to the Hook by a steamer, where she spread sail, and in four hours

and a half was out of sight of land. With the exception of a strong wind on the 12th, there was generally a gentle breeze from the northwest during the voyage.

"On the 16th, Elder Hyde preached on the aft quarter deck, and on the 18th Cape Clear was visible (eighteen days out of sight of land); and on the morning of the 20th the brethren landed in Liverpool, twenty days from New York. Here Elders Kimball, Hyde, and Richards found themselves on a foreign shore, surrounded by strangers, without the first farthing in their possession; but the brethren unitedly took lodgings in a private house in Union Street, till after the inspection of the ship; and on Saturday, the 22d, took coach for Preston. When they had alighted from the coach and were standing by their trunks in front of the hotel in Preston, a large flag was unfurled over their heads, on which was printed in golden letters, 'Truth will prevail;' at the sight of which their hearts rejoiced, and they cried aloud, 'Amen, thanks be unto God, *Truth will prevail.*'

"Brother Joseph Fielding lodged with his brother, Rev. James Fielding, then a preacher in Vauxhall Road chapel, and the remainder of the brethren took lodgings in St. Wilford Street, Fox Street. The same evening the elders visited the Rev. Mr. Fielding, by his request, at his lodgings. He had previously been apprised of the coming forth of this work in America, through the medium of letters from his relatives and others, and had requested his church to pray that God would send them his servants, and exhorted his people to receive their message when they should come.

"Sunday, the 23d. As they had no place in which to preach, the seven brethren went to Vauxhall chapel to hear the Rev. Mr. Fielding; and, at the close of the morning service, Mr. Fielding gave public notice that an elder of the Latter Day Saints would preach in the afternoon in his pulpit. This was voluntary with Mr. Fielding, as no one had requested the privilege; and in the afternoon, according to the notice, Elder Kimball gave a brief history of the rise of the church, and the first principles of the gospel, and Elder Hyde bore testimony; after which the Rev. Mr. Fielding requested the brethren to give out an appointment for the

evening, when Elder Goodson preached and Brother Joseph Fielding bore testimony.

"At the close Mr. Fielding again gave leave for preaching at the same place on Wednesday evening, when Elder Hyde preached and Elder Richards bore testimony; and from that time the Rev. Mr. Fielding closed his doors against the elders, and began to oppose the work, and stated that the elders promised to say nothing about baptism in their preaching, before he consented to let them preach in his pulpit; whereas the subject of the elders preaching in his chapel had not been named between the parties, before Mr. F. gave out the public appointment before referred to: much less (if possible) that they would 'say nothing about baptism.'

"Nine of Mr. Fielding's members offered themselves for baptism; and Mr. Fielding presented himself before the elders and forbade their baptizing them; but he received for answer that 'they were of age and could act for themselves;' and on Sunday, the 30th, they were baptized under the hands of Elder Kimball; Brother George D. Watt being the first who offered himself for baptism in England, and is now an elder laboring in Edinburgh, Scotland.

"Elder Russell preached in the market place in the afternoon, and from that day the doors of private houses were opened on almost every hand for the elders.

"July 31st, a council of the elders decided that Elders Goodson and Richards should go on a mission to Bedford, and Elder Russell and Priest Snyder on a mission to Alston, Cumberland; and after a night of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, the brethren took their departure on the morning of the first of August for their several stations.

"The Rev. Mr. Fielding continued to oppose the doctrine of baptism for a season; but finding that he was likely to lose all his 'best members,' he offered to baptize them himself; but they, being aware that he had no authority, declined his friendly offers; whereupon he engaged the Rev. Mr. Giles, a Baptist minister in Preston, of as little authority as himself, to do the baptizing for his flock; but this iniquitous scheme succeeded little better than the other—only one coming forward to his baptism, so far as we have heard.

Mr. Fielding's people also stated that he acted the part of a hypocrite and deceived them, when he read the letters to them in public, which he received from America, by keeping back that part which treated on baptism, which, since the foregoing failure, he has opposed.

"Elders Kimball and Hyde and Priest Fielding continued to preach daily in different parts of Preston, and on Wednesday and Thursday evenings (August 2) the meetings were attended by Miss Jennetta Richards, who was visiting her friends in Preston, and on Friday she requested baptism, which was attended to by Elder Kimball, after which she was confirmed at the water side by Elders Kimball and Hyde, it being the first confirmation in a foreign land in these last days.

"The day following Sister Richards returned home to her friends, and informed her father, the Rev. J. Richards, an Independent minister at Walker-fold, Chaidgely, whom she had found at Preston, and what she had done, and requested him to send for Elder Kimball to preach in his chapel. Mr. Richards complied with his daughter's request. Elder Kimball arrived at Walker-fold Saturday eve, August 12, and the day following preached three times in Mr. Richards' pulpit, to crowded assemblies; also twice during the week and twice the Sunday following, being most kindly and cordially entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Richards for nine days, during which time Elder Kimball baptized several in the neighborhood.

"After a short visit to Preston, where Elder Hyde continued to preach and baptize, Elder Kimball returned to Walker-fold and continued to receive the hospitality of Mr. Richards' house for some days, while the work spread in the neighborhood; and from thence the work went forth to Clitheroe, Waddington, Downham, Chatburn, Thornley, and Ribchester, through the labors of Brothers Kimball and Fielding.

"Elders Goodson and Richards arrived in Bedford on the 2d of August, and having letters of introduction to the Rev. Timothy R. Matthews from Brother Joseph Fielding (Mrs. Matthews' brother), they immediately waited on Mr. Mat-

thews, who expressed great joy at their arrival, and manifested his sincerity by walking arm in arm with the elders through the streets of Bedford, calling on the members of his church, and inviting them to attend the lectures of the elders at his chapel vestry that evening. Mr. Matthews had previously been apprised of the saints in America through the medium of the Rev. James Fielding, of Preston, and the letters from America, before referred to. In the evening his church assembled in the vestry, and Elders Goodson and Richards continued to lecture and testify of the work of God, on that and the three following evenings in the same place, with the entire approbation of Mr. Matthews, who at the close of the lectures publicly bore testimony to the truths advanced, and called upon his people to know why they did not come forward for baptism; while they in return wished to know why he did not set them the example.

"After this Mr. Matthews engaged another house in the neighborhood for the elders to preach in, under the pretense that some of the proprietors of the chapel might not be pleased with the elders occupying the vestry, and Mr. Matthews continued to attend the preaching of the elders, and also spent a great share of his time from day to day in conversation with them.

"Mr. Matthews told the elders that he had received two ordinations; one from Bishop West, whom he had proved to be an impostor, and another from the Church of England, which he acknowledged to be descended from the Church of Rome; and he further acknowledged that he had no authority from God for administering in the ordinances of God's house.

"On the 10th, Mrs. Braddock and four others were baptized by Elder Goodson. Soon after this Mr. Joseph Saville, member of Mr. Matthews' church, being very desirous of receiving baptism at the same time with Mr. Matthews, waited on him at his house, in company with Elders Goodson and Richards, and Mr. Matthews and Mr. Saville mutually agreed to meet the elders on the bank of the river Ouse, at a specified hour in the afternoon, and attend to the

ordinance of baptism. At the hour appointed Mr. Saville met the elders at the place previously designated by Mr. Matthews; but as he did not make his appearance according to promise, after waiting for him an hour, Mr. Saville was baptized, when the elders repaired to Mr. Matthews' to learn the cause of his not fulfilling his engagement, and were informed by Mr. Matthews' family that he had gone out into the country to preach.

"In a day or two it was currently rumored that Mr. Matthews had baptized himself, and this rumor was afterwards confirmed by Mrs. Matthews, who stated to Elder Kimball at Preston, that Mr. Matthews had baptized himself, reasoning upon this principle within himself, 'If I have authority to administer the sacrament to my people, why not have authority to baptize myself?' etc.—and all this after Mr. Matthews had acknowledged to Elders Goodson and Richards that he had no authority to administer in the ordinances of God's house; and altogether regardless of the words of the apostle (Heb. 5: 4), 'No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.'

"By the foregoing it is plainly to be seen that Mr. Matthews has attempted to take that upon himself which was never conferred upon him by the Spirit of revelation, either by God, his angels, or his servants; viz., the holy priesthood; and from that period Mr. Matthews began to preach baptism, and baptized those who felt it their duty to be baptized, and then invited them to the penitent form to get remission of their sins; but finding that would not answer all the design which he intended, he afterwards began to baptize for the remission of sins.

"Mr. Matthews appears to have well understood that counterfeit coin is more current the nearer it approximates to the true, and governed himself accordingly; for he continued to preach faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, the second coming of Christ, etc., etc., adding one thing to another, in imitation of truth, as fast as it answered his purpose, from those doctrines which he had heard from the Latter Day Saints; but it was some time before he arrived at that heaven-daring, conscience-seared hardihood

to lay hands on those whom he had baptized, for the reception of the Holy Ghost, and at the same time he acknowledged that he had not got the Holy Ghost himself, by praying that he might receive it (Query, How can a man communicate that which he is not in possession of?), and he now calls his church 'The Church of Latter Day Saints.'

"Thus has Mr. Matthews been running about from Bedford to Liverpool, from Liverpool to Northampton, from Northampton to Bedford, and other places, crying aloud in public and private that the Latter Day Saints and their doctrines came from hell; at the same time has been preaching the same doctrines, calls his church by the same name, is administering in the same ordinances, just as though he fully believed that the doctrines and sacraments of hell would be sanctified and made holy and heavenly when administered by the tongue and hands of an impostor.

"About the time that Mr. Matthews rejected the truth in Bedford his son (as Mr. Matthews called him), the Rev. Robert Aitkin, commenced his attack on the principles of righteousness in Preston; and while furiously pounding his pulpit with the Book of Mormon and warning his people to beware of the Latter Day Saints and their doctrines, saying that they and their record came from hell, called upon his people to use all their efforts to put down the work of God or stop the progress of the Latter Day Saints; and if it could not be put down without, prayed that God would smite the leaders; and from that time to the present his prayer has been answered on his own head.

"After Mr. Aitkin had preached against the corruptions of the Church of England for years, and established many flourishing chapels in Liverpool, Preston, Manchester, Burslem, London, etc.; after he had been visited by the elders of the Church of Latter Day Saints, and acknowledged to them at one time that baptism was right, but he could find no man who had authority to baptize; and at another time that he was afraid of them, and rejected their testimony; and last of all would not receive the elders into his house;- after all this, and deserted by a part of his flock, he has fled from the remainder because he was an hireling and

cared not for the sheep; yes, he has deserted his 'Christian Society'— ceased to be an Aitkinite, and dissolved his copartnership with Father Matthews, as may well be supposed, returned, and taken 'holy order' in 'Mother Church,' against the corruptions of which he testified so diligently from year to year, and is now about to enter on his parochial duties in St. John the Evangelist's church, Hope Street, Liverpool, for no other reason, that the writer knows of, only that he could find no one who had authority to baptize for the remission of sins, and not possessing the faith of his father, Matthews, to believe that the doctrines of the pit would become holy and gospel doctrines when taught by the tongue of wickedness and imposture, he has concluded thus publicly to acknowledge himself a servant of those very errors he has so long contended against, for the sake of filthy lucre.

"About the 12th of September Elder Goodson and Priest Snyder returned to Preston, and soon after sailed for America.

"Some years previous, the principles of the Temperance Society (originally established in America) were introduced into England, and Preston was the first town to receive them. Among the many interesting and valuable items held forth by the Temperance people, it was often remarked by them that Temperance was the forerunner of the gospel, which prophecy proved true; for when the fullness of the gospel came from America to England, it was first preached in Preston, and through the influence of the Temperance Society the Latter Day Saints procured the use of the Temperance hall in Preston (a commodious building, originally erected for cock fighting) for their chapel, and commenced meeting therein on the third of September, 1837, and continued until they were ejected through the influence of others, the Temperance Society not having it entirely at their control. Similar favors have been received from several other Temperance Societies in England, for which the Lord reward them.

"Elder Richards continued to labor against much opposition in Bedford and the region round about, until the seventh

of March, 1838, when he returned to Preston, leaving about forty members in charge of Elder James Lavender. Elder Russell continued to labor at Alston, Brampton, etc., and returned to Preston near the same time, leaving about sixty members in the care of Elder Jacob Peart.

"At Christmas, 1837, Priest Joseph Fielding was ordained elder, and several were ordained teachers, etc., at Preston; and in March, 1838, the church had extended from Preston to Penwortham, Longton, Southport, Eccleston, Whittle, Hunter's Hill, Chorley, and the intermediate region, through the labors of Elders Hyde, Kimball, and Fielding, and the members amounted to several hundreds in the regions of Preston and Clitheroe. During this month Elders Kimball and Hyde were diligently engaged in organizing the different branches; and on the first of April a General Conference was called at Preston, when the organization of the churches was completed, and many were ordained, among whom were Elders Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and William Clayton, to the high priesthood, and set apart by Elders Kimball and Hyde to preside over all the churches in England.

"On the 9th, Elders Kimball, Hyde, and Russell took leave of the saints in Preston and went to Liverpool, where they were visited by Elders Fielding, Richards, Clayton, and others; and on the 20th of April sailed for New York, on board the Garrick, the same ship they came out unto England.

"When Elders Fielding and Richards had returned to Longton they found a pamphlet, purporting to be written by the Rev. Richard Livesey, a Methodist minister, who had spent some time on a mission to the United States, as he says, and having nothing more important to attend to during his mission, it appears that he spent his time in gathering up a heap of lies and filth from the American papers, and imported them to England on his return; and finding that the work of God had commenced in his native land, and was likely to destroy his craft, set himself at work to condense his heterogeneous mass of transatlantic lies, and form the wonderful production of the Rev. Richard Livesey's tract

against the Latter Day Saints; it being the first thing of the kind that the enemy of all righteousness had found means to export from America and circulate in England; but since which he has found servants in abundance to assist in this nefarious merchandise of his heart's delight.

"The church at this time was in its infancy and needed much instruction, which necessarily occupied the attention of the presiding elders to a great extent; and as there were few laborers in the field, the spread of the work was not very rapid for some time.

"Sister Alice Hodgin died at Preston on the second of September, 1838, and it was such a wonderful thing for a Latter Day Saint to die in England that Elder Richards was arraigned before the Mayor's Court at Preston, on the third of October, charged with 'killing and slaying' the said Alice with a 'black stick,' etc., but was discharged without being permitted to make his defense, as soon as it was discovered that the iniquity of his accusers was about to be made manifest.

"October 19, 1838, Elder Clayton gave himself wholly to the work and soon after commenced preaching and baptizing in Manchester; and from thence the work spread into Stockport and other places in the neighborhood, through the labors of Elders Clayton, Fielding, John Moon, and David Wilding. A small church had previously sprung up in Bolton, through the labors of Elder D. Wilding, and was continued by Elder Amos Fielding.

"In the summer of 1839 Elders Clayton, Richards, and J. Moon labored in Burslem, with some success, and a small church was planted in Burnley by Elder Thomas Richardson, besides many who were added in the older branches, through the instrumentality of the local elders and priests, who were generally very faithful.

"December 8, 1839, Elders Hiram Clark, Alexander Wright, and Samuel Mulliner arrived in Preston from America; and on the 25th Brothers Wright and Mulliner started for Scotland, and soon commenced preaching and baptizing in Paisley and vicinity.

"January 13, 1840, Elders Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor,

and Theodore Turley arrived in Preston, from America; and on the 18th Brothers Woodruff and Turley started for the Potteries in Staffordshire, passing through Manchester; and on the 22d, Elder Taylor left for Liverpool.

"April 6, 1840, just ten years from the organization of the church, Elders Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, and Reuben Hedlock, landed in Liverpool from New York; and on the 9th Elder Kimball arrived in Preston, just two years from the day he left for America.

"The arrival of the elders caused the saints to rejoice exceedingly, for it had been prophesied by many (not of the church) that they would never come, and that Elders Kimball and Hyde would never return; but they are both now in England, Elder Orson Hyde having arrived in Liverpool on the third instant from New York.

"HEBER C. KIMBALL.
"ORSON HYDE.
"WILLARD RICHARDS.

"PRESTON, March 24, 1841."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 434–438.

When they arrived they were almost penniless, but full of faith and hope.

There were now seven of the Quorum of Twelve in Great Britain, and this being a majority, they were prepared as a quorum to transact business for the first time in a foreign land.

The *Millennial Star* was published soon afterward, at Manchester, and the work began to take a new impetus.

Quorum council.

On April 14, 1840, there was a council of the Twelve held at Preston, England; present, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and John Taylor. At this meeting they ordained Elder Willard Richards to the apostleship. There were now eight of the quorum in England, leaving only three; viz., William Smith, Orson Hyde, and John E. Page in America, as the vacancy occasioned by the death of David W. Patten had not been filled. Two of them; viz., Orson Hyde and John E. Page, were preparing for their mission to the Holy Land.

At this council, on April 14, 1840, Brigham Young was unanimously chosen the standing president of the quorum.

General Conference.

A General Conference convened on April 15, 1840, and of that conference and the churches reported there the *Millennial Star* states:—

"At a General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints held in the Temperance hall, Preston, Lancashire, England, on the 15th of April, 1840, the following churches were represented:—

Places.	Members.	Elders.	Priests.	Teachers.	Deacons.
Preston	300	7	8	6	2
Penworthen	73	3	1	2	1
Longton	51	2	4	2	0
Southport	20	0	1	1	0
Daubers Lane, etc	54	1	2	3	0
Hunters Hill, etc	17	1	1	1	0
Heskin	3	1	0	0	0
Bolton	60	1	2	2	0
Ratcliffe	10	0	0	0	0
Whittle	18	1	4	0	0
Ribchester	25	2	0	1	0
Burnley	24	0	1	1	0
Blackburn	15	0	1	0	0
Keighley, etc	29	2	1	1	0
Waddington	50	0	2	2	1
Clitheroe	27	1	3	0	0
Chatburn	84	1	2	2	1
Dunham	20	0	0	1	1
Grindleton	5	0	0	0	0
Manchester	240	2	5	4	0
Stockport	40	0	1	2	1
Duttonfield	30	0	1	0	0
Altrincham	8	0	1	1	0
Perver and Macclesfield	30	0	3	0	0
Middlewitch	6	0	0	0	0
Bury and Elton	12	0	0	0	0
Potteries	101	1	2	4	1
Herefordshire	160	1	2	0	0
Liverpool	28	0	0	0	0
Alston	40	2	2	2	0
Brampton	30	1	1	0	0
Bedford	40	1	1	0	0
Scotland	21	3	0	0	0

"Since the conference and up to the present time many

are being added by baptism in almost every place where the fullness of the gospel is preached. In Scotland the work of the Lord is going on and souls are coming into the church. In Herefordshire and the adjoining country some forty preachers of other orders have lately submitted to the ordinances and united themselves to the Church of the Latter Day Saints, by which means upwards of forty preaching places have been opened for our elders. May God Almighty bless the people of that region abundantly, because with all readiness they received the word and were willing to be taught in the way of the Lord more perfectly. In Manchester our meetings are well attended; people seem desirous to hear, and some are baptized and added to the church every week. We very much need a larger place to meet; indeed, the largest place in the town would be too small if the public could have general notice. Numbers are being baptized and added to the church in the towns and country around.

"In short, on all sides we turn our eyes we behold the field all white ready to harvest. Calls for preaching are more than we can fill at present. May the Lord send more laborers into his harvest. There are thousands of people in England, if they once knew our principles would embrace them, and even lay down their lives for them if required."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 1, pp. 20, 21.

Another conference was held on July 6, 1840, at Manchester, at which time reports showed an increase over the number of members in April of about six hundred and fifty.

Again, there was a conference held at Manchester, October 6, 1840, which showed an increase in the three months of over one thousand three hundred. This ratio of increase will give the reader a fair idea of the prosperity of the work in the British Isles, without going into details.

On August 6 a company of saints sailed from Liverpool for America, in charge of Elder Theodore Turley.

During the remainder of the year the work in Europe spread with unabating interest.

Apostles Hyde and Page were yet laboring in the United

States but working their way eastward. The following letter from them is of interest:—

"COLUMBUS, Indiana, May 1, 1840.

"*President Smith; Sir:*—The mission upon which we are sent swells greater and greater. As there is a great work to be done in Germany, as manifested to us by the Spirit, the following plan has been suggested to us; viz., to write a set of lectures upon the faith and doctrine of our church, giving a brief history of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, and an account of its contents in as clear and plain a style as possible; together with the outlines and organization and government of the Church of Latter Day Saints, drawn from the Doctrine and Covenants with all the wisdom and care possible; and get the same translated into German, and publish it when we arrive in Germany, and scatter it through the German Empire. Is this correct? Should we consider it necessary to translate the entire Book of Mormon into German, and Doctrine and Covenants too, are we or are we not at liberty to do so? Should we deem it necessary to publish an edition of hymn books in any country, are we at liberty to do it? The fact is, we need such works, and we cannot get them from the church here; and if we could, we could not well carry them with us, at least any quantity.

Hyde and Page.

"We feel that we are acting under the direction of the Presidency of the church; and the reason that we make these inquiries is, that we do not wish to step beyond our limits, or bring ourselves into a snare and dishonor by taking liberties that are not ours. We feel that all our exertions and interests shall become subservient to build up the kingdom of God. We wish to be coworkers with you and with the Spirit of the Lord. We did not converse so much upon these literary works as we should have done before we left. The fact was, we did not begin to see the greatness of our mission before we left home; our minds were in a nutshell.

"It seems to us that we should spread this work among all people, languages, and tongues, so far as possible; and

gather up all jewels among the Jews besides. Who is sufficient for these things?

"As agents for the church abroad, and as coworkers with yourself, in spreading this kingdom to the remotest corners of the earth, are we at liberty to translate and publish any works that we may think necessary, or that the circumstances in which we are placed seem to require, whether original or works published by the church? If we are not at liberty to take this wide range, please tell us how far we may go.

"We are setting this great work before the people as an inducement to them to help us. If we are setting our standard too high, a word from you will bring it down. We have held a two-days' meeting in this place; but in consequence of continual rains, which swelled the creeks so high, the people could not get to us. The meeting was four miles from Columbus; one only baptized.

"We have now an opportunity to ride as far east as Indiana, beyond the metropolis, and have the privilege to stop and preach by the way. Will you write to us at Cincinnati, and much oblige,

"Your brethren in the kingdom of God,

"ORSON HYDE.
"JOHN E. PAGE."

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 17, pp. 744, 745.

South Australia.

Sometime previous to this date a young man by the name of William Barrett was ordained an elder in England and sent to South Australia. On July 15, 1840, he wrote as follows from Deptford, England:—

"*Dear Brother in Christ:*—I write to inform you of my arrival in the metropolis this morning, after a tedious journey in the midst of much profaneness and swearing, such as I never heard in my life before. I feel, as the apostle expresses it, like a lamb among wolves, going into a land of strangers to preach the gospel; therefore I desire your prayers in my behalf. I have witnessed much of the Spirit of revelation since Sunday; in fact I only thought it a mere thought when the elders testified that they were called by revelation; but now I know the truth of the assertion, which

proves to me who ought to preach, and that none ought without they are called by revelation.

"Give my love to all the saints, and tell them that as many as remain faithful I will meet them at Zion, bringing my sheaves with me. Tell them my faith is fixed, and my resolution is strong to meet you all there, whom I love in the Lord. Pray that a door may be opened, and a gift of utterance may be given unto me in a foreign land to preach the gospel. Brethren, sorrow not for me, as those that have no hope, for we have a hope of living and eating together in the kingdom of our God."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, p. 84.

CHAPTER 23.

1841.

FAIR PROSPECTS GENERAL PROCLAMATION—REVELATION—TRUSTEE IN TRUST—THREATS OF VIOLENCE—ELECTION—MILITARY ORGANIZATION—HYDE SAILS—NAUVOO HOUSE—TOLERATION—AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURING ASSOCIATION—AARONIC PRIESTHOOD ORGANIZED—TEMPLE CORNER STONE LAID—ANNUAL CONFERENCE—ENGLISH CONFERENCE—POLITICAL—GREAT SUCCESS—KIRTLAND CONFERENCE—TWELVE ARRIVE—JOSEPH SMITH ARRESTED.

THE year 1841 opened with fair prospects at home and abroad. Nauvoo had just been favored with a charter granting extraordinary privileges. Everywhere throughout the States and Canada the ministry were finding willing ears to hear the message, and multitudes were becoming obedient. Nauvoo was growing as if by magic, numbering already some three thousand inhabitants. England, Wales, and Scotland had heard the sound and were responding with unexampled enthusiasm and zeal; especially was this true of England.

Fair prospects.

Under these circumstances, having just emerged from the dark cloud of Missouri's oppression, it was but natural that they should feel glad, and thankfully rejoice. Yes, it may be that some of them had then to an extent become arrogant, proud, and boastful, neglecting to be as humble and devoted as they were under more adverse circumstances; and it may be, too, that this proud spirit increased as their prosperity increased. If so, it was but the outcropping of nature and what might reasonably be expected of any community similarly situated; but that they will compare favorably with any other people in similar conditions of which history speaks, must be conceded. This will be apparent to a close and fair investigator.

On January 15, 1841, the First Presidency made a gen-

eral proclamation to the saints. In this proclamation is found the avowed purpose of the church upon some points of special interest, among them the object in obtaining the charters above-mentioned.[1]

General proclamation.

[1] We would likewise make mention of the legislature of this State, who, without respect of parties, without reluctance, freely, openly, boldly, and nobly have come forth to our assistance, owned us as citizens and friends, and took us by the hand and extended to us all the blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, by granting us, under date of December 16, 1840, one of the most liberal charters, with the most plenary powers, ever conferred by a legislative assembly on free citizens, for the "City of Nauvoo," the "Nauvoo Legion," and the "University of the City of Nauvoo." The first of these charters (that for the "City of Nauvoo") secures to us in all time to come, irrevocably, all those great blessings of civil liberty which of right appertain to all the free citizens of a great civilized republic—'tis all we ever claimed. What a contrast does the proceedings of the legislature of this State present when compared with those of Missouri, whose bigotry, jealousy, and superstition prevailed to such an extent as to deny us our liberty and our sacred rights. Illinois has set a glorious example to the whole United States and to the world at large, and has nobly carried out the principles of her Constitution and the Constitution of these United States, and while she requires of us implicit obedience to the laws, (which we hope ever to see observed,) she affords us the protection of law—the security of life, liberty, and the peaceable pursuit of happiness.

The name of our city (Nauvoo) is of Hebrew origin, and signifies a beautiful situation or place, carrying with it also the idea of rest; and is truly descriptive of this most delightful situation. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids, in Hancock County; bounded on the east by an extensive prairie of surpassing beauty, and on the north, west, and south, by the Mississippi. This place has been objected to by some on account of the sickness which has prevailed in the summer months, but it is the opinion of Dr. Bennett, a physician of great experience and medical knowledge, that Hancock County and all the eastern and southern portions of the City of Nauvoo are as healthy as any other portions of the western country (or the world, to acclimated citizens), whilst the northwestern portion of the city has experienced much affliction from ague and fever, which, however, he thinks can easily be remedied by draining the sloughs on the adjacent islands in the Mississippi.

The population of our city is increasing with unparalleled rapidity, numbering more than three thousand inhabitants. Every facility is afforded in the city and adjacent country, in Hancock County, for the successful prosecution of the mechanical arts and the pleasing pursuits of agriculture. The waters of the Mississippi can be successfully used for manufacturing purposes to an almost unlimited extent.

Having been instrumental in the hands of our heavenly Father in laying a foundation for the gathering of Zion, we would say, Let all those who appreciate the blessings of the gospel and realize the importance of obeying the commandments of heaven, who have been blessed of heaven with the possession of this world's goods, first prepare for the general gathering. Let them dispose of their effects as fast as circumstances will possibly admit, without making too great sacrifices, and remove to our city and county—establish and build up manufactories in the city, purchase and cultivate farms in the county. This will secure our perma-

nent inheritance, and prepare the way for the gathering of the poor. This is agreeable to the order of heaven, and the only principle on which the gathering can be effected. Let the rich, then, and all who can assist in establishing this place, make every preparation to come on without delay, and strengthen our hands, and assist in promoting the happiness of the saints. This cannot be too forcibly impressed on the minds of all; and the elders are hereby instructed to proclaim this word in all places where the saints reside, in their public administrations, for this is according to the instructions we have received from the Lord.

The temple of the Lord is in progress of erection here, where the saints will come to worship the God of their fathers, according to the order of his house and the powers of the holy priesthood, and will be so constructed as to enable all the functions of the priesthood to be duly exercised, and where instructions from the Most High will be received, and from this place go forth to distant lands.

Let us then concentrate all our powers, under the provisions of our *magna charta* granted by the Illinois legislature, at the "City of Nauvoo," and surrounding country, and strive to emulate the actions of the ancient covenant fathers and patriarchs, in those things, which are of such vast importance to this and every succeeding generation.

The "Nauvoo Legion" embraces all our military power, and will enable us to perform our military duty by ourselves, and thus afford us the power and privilege of avoiding one of the most fruitful sources of strife, oppression, and collision with the world. It will enable us to show our attachment to the State and nation as a people, whenever the public service requires our aid, thus proving ourselves obedient to the paramount laws of the land, and ready at all times to sustain and execute them.

The "University of the City of Nauvoo" will enable us to teach our children wisdom—to instruct them in all knowledge and learning, in the arts, sciences, and learned professions. We hope to make this institution one of the great lights of the world, and by and through it to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practical utility and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness. The regents of the university will take the general supervision of all matters appertaining to education, from common schools up to the highest branches of a most liberal collegiate course. They will establish a regular system of education, and hand over the pupil from teacher to professor, until the regular gradation is consummated and the education finished. This corporation contains all the powers and prerogatives of any other college or university in this State. The charters for the university and legion are *addenda* to the city charter, making the whole perfect and complete. . . .

Dr. Isaac Galland, also, who is one of our benefactors, having under his control a large quantity of land in the immediate vicinity of our city, and a considerable portion of the city plot, opened both his heart and his hands, and "when we were strangers took us in," and bade us welcome to share with him in his abundance; leaving his dwelling house, the most splendid edifice in the vicinity, for our accommodation, and betook himself to a small, uncomfortable dwelling. He sold us his large estates on very reasonable terms and on long credit, so that we might have an opportunity of paying for them without being distressed, and has since taken our lands in Missouri in payment for the whole amount, and has given us a clear and indisputable title for the same. And in addition to the first purchase, we have exchanged lands with him in Missouri to the amount of eighty thousand dollars. He is the honored instrument the Lord used to prepare a home for us, when we were driven from our inheritances, having given him control of vast

bodies of land and prepared his heart to make the use of it the Lord intended he should. Being a man of extensive information, great talents, and high literary fame, he devoted all his powers and influence to give us a character. . . .

From the kind, uniform, and consistent course pursued by the citizens of Illinois and the great success which has attended us while here, the natural advantages of this place for every purpose we require, and the necessity of the gathering of the saints of the Most High, we would say, Let the brethren who love the prosperity of Zion, who are anxious that her stakes should be strengthened, and her cords lengthened, and who prefer her prosperity to their chief joy, come, and cast in their lots with us, and cheerfully engage in a work so glorious and sublime, and say with Nehemiah, "We his servants will arise and build."

It probably would hardly be necessary to enforce this important subject on the attention of the saints, as its necessity is obvious and is a subject of paramount importance; but as watchmen to the house of Israel, as shepherds over the flock which is now scattered over a vast extent of country, and the anxiety we feel for their prosperity and everlasting welfare, and for the carrying out the great and glorious purposes of our God, to which we have been called, we feel to urge its necessity, and say, Let the saints come *here—This is the word of the Lord, and in accordance with the great work of the last days.*

It is true the idea of a general gathering has heretofore been associated with most cruel and oppressing scenes, owing to our unrelenting persecutions at the hands of wicked and unjust men; but we hope that those days of darkness and gloom have gone by, and from the liberal policy of our State government we may expect a scene of peace and prosperity we have never before witnessed since the rise of our church, and the happiness and prosperity which now await us, is, in all human probability, incalculably great. By a concentration of action and a unity of effort we can only accomplish the great work of the last days, which we could not do in our remote and scattered condition, while our interests both spiritual and temporal will be greatly enhanced, and the blessings of heaven must flow unto us in an uninterrupted stream; of this we think there can be no question. The great profusion of temporal and spiritual blessings, which always flow from faithfulness and concerted effort, never attend individual exertion or enterprise. The history of all past ages abundantly attests this fact. . . .

We would wish the saints to understand that when they come here they must not expect to find perfection, or that all will be harmony, peace, and love; if they indulge these ideas they will undoubtedly be deceived, for here there are persons, not only from different States, but from different nations, who, although they feel a great attachment to the cause of truth, have their prejudices of education, and consequently it requires some time before these things can be overcome. Again, there are many that creep in unawares and endeavor to sow discord, strife, and animosity in our midst, and by so doing bring evil upon the saints. These things we have to bear with, and these things will prevail either to a greater or lesser extent until "the floor be thoroughly purged" and "the chaff be burnt up." Therefore let those who come up to this place be determined to keep the commandments of God, and not be discouraged by those things we have enumerated, and then they will be prospered, the intelligence of heaven will be communicated to them, and they will eventually see eye to eye and rejoice in the full fruition of that glory which is reserved for the righteous.

In order to erect the temple of the Lord great exertions will be required on the part of the saints, so that they may build a house which shall be accepted of by the Almighty, and in which his power and glory shall be

manifested. Therefore let those who can, freely make a sacrifice of their time, their talents, and their property, for the prosperity of the kingdom and for the love they have to the cause of truth, bid adieu to their homes and pleasant places of abode, and unite with us in the great work of the last days, and share in the tribulation, that they may ultimately share in the glory and triumph.

We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood that we claim no privilege but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow citizens of every denomination and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate themselves in this place or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege, to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the State of Illinois.

JOSEPH SMITH,
SIDNEY RIGDON,
HYRUM SMITH,
Presidents of the Church.

NAUVOO, January 15, 1841.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 273–277.

January 19, 1841, a lengthy revelation containing much valuable information was received.[3]

[3] 1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph Smith, I am well pleased with your offering and acknowledgments, which you have made, for unto this end have I raised you up, that I might shew forth my wisdom through the weak things of the earth. Your prayers are acceptable before me, and in answer to them I say unto you that you are now called immediately to make a solemn proclamation of my gospel, and of this stake which I have planted to be a corner stone of Zion, which shall be polished with that refinement which is after the similitude of a palace. This proclamation shall be made to all the kings of the world, to the four corners thereof—to the honorable President elect, and the high-minded governors of the nation in which you live, and to all the nations of the earth, scattered abroad. Let it be written in the spirit of meekness, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, which shall be in you at the time of the writing of the same; for it shall be given you by the Holy Ghost to know my will concerning those kings and authorities, even what shall befall them in a time to come. For, behold, I am about to call upon them to give heed to the light and glory of Zion, for the set time has come to favor her.

2. Call ye, therefore, upon them with loud proclamation, and with your testimony, fearing them not, for they are as grass, and all their glory as the flower thereof, which soon falleth, that they may be left also without excuse, and that I may visit them in the day of visitation, when I shall unveil the face of my covering, to appoint the portion of the oppressor among hypocrites, where there is gnashing of teeth, if they reject my servants and my testimony which I have revealed unto them. And again, I will visit and soften their hearts, many of them, for your good, that ye may find grace in their eyes, that they may come to the light of truth, and the exaltation or lifting up of Zion. For the day of my visitation cometh speedily, in an hour when ye think not of, and where shall be the safety of my people, and refuge for those who shall be left of them?

3. Awake! O kings of the earth! Come ye, O come ye, with your gold

and your silver, to the help of my people, to the house of the daughters of Zion!

4. And again, verily I say unto you, Let my servant Robert B. Thompson help you to write this proclamation; for I am well pleased with him, and that he should be with you; let him, therefore, hearken to your counsel, and I will bless him with a multiplicity of blessings; let him be faithful and true in all things from henceforth, and he shall be great in mine eyes; but let him remember that his stewardship will I require at his hands.

5. And again, verily I say unto you, Blessed is my servant Hyrum Smith, for I, the Lord, love him, because of the integrity of his heart, and because he loveth that which is right before me, saith the Lord.

6. Again, let my servant John C. Bennett, help you in your labor in sending my word to the kings of the people of the earth, and stand by you, even you my servant Joseph Smith, in the hour of affliction, and his reward shall not fail, if he receive counsel; and for his love he shall be great; for he shall be mine if he do this, saith the Lord. I have seen the work which he hath done, which I accept, if he continue, and will crown him with blessings and great glory.

7. And again, I say unto you, that it is my will that my servant Lyman Wight should continue in preaching for Zion, in the spirit of meekness, confessing me before the world, and I will bear him up as on eagle's wings, and he shall beget glory and honor to himself, and unto my name, that when he shall finish his work, that I may receive him unto myself, even as I did my servant David Patten, who is with me at this time, and also my servant Edward Partridge, and also my aged servant Joseph Smith, Sr., who sitteth with Abraham, at his right hand, and blessed and holy is he, for he is mine.

8. And again, verily I say unto you, My servant George Miller is without guile; he may be trusted because of the integrity of his heart; and for the love which he has to my testimony, I, the Lord, love him: I, therefore, say unto you, I seal upon his head the office of a bishopric, like unto my servant Edward Partridge, that he may receive the consecrations of mine house, that he may administer blessings upon the heads of the poor of my people, saith the Lord. Let no man despise my servant George, for he shall honor me.

9. Let my servant George, and my servant Lyman, and my servant John Snider, and others, build a house unto my name, such a one as my servant Joseph shall show unto them; upon the place which he shall show unto them also. And it shall be for a house for boarding, a house that strangers may come from afar to lodge therein; therefore, let it be a good house, worthy of all acceptation, that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he shall contemplate the word of the Lord, and the corner stone I have appointed for Zion. This house shall be a healthy habitation, if it be built unto my name, and if the governor, which shall be appointed unto it shall not suffer any pollution to come upon it. It shall be holy, or the Lord your God will not dwell therein.

10. And again, verily I say unto you, Let all my saints come from afar; and send ye swift messengers, yea, chosen messengers, and say unto them, Come ye, with all your gold, and your silver, and your precious stones, and with all your antiquities; and with all who have knowledge of antiquities, that will come may come, and bring the box tree, and the fir tree, and the pine tree, together with all the precious trees of the earth; and with iron, with copper, and with brass, and with zinc, and with all your precious things of the earth, and build a house to my name, for the Most High to dwell therein; for there is not a place found on earth that he may come and restore again that which was lost unto you or, which he hath taken away, even the fullness of the priesthood;

for a baptismal font there is not upon the earth; that they, my saints, may be baptized for those who are dead; for this ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the days of your poverty, wherein ye are not able to build a house unto me. But I command you, all ye my saints, to build a house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build a house unto me, and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me.

11. But, behold, at the end of this appointment, your baptisms for your dead shall not be acceptable unto me; and if you do not these things at the end of the appointment, ye shall be rejected as a church with your dead, saith the Lord your God. For, verily I say unto you, that after you have had sufficient time to build a house to me, wherein the ordinance of baptizing for the dead belongeth, and for which the same was instituted from before the foundation of the world, your baptisms for your dead cannot be acceptable unto me; for therein are the keys of the holy priesthood ordained, that you may receive honor and glory. And after this time, your baptisms for the dead, by those who are scattered abroad, are not acceptable unto me, saith the Lord; for it is ordained that in Zion, and in her stakes, and in Jerusalem, those places which I have appointed for refuge, shall be the places for your baptisms for your dead.

12. And again, verily I say unto you, How shall your washings be acceptable unto me, except ye perform them in a house which you have built to my name? For, for this cause I commanded Moses that he should build a tabernacle, that they should bear it with them in the wilderness, and to build a house in the land of promise, that those ordinances might be revealed which had been hid from before the world was; therefore, verily I say unto you, that your anointings, and your washings, and your baptisms for the dead, and your solemn assemblies, and your memorials for your sacrifices, by the sons of Levi, and for your oracles in your most holy places, wherein you receive conversations, and your statutes and judgments, for the beginning of the revelations and foundation of Zion, and for the glory, honor, and endowment of all her municipals, are ordained by the ordinance of my holy house, which my people are always commanded to build unto my holy name.

13. And verily I say unto you, Let this house be built unto my name, that I may reveal mine ordinances therein, unto my people; for I deign to reveal unto my church things which have been kept hid from before the foundation of the world; things that pertain to the dispensation of the fullness of times; and I will show unto my servant Joseph all things pertaining to this house, and the priesthood thereof; and the place whereon it shall be built; and ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it; for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it. If ye labor with all your might, I will consecrate that spot, that it shall be made holy; and if my people will hearken unto my voice, and unto the voice of my servants whom I have appointed to lead my people, behold, verily I say unto you, they shall not be moved out of their place. But if they will not hearken to my voice, nor unto the voice of these men whom I have appointed, they shall not be blessed, because they pollute mine holy grounds, and mine holy ordinances and charters, and my holy words, which I give unto them.

14. And it shall come to pass, that if you build a house unto my name, and do not do the things that I say, I will not perform the oath which I make unto you, neither fulfill the promises which ye expect at my hands, saith the Lord; for instead of blessings, ye, by your own works, bring cursings, wrath, indignation, and judgments, upon your own heads, by your follies, and by all your abominations, which you practice before me, saith the Lord.

15. Verily, verily I say unto you, that when I give a commandment to any of the sons of men, to do a work unto my name, and those sons of men go with all their might, and with all they have, to perform that work, and cease not their diligence, and their enemies come upon them, and hinder them performing that work; behold, it behooveth me to require that work no more at the hands of those sons of men, but to accept of their offerings; and the iniquity and transgression of my holy laws and commandments, I will visit upon the heads of those who hindered my work, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord God. Therefore, for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and a house unto my name, in Jackson County, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God; and I will answer judgment, wrath and indignation, wailing and anguish, and gnashing of teeth, upon their heads, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord your God.

16. And this I make an example unto you, for your consolation, concerning all those who have been commanded to do a work, and have been hindered by the hands of their enemies, and by oppression, saith the Lord your God; for I am the Lord your God, and will save all those of your brethren who have been pure in heart, and have been slain in the land of Missouri, saith the Lord.

17. And again, verily I say unto you, I command you again to build a house to my name, even in this place, that you may prove yourselves unto me that ye are faithful in all things whatsoever I command you, that I may bless you, and crown you with honor, immortality, and eternal life.

18. And now I say unto you, as pertaining to my boarding house, which I have commanded you to build, for the boarding of strangers, Let it be built unto my name, and let my name be named upon it, and let my servant Joseph and his house have place therein, from generation to generation; for this anointing have I put upon his head, that his blessing shall also be put upon the head of his posterity after him; and as I said unto Abraham, concerning the kindreds of the earth, even so I say unto my servant Joseph, In thee, and in thy seed, shall the kindred of the earth be blessed. Therefore, let my servant Joseph, and his seed after him, have place in that house, from generation to generation, for ever and ever, saith the Lord, and let the name of that house be called the Nauvoo House; and let it be a delightful habitation for man, and a resting place for the weary traveler, that he may contemplate the glory of Zion, and the glory of this the corner stone thereof; that he may receive also the counsel from those whom I have set to be as plants of renown, and as watchmen upon her walls.

19. Behold, verily I say unto you, Let my servant George Miller, and my servant Lyman Wight, and my servant John Snider, and my servant Peter Haws, organize themselves, and appoint one of them to be a president over their quorum for the purpose of building that house. And they shall form a constitution whereby they may receive stock for the building of that house. And they shall not receive less than fifty dollars for a share of stock in that house, and they shall be permitted to receive fifteen thousand dollars from any one man for stock in that house; but they shall not be permitted to receive over fifteen thousand dollars stock from any one man; and they shall not be permitted to receive under fifty dollars for a share of stock from any one man, in that house; and they shall not be permitted to receive any man as a stockholder in this house, except the same shall pay his stock into their hands at the time he receives stock; and in proportion to the amount of stock he pays into their hands, he shall receive stock in that house; but if he pay nothing

into their hands, he shall not receive any stock in that house. And if any pay stock into their hands, it shall be for stock in that house, for himself, and for his generation after him, from generation to generation, so long as he and his heirs shall hold that stock, and do not sell or convey the stock away out of their hands by their own free will and act, if you will do my will, saith the Lord your God.

20. And again, verily I say unto you, If my servant George Miller, and my servant Lyman Wight, and my servant John Snider, and my servant Peter Haws, receive any stock into their hands, in moneys, or in properties, wherein they receive the real value of moneys, they shall not appropriate any portion of that stock to any other purpose, only in that house; and if they do appropriate any portion of that stock anywhere else, only in that house, without the consent of the stockholder, and do not repay fourfold for the stock which they appropriate anywhere else, only in that house, they shall be accursed, and shall be moved out of their place, saith the Lord God; for I, the Lord, am God, and cannot be mocked in any of these things.

21. Verily I say unto you, Let my servant Joseph pay stock into their hands for the building of that house, as seemeth him good; but my servant Joseph cannot pay over fifteen thousand dollars stock in that house, nor under fifty dollars; neither can any other man, saith the Lord.

22. And there are others also, who wish to know my will concerning them; for they have asked it at my hands; therefore, I say unto you, concerning my servant Vinson Knight, If he will do my will, let him put stock into that house for himself and for his generation after him, from generation to generation, and let him lift up his voice, long and loud, in the midst of the people, to plead the cause of the poor and the needy, and let him not fail, neither let his heart faint, and I will accept of his offerings; for they shall not be unto me as the offerings of Cain, for he shall be mine, saith the Lord. Let his family rejoice, and turn away their hearts from affliction, for I have chosen him and anointed him, and he shall be honored in the midst of his house, for I will forgive all his sins, saith the Lord. Amen.

23. Verily I say unto you, Let my servant Hyrum put stock into that house, as seemeth him good, for himself and his generation after him, from generation to generation.

24. Let my servant Isaac Galland put stock into that house, for I, the Lord, love him for the work he hath done, and will forgive all his sins; therefore, let him be remembered for an interest in that house from generation to generation. Let my servant Isaac Galland be appointed among you, and be ordained by my servant William Marks, and be blessed of him, to go with my servant Hyrum, to accomplish the work that my servant Joseph shall point out to them, and they shall be greatly blessed.

25. Let my servant William Marks pay stock into that house, as it seemeth him good, for himself and his generation, from generation to generation.

26. Let my servant Henry G. Sherwood pay stock into that house, as seemeth him good, for himself and his seed after him, from generation to generation.

27. Let my servant William Law pay stock into that house, for himself and his seed after him, from generation to generation. If he will do my will, let him not take his family unto the eastern lands, even unto Kirtland; nevertheless, I, the Lord, will build up Kirtland, but I, the Lord, have a scourge prepared for the inhabitants thereof. And with my servant Almon Babbitt there are many things with which I am not well pleased; behold, he aspireth to establish his council instead of the

council which I have ordained, even the presidency of my church, and he setteth up a golden calf for the worship of my people. Let no man go from this place who has come here essaying to keep my commandments. If they live here let them live unto me; and if they die let them die unto me; for they shall rest from all their labors here, and shall continue their works. Therefore let my servant William put his trust in me, and cease to fear concerning his family, because of the sickness of the land. If ye love me, keep my commandments, and the sickness of the land shall redound to your glory.

28. Let my servant William go and proclaim my everlasting gospel with a loud voice, and with great joy, as he shall be moved upon by my Spirit, unto the inhabitants of Warsaw, and also unto the inhabitants of Carthage, and also unto the inhabitants of Burlington, and also unto the inhabitants of Madison, and await patiently and diligently for further instructions at my general conference, saith the Lord. If he will do my will, let him from henceforth hearken to the counsel of my servant Joseph, and with his interest support the cause of the poor, and publish the new translation of my holy word unto the inhabitants of the earth; and if he will do this, I will bless him with a multiplicity of blessings, that he shall not be forsaken, nor his seed be found begging bread.

29. And again, verily I say unto you, Let my servant William be appointed, ordained, and anointed, as a counselor unto my servant Joseph, in the room of my servant Hyrum; that my servant Hyrum may take the office of priesthood and patriarch, which was appointed unto him by his father, by blessing and also by right, that from henceforth he shall hold the keys of the patriarchal blessings upon the heads of all my people, that whoever he blesses shall be blessed, and whoever he curseth shall be cursed; that whatsoever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; and from this time forth, I appoint unto him that he may be a prophet, and a seer, and a revelator unto my church, as well as my servant Joseph, that he may act in concert also with my servant Joseph, and that he shall receive counsel from my servant Joseph, who shall show unto him the keys whereby he may ask and receive, and be crowned with the same blessing, and glory, and honor, and priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood, that once were put upon him that was my servant Oliver Cowdery; that my servant Hyrum may bear record of the things which I shall show unto him, that his name may be had in honorable remembrance from generation to generation, forever and ever.

30. Let my servant William Law also receive the keys by which he may ask and receive blessings; let him be humble before me, and be without guile, and he shall receive of my Spirit, even the Comforter, which shall manifest unto him the truth of all things, and shall give him, in the very hour, what he shall say, and these signs shall follow him: He shall heal the sick, he shall cast out devils, and shall be delivered from those who would administer unto him deadly poison, and he shall be led in paths where the poisonous serpent cannot lay hold upon his heel, and he shall mount up in the imagination of his thoughts as upon eagle's wings; and what if I will that he should raise the dead, let him not withhold his voice. Therefore let my servant William cry aloud and spare not, with joy and rejoicing, and with hosannas to him that sitteth upon the throne forever and ever, saith the Lord your God.

31. Behold, I say unto you, I have a mission in store for my servant William, and my servant Hyrum, and for them alone; and let my servant Joseph tarry at home, for he is needed. The remainder I will show unto you hereafter. Even so. Amen.

32. And again, verily I say unto you, If my servant Sidney will serve me, and be counselor unto my servant Joseph, let him arise and come up

and stand in the office of his calling and humble himself before me; and if he will offer unto me an acceptable offering, and acknowledgments, and remain with my people, behold, I, the Lord, your God, will heal him that he shall be healed; and he shall lift up his voice again on the mountains, and be a spokesman before my face. Let him come and locate his family in the neighborhood in which my servant Joseph resides, and, in all his journeyings let him lift up his voice as with the sound of a trump, and warn the inhabitants of the earth to flee the wrath to come; let him assist my servant Joseph: and also let my servant William Law assist my servant Joseph in making a solemn proclamation unto the kings of the earth, even as I have before said unto you. If my servant Sidney will do my will, let him not remove his family unto the eastern lands, but let him change their habitation, even as I have said. Behold, it is not my will that he shall seek to find safety and refuge out of the city which I have appointed unto you, even the city of Nauvoo. Verily I say unto you, Even now, if he will hearken to my voice, it shall be well with him. Even so. Amen.

33. And again, verily I say unto you, Let my servant Amos Davis pay stock into the hands of those whom I have appointed to build a house for boarding, even the Nauvoo House; this let him do if he will have an interest, and let him hearken unto the counsel of my servant Joseph, and labor with his own hands, that he may obtain the confidence of men; and when he shall prove himself faithful in all things that shall be intrusted unto his care—yea, even a few things—he shall be made ruler over many; let him, therefore, abase himself that he may be exalted. Even so. Amen.

34. And again, verily I say unto you, If my servant Robert D. Foster will obey my voice, let him build a house for my servant Joseph, according to the contract which he has made with him, as the door shall be open to him from time to time; and let him repent of all his folly, and clothe himself with charity, and cease to do evil, and lay aside all his hard speeches, and pay stock also into the hands of the quorum of the Nauvoo House, for himself and for his generation after him, from generation to generation, and hearken unto the counsel of my servants Joseph and Hyrum and William Law, and unto the authorities which I have called to lay the foundation of Zion, and it shall be well with him forever and ever. Even so. Amen.

35. And again, verily I say unto you, Let no man pay stock to the quorum of the Nauvoo House unless he shall be a believer in the Book of Mormon and the revelations I have given unto you, saith the Lord your God; for that which is more or less than this cometh of evil, and shall be attended with cursings, and not blessings, saith the Lord your God. Even so. Amen.

36. And again, verily I say unto you, Let the quorum of the Nauvoo House have a just recompense of wages for all their labors which they do in building the Nauvoo House, and let their wages be as shall be agreed among themselves, as pertaining to the price thereof; and let every man who pays stock bear his proportion of their wages, if it must needs be, for their support, saith the Lord, otherwise their labors shall be accounted unto them for stock in that house. Even so. Amen.

37. Verily I say unto you, I now give unto you the officers belonging to my priesthood, that ye may hold the keys thereof, even the priesthood which is after the order of Melchisedec, which is after the order of my only begotten Son.

38. First, I give unto you Hyrum Smith to be a patriarch unto you, to hold the sealing blessings of my church, even the Holy Spirit of promise, whereby ye are sealed up unto the day of redemption, that ye may not fall, notwithstanding the hour of temptation that may come upon you.

On Sunday, January 24, 1841, Hyrum Smith was received as Patriarch of the church to succeed his father, Joseph Smith, Sr. William Law had by revelation been appointed one of the First Presidency in place of Hyrum Smith.

39. I give unto you my servant Joseph, to be a presiding elder over all my church, to be a translator, a revelator, a seer, and prophet. I give unto him for counselors my servant Sidney Rigdon and my servant William Law, that these may constitute a quorum and first presidency, to receive the oracles for the whole church.

40. I give unto you my servant Brigham Young, to be a president over the twelve traveling council, which twelve hold the keys to open up the authority of my kingdom upon the four corners of the earth, and after that to send my word to every creature; they are: Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, William Smith, John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, George A. Smith. David Patten I have taken unto myself; behold, his priesthood no man taketh from him; but verily I say unto you, Another may be appointed unto the same calling.

41. And again I say unto you, I give unto you a high council, for the corner stone of Zion; viz.: Samuel Bent, H. G. Sherwood, George W. Harris, Charles C. Rich, Thomas Grover, Newel Knight, David Dort, Dunbar Wilson. Seymour Brunson I have taken unto myself; no man taketh his priesthood, but another may be appointed unto the same priesthood in his stead (and verily I say unto you, let my servant Aaron Johnson be ordained unto this calling in his stead), David Fulmer, Alpheus Cutler, William Huntington.

42. And again, I give unto you Don C. Smith to be a president over a quorum of high priests, which ordinance is instituted for the purpose of qualifying those who shall be appointed standing presidents or servants over different stakes scattered abroad, and they may travel, also, if they choose, but rather be ordained for standing presidents; this is the office of their calling, saith the Lord your God. I give unto him Amasa Lyman and Noah Packard for counselors, that they may preside over the quorum of high priests of my church, saith the Lord.

43. And again I say unto you, I give unto you John A. Hicks, Samuel Williams, and Jesse Baker, which priesthood is to preside over the quorum of elders, which quorum is instituted for standing ministers; nevertheless they may travel, yet they are ordained to be standing ministers to my church, saith the Lord.

44. And again, I give unto you Joseph Young, Josiah Butterfield, Daniel Miles, Henry Herriman, Zera Pulsipher, Levi Hancock, James Foster, to preside over the quorum of seventies, which quorum is instituted for traveling elders to bear record of my name in all the world, wherever the traveling high council, my apostles, shall send them to prepare a way before my face. The difference between this quorum and the quorum of elders is, that one is to travel continually, and the other is to preside over the churches from time to time; the one has the responsibility of presiding from time to time, and the other has no responsibility of presiding, saith the Lord your God.

45. And again, I say unto you, I give unto you Vinson Knight, Samuel H. Smith, and Shadrach Roundy, if he will receive it, to preside over the bishopric, a knowledge of said bishopric is given unto you, in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants.

46. And, again I say unto you, Samuel Rolfe and his counselors for priests, and the president of the teachers and his counselors, and

George Miller had by revelation been appointed Bishop to succeed Edward Partridge, deceased.

On Monday, January 24, Mary, wife of Samuel H. Smith, died.[3] Saturday, January 30, 1841, at a special conference held at Nauvoo, President Joseph Smith was appointed "sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints."

Trustee in Trust.

Some murmurings of discontent and threats of violence

also the president of the deacons and his counselors, and also the president of the stake and his counselors: The above offices I have given unto you, and the keys thereof, for helps and for governments, for the work of the ministry, and the perfecting of my saints, and a commandment I give unto you that you should fill all these offices and approve of those names which I have mentioned, or else disapprove of them, at my general conference, and that ye should prepare rooms for all these offices in my house when you build it unto my name, saith the Lord your God. Even so. Amen.

[3] DIED.—In this city, January 25, Mary, consort of Samuel H. Smith, aged thirty-one years. She has left four small children, an affectionate companion, and numerous relatives and friends to mourn her loss, a loss which is easier felt than described. Mrs. Smith was one of the first who embraced the fullness of the gospel in the New England States. She was a resident of the city of Boston, Massachusetts, surrounded with friends and the comforts of life; but there was no sacrifice too great for her to make for Jesus Christ and his cause, and in A. D. 1833, in company with Miss Coolbrith (now the companion of my bosom), she bade farewell to friends and connections and everything most dear, and traveled the distance of one thousand miles to Kirtland, Ohio, with no human protector but the one above-named, to associate with the saints, in obedience to the commands of God and the instructions of the inspired prophets and apostles.

She has ever manifested a willingness to endure persecution and affliction for Christ's sake, and it has been her lot to suffer much for the sake of the gospel; her companion being stripped of his goods and made desolate by the enemies of truth, they suffered much in journeying to Missouri, being exposed for the want of the comforts of life. They located in Daviess County, Missouri, and while in childbed she was driven from her home by an infatuated mob, and exposed to a violent storm in the midst of an open prairie for several days, which brought her nigh unto death; she however recovered to witness more distressing scenes, all of which would be lengthy to enumerate, and too disgraceful to harrow up the soul of the reader. We will state, however, that before she had recovered of her illness, her companion had to flee for his life and leave her to the mercy of an infuriated community, while he wandered through the wilderness for the space of fourteen days without seeing one white inhabitant, and the most of the time without food. The reader can judge that her journey to Illinois must be attended with suffering, being robbed of their all. But she is gone—she "rests from her labors," she has been patient in all her afflictions—has kept the faith, and will inherit eternal life, which is the greatest gift of God.—ED.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 324, 325.

had been heard in different places, principally in Adams County, Illinois, for some months past.[4]

On February 1, 1841, the first election under the new charter was held, which resulted in the election of John C. Bennett mayor, Daniel H. Wells, William Marks, Samuel H. Smith, and N. K. Whitney aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, C. C. Rich, J. T. Barnett, Wilson Law, D. C. Smith, J. P. Green, and Vinson Knight, councilors.

Election.

On February 3, the council met, and in accordance with the privilege granted in the charter authorized the organization of the "University of Nauvoo" and the "Nauvoo Legion."

The militia met on the 4th, and organized the Nauvoo Legion by the election of Joseph Smith, Lieutenant General; John C. Bennett, Major General;

[4] THE MORMONS.

We regret to learn that the fell spirit of persecution towards this religious denomination, which has cast such a reproach upon the people of Missouri, is taking root in our own State. We will not go so far as to call the leaders of the Mormons martyr-mongers, but we believe they are men of sufficient sagacity to profit by anything in the shape of persecution, and fear but little from it. To constitute martyrdom, there must be both persecution and sympathy; and with a humane people the latter follows the former. The Mormons have greatly profited by their persecution in Missouri, and let war be commenced here so that the first person shall be killed, and the cry of martyrdom is heralded throughout the Union to the great profit of the Mormons and the disgrace of our State.

But what is this Mormon religion that the intrinsic excellence of the code of our blessed Savior is insufficient to compete with it without physical force? Are we to glorify a God of infinite mercy and goodness by worshiping him as a Moloch who delights in human sacrifices? Will the destruction of a few enlighten the minds of the other Mormons? But there is no reasoning with religious persecutors, generally the foulest hypocrites on earth, whose burning zeal for the Lord and Savior is generally lighted up at the altar of worldly ambition. A minister who is afraid to encounter the doctrines of Joe Smith should be made to quit the pulpit; and the man who enlists in a personal crusade against the Mormons, who have a right to preach just what they please, should suffer the proper penalty for larceny, arson, or murder, as the case be. Let Illinois repeat the bloody tragedies of Missouri and one or two other States follow, and the Mormon religion will not only be known throughout our land, but will be very extensively embraced. We hope the friends of civil order in the Bounty Tract will extinguish this smoldering fire of persecution, knowing that a fire merely material can never do away with the intellectual darkness of the Mormons.—Chicago *Democrat.* (*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 303.)

Wilson Law, Brigadier General of the First Cohort;[5] D. C. Smith, Brigadier General of the Second Cohort.[6] The Lieutenant General chose as his staff Captain A. P. Rockwood, Drill Officer; Captains William Law and R. B. Thompson, aids-de-camp; for guards and assistant aids-de-camp, James Allred, Thomas Grover, C. M. Kreymeyer, John L Butler, John Snider, Alpheus Cutler, Reynolds Cahoon, Elias Higbee, H. G. Sherwood, Shadrach Roundy, Samuel H. Smith, and Vinson Knight.

We mention this military organization because many of the church authorities were engaged in it, and thereby closely associated it with church history; but as it was in fact an organization separate and distinct from the church, and in its government essentially different, we shall not hereafter write the details of its history, but only mention it incidentally as it concerns the historical narrative.

It was authorized by the legislature of the State and was without question legal, and every citizen had the legal right to enlist in its service. And it should be remembered that under the law all able-bodied men were required to do military duty.

As to the wisdom and expediency of high church officials holding military office and receiving military honors, we have nothing to say in this connection. We think it very inconsistent to claim that it was wise because Joseph Smith did it; but on the other hand, we think it just as inconsistent to condemn in Joseph Smith what we justify in other American citizens.

Hyde sails.

On February 13, 1841, Orson Hyde sailed from New York for Liverpool, on his way to Jerusalem, accompanied by George J. Adams. John E. Page, for some causes hereafter explained, failed to go.

Sale of intoxicants.

The City Council, composed mostly of church members, on February 15, 1841, passed a resolution which shows them to have been fully abreast if not in

[5] Horse troop.

[6] Foot troop.

advance of their time on the subject of vending of intoxicants.[7]

Joseph Smith in his history states regarding this ordinance:—

"In the discussion of the foregoing bill, I spoke at great length on the use of liquors, and showed that it was unnecessary, and operates as a poison in the stomach, and that roots and herbs can be found to effect all necessary purposes.

Nauvoo House.

In harmony with the provisions of the late revelation steps were taken for the building of the "Nauvoo House," which resulted in the passage of the following act by the legislature:—

"AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE NAUVOO HOUSE ASSOCIATION.

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, that George Miller, Lyman Wight, John Snider, and Peter Haws, and their associates, are hereby declared a body corporate, under the name and style of the 'Nauvoo House Association;' and they are hereby authorized to erect and furnish a public house of entertainment, to be called the 'Nauvoo House.'

"Sec. 2. The above-named George Miller, Lyman Wight, John Snider, and Peter Haws, are hereby declared to be the trustees of said association, with full power and authority

[7] AN ORDINANCE IN RELATION TO TEMPERANCE.

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, That all persons and establishments whatever, in this city, are prohibited from vending whisky in a less quantity than a gallon, or other spirituous liquors in a less quantity than a quart, to any person whatever, excepting on the recommendation of a physician duly accredited in writing by the "Chancellor and Regents of the University of the City of Nauvoo;" and any person guilty of any act contrary to the prohibition contained in this ordinance shall, on conviction thereof before the Mayor or Municipal Court, be fined in any sum not exceeding twenty-five dollars, at the discretion of said Mayor or court; and any person or persons who shall attempt to evade this ordinance by giving away liquor, or by any other means, shall be considered alike amenable, and fined as aforesaid.

Sec. 2. This ordinance to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Passed February 15, A. D. 1841.

JOHN C. BENNETT, Mayor.
JAMES SLOAN, Recorder.
—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 321.

to hold in joint tenancy, by themselves and their successors in office, a certain lot in the city of Nauvoo, in the county of Hancock, and State of Illinois, known and designated on the plot of said city as the south half of lot numbered fifty-six, for the purpose of erecting thereon the house contemplated in the first section of this act.

"Sec. 3. The said trustees are further authorized and empowered to obtain by stock subscription, by themselves or their duly authorized agents, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which shall be divided into shares of fifty dollars each.

"Sec. 4. No individual shall be permitted to hold more than three hundred, nor less than one share of stock, and certificates of stock shall be delivered to subscribers so soon as their subscriptions are paid in, and not before.

"Sec. 5. As soon as the contemplated house shall have been completed and furnished, the stockholders shall appoint such agents as the trustees may deem necessary in the management of the affairs of said association.

"Sec. 6. The trustees shall have power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in any court of this State, in the name and style of the 'Trustees of the Nauvoo House Association.'

"Sec. 7. They shall also take the general care and supervision in procuring materials for said house, and constructing and erecting the same, and further to superintend its general management, and to do and perform all matters and things which may be necessary to be done, in order to secure the interests and promote the objects of this association.

"Sec. 8. This association shall continue twenty years from the passage of this act, and the house herein provided for shall be kept for the accommodation of strangers, travelers, and all other persons who may resort thereto for rest and refreshment.

"Sec 9. It is moreover established as a perpetual rule of said house, to be observed by all persons who may keep or occupy the same, that spirituous liquors of every description are prohibited, and that such liquor shall never be vended as a beverage, or introduced into common use, in said house.

"Sec. 10. And, whereas Joseph Smith has furnished the said association with the ground whereon to erect said house, it is further declared that the said Smith and his heirs shall hold, by perpetual succession, a suit of rooms in the said house, to be set apart and conveyed in due form of law to him and his heirs by the said trustees, as soon as the same are completed.

"Sec. 11. The Board of Trustees shall appoint one of their number as President thereof.

"Approved February 23, 1841.

"THOS. CARLIN, Governor.
"W. L. D. EWING,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
"S. H. ANDERSON,
Speaker of the Senate.

"State of Illinois, Office of Sec. State, s. s.

"I, Stephen A. Douglas, Secretary of State, do hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and perfect copy of the enrolled law on file in my office.

"Witness my hand and seal of State.

"SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 24, A. D. 1841.

"S. A. DOUGLAS, Secretary of State."

{ L. S. }

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 391, 392.

These articles speak for themselves. We invite special attention to the article prohibiting the sale or use of liquor in the house. An ordinance offered to the City Council by Joseph Smith by them adopted shows broad and liberal toleration on the subject of religion.*

Toleration.

* AN ORDINANCE IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter Day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans, and all other religious sects and denominations, whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city; and should any person be guilty of ridiculing, abusing, or otherwise depreciating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall on conviction thereof before the Mayor, or Municipal Court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said Mayor, or court.

Sec. 2. It is hereby made the duty of all municipal officers to notice,

Soon after the passage of this act another passed the legislature and was duly signed on March 10, 1841, entitled, "An Act to Incorporate the Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association in the County of Hancock."

Agricultural and manufacturing association.

Companies leaving England for America were quite frequent about this time; some landing at New York, and some at New Orleans.

Sunday, March 21. The quorums of the Aaronic priesthood were organized by Bishops Whitney, Miller, Higbee, and Knight. Samuel Rolfe was chosen President of the Priests' Quorum with Stephen Markham and Hezekiah Peck as counselors. Elisha Everett, with J. W. Huntsman, James Hendricks, counselors, was chosen to the presidency of the Teachers' Quorum. Phineas R. Bird, with David Wood and W. W. Lane counselors, to the presidency of the Deacons' Quorum.

Aaronic priesthood organized.

March 29, William Marks, President of the Nauvoo stake, made choice of C. C. Rich and Austin Cowles as counselors.

Previous preparation having been made, the corner stones of the Nauvoo Temple were laid on April 6, 1841, with appropriate and imposing ceremonies by and under the direction of the First Presidency.

Temple corner stone laid.

The General Annual Conference convened at Nauvoo on April 7, 1841. From the minutes as published in *Times and Seasons* we glean the following facts:—

Annual conference.

"President Smith observed that it was necessary that some one should be appointed to fill the Quorum of the Twelve in the room of the late Elder David W. Patten,

and report to the Mayor any breach or violation of this or any other ordinance of this city that may come within their knowledge, or of which they may be advised; and any officer aforesaid is hereby fully authorized to arrest all such violators of rule, law, and order, either with or without process.

Sec. 3. This ordinance to take effect and be in force from and after its passage. Passed March 1, A. D. 1841.

JOHN C. BENNETT, Mayor.
JAMES SLOAN, Recorder.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 336, 337.

whereupon President Rigdon nominated Elder Lyman Wight to that office, which was unanimously accepted."

On presentation of the quorums to be sustained the following were objected to: John A. Hicks, President of the Elders' Quorum, Bishop Alanson Ripley, John E. Page of the Twelve, and Noah Packard of the High Priests. Upon motion of Bishop N. K. Whitney they were referred to their several quorums. James Allred was appointed a member of the High Council in place of C. C. Rich, who had been chosen a counselor to the president of the stake.

John Murdock, Lyman Wight, William Smith, H. W. Miller, Amasa Lyman, Leonard Soby, Jehiel Savage, and Z. H. Gurley were appointed to travel and collect means for the purpose of building the temple.

English conference.

The General Conference held at Manchester, England, at the same time reported 5,850 members, 136 elders, 303 priests, 169 teachers, and 68 deacons. In addition to these about 800 had emigrated to America during the season.

Twelve leave England.

On Tuesday, April 21, 1841, Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, G. A. Smith, and Willard Richards, of the Twelve, with a company of about one hundred and thirty, sailed from Liverpool for New York, en route for Nauvoo; leaving P. P. Pratt, whose family was with him, in charge of the European mission; while Orson Hyde was to prosecute his appointed mission to Jerusalem.

April 24, 1841, the High Council of Iowa selected David Pettigrew and Moses Nickerson counselors to President John Smith, in place of Reynolds Cahoon, removed to Nauvoo, and Lyman Wight, ordained an Apostle of the Quorum of Twelve.

With the issue of *Times and Seasons* for May 1, R. B. Thompson became associated with Don C. Smith in the editorial conduct of the paper.

May 2 the Teachers' Quorum was organized in Nauvoo, Elisha Everett president, James Hendricks and J. W. Huntsman counselors.

Political. On May 2 Hon. Stephen A. Douglas and Cyrus Walker, Esq., visited Nauvoo and addressed the citizens. They and the people of Nauvoo seemed to be mutually pleased with the results of the visit.*

* CITY OF NAUVOO, May 6, 1841.

To the Editors of the Times and Seasons; Gentlemen:—I wish, through the medium of your paper to make known that on Sunday last I had the honor of receiving a visit from the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Justice of the Supreme Court and Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of the State of Illinois, and Cyrus Walker, Esq., of Macomb, who expressed great pleasure in visiting our city, and were astonished at the improvements which were made. They were officially introduced to the congregation who had assembled on the meeting ground, by the mayor; and they severally addressed the assembly. Judge Douglas expressed his satisfaction of what he had seen and heard respecting our people and took that opportunity of returning thanks to the citizens of Nauvoo for conferring upon him the freedom of the city, stating that he was not aware of rendering us any service sufficiently important to deserve such marked honor; and likewise spoke in high terms of our location and the improvements we had made, and that our enterprise and industry were highly creditable to us indeed.

Mr. Walker spoke much in favor of the place, the industry of the citizens, etc., and hoped they would continue to enjoy all the blessings and privileges of our free and glorious Constitution, and as a patriot and a freeman he was willing at all times to stand boldly in defense of liberty and law.

It must indeed be satisfactory to this community to know that kind and generous feelings exist in the hearts of men of such high reputation and moral and intellectual worth.

Judge Douglas has ever proved himself friendly to this people; and interested himself to obtain for us our several charters, holding at that time the office of Secretary of State. Mr. Walker also ranks high, and has long held a standing at the bar which few attain, and is considered one of the most able and profound jurists in the State.

The sentiments they expressed on the occasion were highly honorable to them as American citizens and as gentlemen.

How different their conduct from that of the official characters in the State of Missouri, whose minds were prejudiced to such an extent that instead of mingling in our midst and ascertaining for themselves our character, kept entirely aloof, but were ready at all times to listen to those who had the "poison of adders under their tongues," and who sought our overthrow.

Let every person who may have imbibed sentiments prejudicial to us, imitate the honorable example of our distinguished visitors (Douglas and Walker), and I believe they will find much less to condemn than they anticipated, and probably a great deal to commend.

What makes the late visit more pleasing is the fact that Messrs. Douglas and Walker have long been held in high estimation as politicians, being champions of the two great parties that exist in the State; but laying aside all party strife, like brothers, citizens, and friends, they mingle with us, mutually disposed to extend to us courtesy, respect, and friendship, which I hope we shall ever be proud to reciprocate.

I am, very respectfully yours, etc.,

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 414.

The success of the elders this summer was great. Many were uniting with the church in various places, and some notable miracles were done.

Elder Charles Thompson wrote from Batavia, New York, February 2, 1841:—

"... During the harvest I introduced the gospel into Batavia village. I preached seven times in the courthouse to attentive audiences composed of many of the first men in the place and others from the country round about. This served to break down much of the prejudice through this country. Since then we have had access to many neighborhoods through this region, and many are believing in almost every direction, and the Lord works with us and confirms the work with signs following them that believe; for they speak with new tongues and interpret them, many sick are healed, and even the deaf are made to hear and the dumb to speak. About two months since I baptized a man by the name of Shamp and wife, now residing in the village of Batavia, who had a daughter about six years old that was deaf and dumb. Since then through the laying on of hands and the anointing with oil in the name of the Lord she has been perfectly restored to hearing, and is beginning to talk. This has caused a great excitement; many come from various towns to see the person upon whom this great miracle has been wrought and to inquire of her parents concerning it, while the enemies of truth are doing their utmost to make people believe that no miracle has been wrought. Some have offered to swear that the child is deaf and dumb still, and others assert that the child began to hear and speak before the Mormons ever saw it. Thus like the false witness that came against Christ, their testimony does not agree together; but the parents of the child (like the parents of him who was blind) testify (and their testimony is backed by many of their neighbors both in the church and out) 'This is our child, and she was both deaf and dumb when we embraced "Mormonism," but now she both hears and speaks.' ..."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 349.

Great success.

May 22 and 23, a conference was held at Kirtland, Ohio. A. W. Babbitt was elected president of that stake, Lester

Brooks and Zebedee Coltrin to be his counselors. Thomas Burdick was elected Bishop of Kirtland, and Hiram Winters and Reuben McBride his counselors. Hiram Kellog was elected President of the High Priests Quorum, John Knapp and Joseph Pine counselors; and Amos Babcock president of Elders Quorum, Otis Hobart and Thomas Green counselors. By-laws were adopted for the preservation of the Lord's house.[10]

Kirtland conference.

About this time the Twelve who sailed from Liverpool, April 21, arrived in New York. The issue of the *Times and Seasons* for June 1 contains a good article showing the "progress of the church."[11]

Twelve arrive.

[10] Elders Brooks, Morton, and Norton, were appointed a committee to draft a set of by-laws for the preservation of the Lord's house.

The committee reported a set of resolutions, which appoint two doorkeepers: that no person shall occupy the pulpits or stand unless entitled by office or invited; that if any person shall deface the said house they shall be punished according to law; that we will claim our right and be protected in our worship according to law; that no person shall be allowed to wear his hat on his head in the inner court; and that means be taken to prevent persons from defiling the inside of the house with tobacco cuds and tobacco spittle, and to prevent smoking.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 459.

[11] PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH.

More than ten years have passed away since the rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and although it has had to meet with difficulties from almost every source, it still survives, and at this moment, probably, is possessed of more strength and zeal than at any former period of its existence.

While tracing over the history of events which have transpired since its first commencement, and while calling to mind the scenes of affliction and persecution which the first propagators of our holy religion had to contend with, who nobly and honorably bore up under scenes of woe and distress which would have daunted persons less determined and resolute, we feel our bosoms animated with the same feelings as those which have frequently agitated our frame while reading the privations, sufferings, valor, and achievements of our forefathers, who stemmed the current of corruption and oppression, bore up under difficulties and dangers sufficient to appall the stoutest heart, and counted not their lives dear, so that they could be privileged to bequeath to their posterity the invaluable blessings of liberty. The days of the Revolution were days that tried men's souls. The sycophant crouched to each party as it rose in power, and for the sake of gain frequently betrayed his best friends. But there was a band, resolute, determined, and invincible, who scorned to crouch to power and popularity; a band in whose bosoms, under all circumstances, continued to burn the sacred flame of liberty. Many waters could not quench it, the winds of adversity could not extinguish it; it warmed them in the winter's blast, it cheered them in disappointment and in the gloomy prison, and survived them when their

June 5, 1841, President Joseph Smith was arrested on a requisition from the Governor of Missouri, and upon a writ issued the year before and returned without being executed. Joseph writes of this experience as follows:—

Joseph Smith arrested.

"I called on Governor Carlin, at his residence in Quincy.

bodies fell in the battlefield, covered with wounds and gore, to descend upon their posterity.

By their steadfastness, patience, and indomitable courage they effected the object they bound themselves by every sacred tie to accomplish. Victory perched on the warrior's shield, and the glad notes of peace were heard through the land. The patriot found himself surrounded by friends; his name was emblazoned on his country's banners, and on the hearts of tens of thousands, who duly appreciated his toils and who rejoiced in the liberty for which he nerved his arm in the day of battle. The whole nation respected them and cheerfully awarded to them the honor and merit which were justly their due.

And shall not those who were the first to make a stand against iniquity, corruption, and the false religions of the day, who have had to contend against a wicked and gainsaying people, and for their testimony have had to wade through scenes too heartrending to mention,—been tarred, feathered, whipped, stoned, imprisoned,—be likewise rewarded for their toil and labor of love? Yea, verily; for they have given evidence of a love of liberty as strong, a courage as great, a spirit as indomitable as the fathers of the Revolution. These are the Elishas upon whom the flowing mantles of our Elijahs fell, who have honorably maintained their character in the sight of heaven and earth; and although some have died in the conflict and have entered into rest, yet their names will be had in remembrance from generation to generation, and they will be rewarded by the Judge of all the earth, who will do right. Those who yet survive have the assurance that their labors have not been in vain; they know that they have been crowned with success.

Ye noble-hearted scions of honored sires, may heaven's choicest blessings rest upon you; may your declining years be years of peace; may your children and your children's children enjoy all the blessings of that gospel which you struggled to establish; and may you see them flourish like the trees of Lebanon, your sons grow up as plants of renown, and your daughters be polished after the similitude of a palace. May all your wants both temporal and spiritual be supplied, and when you shall gather up your feet and bid adieu to mortality, may the sacred halo of glory surround your honored heads, and your posterity catch the sacred flame of liberty and love, to be handed down to generations yet unborn.

Cold is the heart of that man and unworthy the character of a saint of God who does not feel his bosom heave at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the saints of the Most High, and does not appreciate the toils of the first elders.

Although they have no emblazoned urn to perpetuate their names, yet they live, and will continue to live in the hearts and affections of a church which is coming up out of the wilderness, "fair as the sun, clear as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners."

We do not suppose that the struggle has yet terminated, or that an unbroken scene of prosperity will attend the saints from this time forth. Such an idea would be incompatible with the word of God; but we do expect that although afflictions may be the lot of the saints, and they be

During my visit with the Governor I was treated with the greatest kindness and respect; nothing was said about any requisition having come from the Governor of Missouri for my arrest. In a very few hours after I had left the Governor's residence he sent Thomas King, Sheriff of Adams County, Thomas Jasper, a constable of Quincy, and some others, as a posse, with an officer from Missouri, to arrest me and deliver me up to the authorities of Missouri.

"Saturday, 5th. While I was staying at Heberlin's Hotel, Bear Creek, about twenty-eight miles south of Nauvoo, Sheriff King and posse arrested me. Some of the posse, on learning the spirit of the officer of Missouri, left the company in disgust and returned to their own homes. I accordingly returned to Quincy and obtained a writ of habeas corpus from Charles A. Warren, Esq., Master in Chancery; and Judge Stephen A. Douglas happening to come to

driven from one city to another, yet the purposes of Jehovah will at the same time be consummating.

One thing, however, is certain: that Zion shall be established, her foundations shall be laid, her beauty shall astonish the world, and she become the glory of the whole earth. These things are decreed by the King of kings and Lord of lords, and he hath declared that heaven and earth may pass away, but not one jot or tittle of his word shall fall to the ground.

Knowing then that the work of the Lord is propelled by Almighty power, the saints can rest satisfied, under all circumstances, that it will roll forth with power and energy that shall comport with the purposes of Jehovah.

And if in the short space of ten years it has risen from obscurity, penetrated into the different States of the Union, spread and flourished in the European Isles, caused the wisdom of wise men to perish and the understanding of the prudent to be hid, risen above the persecutions of individuals and communities, and appears so marvelous in the eyes of this generation,—what may be expected ten years hence? Where is the individual whose mind is sufficient to grasp the fullness, extent, and glory of the church? None but those who catch the sacred spirit which animated the bosom of the prophets when they foretold of the glories of the last days, and when the visions of the Almighty rested upon them.

A field wide as eternity, a labor worthy the archangels, appear before the saints of God, and to accomplish which they must be faithful, diligent, enterprising, and prepared to make whatever sacrifice the Almighty may require at their hands. By doing so they will not only be instrumental in securing the happiness of their fellow man, but their own; and when the judgment is set and the books are opened and every man rewarded according to his works, they will hear from the righteous Judge, "Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, now I will make thee ruler over many things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 423, 424.

Quincy that evening, he appointed to give a hearing on the writ on the Tuesday following, in Monmouth, Warren County, where the court would then commence a regular term. . . .

"Sunday, 6th. News of my arrest having arrived in Nauvoo last night and being circulated through the city, Hosea Stout, Tarleton Lewis, William A. Hickman, John S. Higbee, Elijah Able, Uriel C. Nickerson, and George W. Clyde started from the Nauvoo landing in a skiff, in order to overtake me, and rescue me if necessary. They had a heavy head wind, but arrived in Quincy at dusk, went up to Benjamin Jones' house, and found that I had gone to Nauvoo in charge of two officers.

"I returned to Nauvoo in charge of the officers (Sheriff King had been suddenly siezed with sickness—I nursed and waited upon him in my own house, so that he might be able to go to Monmouth), and notified several of my friends to get ready and accompany me the next morning.

"Monday, 7th. I started very early for Monmouth, seventy-five miles distant (taking Mr. King along with me, and attending him during his sickness), accompanied by Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman, Shadrach Roundy, Reynolds Cahoon, Charles Hopkins, Alfred Randall, Elias Higbee, Morris Phelps, John P. Green, Henry G. Sherwood, Joseph Younger, Darwin Chase, Ira Miles, Joel S. Miles, Lucien Woodworth, Vinson Knight, Robert B. Thompson, George Miller, and others. We traveled very late, camping about midnight on the road.

"Tuesday morning, 8th. Arrived at Monmouth and procured breakfast at the tavern; found great excitement prevailing in the public mind, and great curiosity was manifested by the citizens, who were extremely anxious to obtain 'a sight of the Prophet,' expecting to see me in chains. Mr. King (whose health was now partly restored) had considerable difficulty in protecting me from the mob that had gathered there. Mr. Sidney H. Little, for the defense, motioned 'That the case of Mr. Smith should be taken up,' but was objected to by the States' Attorney pro tem. on account of his not being prepared, not having had sufficient notice

of the trial. It was accordingly, by mutual consent, postponed until Wednesday morning.

"In the evening great excitement prevailed, and the citizens employed several attorneys to plead against me.

"I was requested to preach to the citizens of Monmouth, but as I was a prisoner, I kept closeted in my room, for I could not even come down stairs to my meals but the people would be crowding the windows to get a peep at me, and therefore appointed Elder A. Lyman to preach in the courthouse on Wednesday evening.

"Wednesday, 9th. At an early hour the courthouse was filled with spectators desirous to hear the proceedings.

"Mr. Morrison on behalf of the people wished for time to send to Springfield for the indictment, it not being found with the rest of the papers. This course would have delayed the proceedings, and as it was not important to the issue, the attorneys for the defense admitted that there was an indictment, so that the investigation might proceed.

"Mr. Warren, for the defense, then read the petition, which stated that I was unlawfully held in custody, and that the indictment in Missouri was obtained by fraud, bribery, and duress, all of which I was prepared to prove.

"Mr. Little then called upon the following witnesses; viz., Morris Phelps, Elias Higbee, Reynolds Cahoon, and George W. Robinson, who were sworn. The counsel on the opposite side objected to hearing evidence on the merits of the case, as they could not go beyond the indictment. Upon this a warm and long discussion occurred, which occupied the attention of the court through the entire day.

"All the lawyers on the opposite side excepting two; viz., Messrs. Knowlton and Jennings, confined themselves to the merits of the case, and conducted themselves as gentlemen; but it was plainly evident that the design of Messrs. Knowlton and Jennings was to excite the public mind still more on the subject and inflame the passions of the people against me and my religion.

"The counsel on behalf of the defense, Messrs. Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker, and Archibald Williams, acted nobly

and honorably, and stood up in the defense of the persecuted in a manner worthy of high-minded and honorable gentlemen. Some had even been told that if they engaged on the side of the defense they need never look to the citizens of that county for any political favors; but they were not to be overawed by the popular clamor, or [to] be deterred from an act of public duty by any insinuations or threats whatever, and stated that if they had not before determined to take a part in the defense, they, after hearing the threats of the community, were now fully determined to discharge their duty. The counsel for the defense spoke well, without exception, and strongly urged the legality of the court examining testimony to prove that the whole proceedings on the part of Missouri were base and illegal, and that the indictment was obtained through fraud, bribery, and corruption.

"The court after hearing the counsel adjourned about half-past six o'clock p. m.

"While I was at dinner a man rushed in and said, 'Which is Joe Smith? I have got a five dollar Kirtland bill, and I'll be damned if he don't take it back I'll sue him, for his name is to it.' I replied, 'I am the man,' took the bill and paid him the specie; which he took very reluctantly, being anxious to kick up a fuss.

"The crowd in the court was so intense that Judge Douglas ordered the sheriff of Warren County to keep the spectators back; but he neglected doing so, when the Judge fined him ten dollars. In a few minutes he again ordered the sheriff to keep the men back from crowding the prisoner and witnesses. He replied, 'I have told a constable to do it,' when the Judge immediately said, 'Clerk, add ten dollars more to that fine.' The sheriff, finding neglect rather expensive, then attended to his duty.

"A young lawyer from Missouri volunteered to plead against me. He tried his utmost to convict me, but was so high with liquor and chewed so much tobacco that he often called for cold water. Before he had spoken many minutes he turned sick, requested to be excused by the court, and went out of the courthouse, puking all the way down stairs.

(As the Illinoisans call the Missouri people pukes, this circumstance caused considerable amusement to the members of the bar.) During his plea his language was so outrageous that the Judge was twice under the necessity of ordering him to be silent.

"Mr. O. H. Browning then commenced his plea, and in a short time the puking lawyer returned and requested the privilege of finishing his plea, which was allowed.

"Afterwards Mr. Browning resumed his pleadings, which were powerful; and when he gave a recitation of what he himself had seen at Quincy and on the banks of the Mississippi River, when the saints were 'exterminated from Missouri,' where he tracked the persecuted women and children by their bloody footmarks in the snow, they were so affecting that the spectators were often dissolved in tears. Judge Douglas himself and most of the officers wept, for they were under the necessity of keeping the spectators company.

"Elder Amasa Lyman during the evening preached a brilliant discourse in the courthouse, on the first principles of the gospel, which changed the feelings of the people very materially.

"The following letter is from the editor of the *Times and Seasons:*—

"'American Hotel, MONMOUTH, Warren County,
" 'Illinois, June 5, 1841, Wednesday evening.

" 'We have just returned from the courthouse, where we have listened to one of the most eloquent speeches ever uttered by mortal man, in favor of justice and liberty, by O. H. Browning, Esq., who has done himself immortal honor in the sight of all patriotic citizens who listened to the same. He occupied the attention of the court for more than two hours, and showed the falsity of the arguments of the opposite counsel, and laid down principles in a lucid and able manner, which ought to guide the court in admitting testimony for the defendant, Joseph Smith. We have heard Mr. Browning on former occasions, when he has frequently delighted his audience by his eloquence; but on this occasion he exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The senti-

ments he advanced were just, generous, and exalted; he soared above the petty quibbles which the opposite counsel urged, and triumphantly, in a manner and eloquence peculiar to himself, avowed himself the friend of humanity, and boldly, nobly, and independently stood up for the rights of those who had waded through seas of oppression and floods of injustice and had sought a shelter in the State of Illinois. It was an effort worthy of a high-minded and honorable gentleman, such as we ever considered him to be since we have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Soon after we came out of Missouri he sympathized with us in our afflictions, and we are indeed rejoiced to know that he yet maintains the same principles of benevolence. His was not an effort of a lawyer anxious to earn his fee, but the pure and patriotic feelings of Christian benevolence and a sense of justice and of right. While he was answering the monstrous and ridiculous arguments urged by the opposing counsel, that Joseph Smith might go to Missouri and have his trial, he stated the circumstance of our being driven from that State, and feelingly and emphatically pointed out the impossibility of our obtaining justice there. There we were forbidden to enter in consequence of the order of the Executive, and that injustice and cruelties of the most barbarous and atrocious character had been practiced upon us until the streams of Missouri had run with blood; and that he had seen women and children, barefoot and houseless, crossing the Mississippi to seek refuge from ruthless mobs. He concluded his remarks by saying, that to tell us to go to Missouri for a trial was adding insult to injury; and then said: "Great God! Have I not seen it? Yes, my eyes have beheld the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the drear winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge from their savage pursuers. 'Twas a scene of horror, sufficient to enlist sympathy from an adamantine heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, and none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I

stand alone and proudly spend my latest breath in defense of an oppressed American citizen."'

"Thursday morning, 10th. The court was opened about eight o'clock, when Judge Douglas delivered his opinion on the case.

"He said—'That the writ being once returned to the Executive by the Sheriff of Hancock County, was dead, and stood in the same relationship as any other writ which might issue from the Circuit Court; and consequently the defendant could not be held in custody on that writ. The other point, whether evidence in the case was admissible or not, he would not at that time decide, as it involved great and important considerations relative to the future conduct of the different States; there being no precedent, as far as they had access to authorities, to guide them. But he would endeavor to examine the subject, and avail himself of all the authorities which could be obtained on the subject, before he would decide that point. But on the other, the defendant must be liberated.'

"The decision was received with satisfaction by myself and the brethren, and all those whose minds were free from prejudice. It is now decided that before another writ can issue a new demand must be made by the Governor of Missouri. Thus have I once more been delivered from the fangs of my cruel persecutors, for which I thank God, my heavenly Father.

"I was discharged about eleven a. m., when I ordered dinner for my company, now increased to about sixty men; and when I called for the tavern bill, the unconscientious fellow replied, 'Only one hundred and sixty dollars.'

"About two p. m., the company commenced their return, traveled about twenty miles, and camped by the wayside.

"Friday, 11th. Started very early, arrived at La Harpe for dinner, and returned safely to Nauvoo by four p. m., where I was met by the acclamations of the saints."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 550–553.

An editorial in *Times and Seasons* agrees with the above.

CHAPTER 24.

1841.

THE TEMPLE—HYDE IN GERMANY—THE TWELVE—DEATH OF D. C. SMITH—MISSIONARIES SENT—PROFESSOR PRATT—INDIANS AT NAUVOO—SEMIANNUAL CONFERENCE OF 1841—EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE—KIRTLAND AFFAIRS—BAPTISMAL FONT—EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE—BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD—LETTER FROM O. HYDE—THE TWELVE DISSATISFIED WITH TIMES AND SEASONS—TEMPLE BUILDING AND CHURCH REJECTION—LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ON July 1, 1841, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and John Taylor, of the Twelve, arrived in Nauvoo from their mission to England, and the Prophet states: "The accounts of their missions are highly satisfactory."

Sometime this month Orson Pratt published in New York an edition of his work which had previously been printed in Edinburgh, Scotland, called, "The History of the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon."

The temple.

The issue of the *Times and Seasons* for July 1, 1841, contains an account of the temple, which shows very satisfactory progress, and speaks well for the energy and perseverance of a despoiled and afflicted people.[1]

[1] THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD.

We are happy to say that this building is progressing in a manner which does honor to the citizens of this place. On visiting it a few days ago we were agreeably surprised to find that the brethren, notwithstanding their poverty, had accomplished so much; and we feel assured if the saints abroad with their wealth would make a corresponding effort that another year would not roll over our heads before the "topstone would be brought up, with shouts of Grace, grace be unto it."

The building committee are making every preparation to erect the baptismal font in the basement story as soon as possible. The font is intended to be supported by twelve oxen, several of which are in a state of forwardness, and are certainly good representations of that animal, and do great credit to the mechanics who are engaged in carving the same. It is intended to overlay them with gold, and when finished will have a very grand appearance indeed. Most of the labor that is done has been accomplished by the citizens devoting every tenth day gratuitously to that purpose.

While contemplating the foundation which has been so happily begun,

July 12; William Clayton was appointed clerk of the High Council of Iowa, and John Patten recorder of baptisms for the dead in Iowa. Baptisms for the dead were authorized to be performed in the Mississippi River on the Iowa side.

On July 13, 1841, George A. Smith, of the Twelve, arrived in Nauvoo from his mission to England.

Hyde in Germany.

A letter written by Orson Hyde on July 17, 1841, left him at Ratisbon, Germany, on the Danube. It gives quite a full and interesting account of his travels after leaving London.[1]

we were forcibly reminded of the circumstances, as recorded in holy writ, connected with the building of the ancient temple at Jerusalem, by the Israelites, after they had escaped the perils of the wilderness and had obtained a possession in the land of Canaan.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, p. 455.

[1] RATISBON, on the Danube, July 17, 1841.

Dear Bro. Joseph, and all whom it may concern:—

With pleasure I take my pen to write to you at this time, hoping this communication may find you as it leaves me, in good health and enjoying a comfortable measure of the Holy Spirit.

On the 20th of June last I left London for Rotterdam, in Holland, after writing a lengthy epistle to you, and also the copy of a letter addressed to the Rev. Doctor S. Hirschell, President Rabbi of the Hebrews in London, which I hope you have received ere this. The work of the Lord was steadily advancing in London under the efficient and zealous labors of our worthy brother, Elder L. Snow.

The fine steamer Battavier brought me safely over the billows of a tremendous rough sea in about thirty hours. Never did I suffer more from seasickness than during this short voyage; but it was soon over, and we landed safely in Rotterdam. I took my lodgings at the London Hotel at two florins per diem, about three shillings and five pence sterling, or seventy-five cents. Here I called on the Hebrew Rabbi, and proposed certain questions to him; but as he did not understand a word of English, it was hard for me to enter into particulars with him. I asked him, however, whether he expected his Messiah to come directly from heaven, or whether he expected him to be born of a woman on earth. He replied that he expected him to be born of a woman, of the seed and lineage of David. At what period do you look for this event? Answer, "We have been looking a long time, and are now living in constant expectation of his coming." "Do you believe in the restitution of your nation to the land of your fathers, called the land of promise?" "We hope it will be so," was the reply. He then added: "We believe that many Jews will return to Jerusalem and rebuild the city—rear a temple to the name of the Most High, and restore our ancient worship." "Jerusalem shall be the capital of our nation; the center of our union, and the standard and ensign of our national existence. But we do not believe that all the Jews will go there, for the place is not large enough to contain them. They are now gathering there," continued he, "almost continually." I told him that I had written an address to the Hebrews and was about procuring its publication in his own language (Dutch); and when completed I would leave him a copy. He thanked me for this

token of respect, and I bade him adieu. I soon obtained the publication of five hundred copies of the address, and left one at the house of the Rabbi. He being absent from home, I did not see him.

After remaining here about one week I took the coach for Amsterdam, distance seven hours, or about thirty English miles. Rotterdam is a fine town of about eighty thousand inhabitants. The cleanliness of its streets, the antique order of its architecture, the extreme height of its buildings, the numerous shade trees with which it is beautified, and the great number of canals through almost every part of the town, filled with ships of various sizes from different parts of the world,—all these, with many other things not mentioned, contributed to give this place a peculiarity resembled nowhere else in the course of my travels, except in Amsterdam. Most of the business men here speak a little English; some speak it very well. In ascending the waters of the Rhine from the sea to Rotterdam, the numerous windmills which I beheld in constant operation led me to think, almost, that all Europe came here for their grinding. But I ascertained that they were grinding for distilleries, where the floods of gin are made, which not only deluge our beloved country with fatal consequences, but many others. Gin is one of the principal articles of exportation from this country. In going to Amsterdam I passed through a very beautiful town called "The Hague," the residence of the King of Holland. I saw his palace, which was guarded by soldiers, both horse and foot. For grandeur it bore but a faint resemblance to Buckingham Palace in London. But the beautiful parks and picturesque scenery in and about the Hague I have never seen equaled in any country. I remained in Amsterdam only one night and a part of two days. I called on the President Rabbi here, but he was gone from home. I left at his house a large number of the addresses for himself and his people, and took coach for Arnheim on the Rhine. Took boat the same evening for Mazenty. Traveling by coach and steam is rather cheaper in this country than in the United States. We were three days in going up the Rhine to Mazenty. Holland and the lower part of Prussia are very low, flat countries. The French and German languages are spoken all along the Rhine; but little or no English. The Rhine is about like the Ohio for size, near its mouth where it empties into the Mississippi. Its waters resemble the Missouri waters, dark and muddy. The scenery and landscapes along this river have been endowed with art and nature's choicest gifts. I have been made acquainted with Europe in America by books to a certain extent, yet now my eyes behold! It is impossible for a written description of a stranger's beauty to leave the same impression upon the mind as is made by an ocular view of the lovely object. This is the difference between reading of and seeing the countries of Europe.

From Mazenty I came to Frankfort-on-the-Main, by railroad, distance seven hours. From Frankfort I came to this place, distance about thirty hours, where Napoleon gained a celebrated victory over the Prussians and Austrians. The very ground on which I now write this letter was covered by about sixty thousand slain in that battle. It is called the battle of Ackynaeal.

It was my intention to have gone directly down the Danube to Constantinople, but having neglected to get my passport viseed by the Austrian embassador at Frankfort, I had to forward it to the Austrian embassador at Munich and procure his permission, signature, and seal, before I could enter the Austrian dominions. This detained me five days, during which time I conceived the idea of sitting down and learning the German language scientifically. I became acquainted with a lady here who speaks French and German to admiration, and she was very anxious to speak the English—she proposed giving me instruction

in the German if I would instruct her in English. I accepted her proposal. I have been engaged eight days in this task; I have read one book through and part of another, and translated and written considerable. I can speak and write the German considerable already, and the lady tells me that I make astonishing progress. From the past experience I know that the keen edge of any work translated by a stranger in whose heart the spirit of the matter does not dwell is lost; the life and animation thereof die away into a cold monotony, and it becomes almost entirely another thing. This step is according to the best light I can get, and hope and trust that it is according to the mind of the Lord. The people will hardly believe but that I have spoken German before; but I tell them, "nicht"—not. The German is spoken in Prussia, Bavaria, and in all the states of Germany, Austria, the south of Russia, and in fine more or less all over Europe. It appears to me therefore that some person of some little experience ought to know this language so as to translate himself, without being dependent on strangers. If I am wrong in my movement, pray that the Spirit of the Lord may direct me aright. If I am right, pray that Heaven may speedily give me this language. It is very sickly in Constantinople, Syria, and Alexandria, at present; I would rather, therefore, wait until cool weather before I go there. I might have written most of this letter in German; but as you would more readily understand it in English, I have written it in English.

With pleasure I leave the historical part of my letter, to touch a softer note, and give vent to the feelings of my heart.

I hope and trust that the cause which you so fearlessly advocate is rolling forth in America with that firm and steady motion which characterizes the work of Jehovah. The enemies which we are forced to encounter are numerous, strong, shrewd, and cunning. Their leader transfuses into them his own spirit, and brings them into close alliance with the numerous hosts of precious immortals who have earlier been taken captives by the haughty tyrant, and sacrificed upon the altar of iniquity, transgression, and sin. May it please our Father in heaven to throw around thee his protecting arms, to place beneath thee almighty strength, ever buoy thy head above the raging waves of tribulation through which the chart of destiny has evidently marked thy course. Happy in the enjoyment of the distinguished consideration with which Heaven's favor alone has endowed me, of bearing with you some humble part in laying the foundation of the glorious kingdom of Messiah which is destined in its onward course to break in pieces and destroy all others and stand forever.

The friendship and good will which are breathed towards me through all your letters are received as the legacy which noble minds and generous hearts are ever anxious to bequeath. They soften the hard and rugged path in which Heaven has directed my course. They are buoyancy in depression, joy in sorrow, and when the dark clouds of despondency hope are gathering thick around the mental horizon, like the kind angel from the fountain of mercy they dispel the gloom, dry the tear of sorrow, and pour humanity's healing balm into my grieved and sorrowful heart. Be assured, therefore, Bro. Joseph, that effusions from the altar of a grateful heart are smoking to heaven daily, in thy behalf; and not only in thine, but in behalf of all Zion's suffering sons and daughters whose generous magnanimity will ever environ and adorn the brow of the object of their compassion. Though now far separated from you, and also from her who with me has suffered the chilling blasts of adversity, yet hope lingers in this bosom, brightened almost into certainty by the implicit confidence reposed in the virtue of that call which was borne on the gentle breeze of the Spirit of God through the dark shades

of midnight gloom, till it found a mansion in my anxious and inquiring heart, that my feet shall once more press the American soil, and under the shade of her streaming banner embrace again the friends I love.

I never knew that I was, in reality, as American, until I walked out one fine morning in Rotterdam along the wharf where many ships lay in the waters of the Rhine. Suddenly my eye caught a broad pennant floating in a gentle breeze over the stern of a fine ship at half-mizzenmast; and when I saw the widespread eagle perched on her banner, with the stripes and stars under which our fathers were led on to conquest and victory, my heart leaped into my mouth, a flood of tears burst from my eyes, and before reflection could mature a sentence, my mouth involuntarily gave birth to these words, "I am an American!"

To see the flag of one's country in a strange land, and floating upon strange waters, produces feelings which none can know except those who experience them. I can now say that I am an American. While at home, the warmth and fire of the American spirit lay in silent slumber in my bosom; but the winds of foreign climes have fanned it into a flame.

I have seen some of the finest specimens of painting and sculpture of both ancient and modern times. The vast variety of curiosities, also, from every country on the globe, together with every novelty that genius could invent or imagination conceive which I have been compelled to witness in the course of my travels, would be too heavy a tax upon my time to describe and upon your patience to read. I have witnessed the wealth and splendor of many of the towns of Europe, have gazed with admiration upon her widely extended plains, her lofty mountains, her moldering castles, and her extensive vineyards; for at this season Nature is clad in her bridal robes, and smiles under the benign jurisprudence of her Author.

I have also listened to the blandishments, gazed upon the pride and fashion of a world grown old in luxury and refinement, viewed the pageantry of kings, queens, lords, and nobles, and am now where military honor and princely dignity must bow at the shrine of clerical superiority. In fine, my mind has become cloyed with novelty, pomp, and show, and turns with disgust from the glare of fashion to commune with itself in retired meditation.

Were it consistent with the will of Deity and consonant with the convictions of my own bosom, most gladly would I retreat from the oppressing heat of public life, and seek repose in the cool and refreshing shades of domestic endearments and bask in the affections of my own little family circle. But the will of God be done. Can the Messiah's kingdom but be advanced through my toil, privation, and excessive labors, and at last sanctify my work through the effusion of my own blood, I yield, O Lord! I yield to thy righteous mandate, imploring help from thee in the hour of trial and strength in the day of weakness to faithfully endure until my immortal spirit shall be driven from its earthly mansion to find a refuge in the bosom of its God!

If the friends in America shall be edified in reading this letter from Bro. Hyde, I hope they will remember one thing; and that is this: that he hopes he has a wife and two children living there; but the distance is so great between him and them, that his arm is not long enough to administer to their wants. I have said enough. Lord, bless my wife and children and the hand that ministers good to them, in the name of Jesus Christ, Amen. Adieu for the present.

Good rest on all the saints, throughout the world.

ORSON HYDE.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 570–573.

The Twelve.

The *Times and Seasons* for August 1, 1841, contained quite a readable article on "The Twelve," which reflects great credit on their work done in England.[3]

[3] THE TWELVE.

All of the Quorum of the Twelve who were expected here this season, with the exception of Elder Woodruff, have arrived.

We have listened to the accounts which they give of their success and the prosperity of the work of the Lord in Great Britain, with great pleasure. They certainly have been the instruments in the hands of God of accomplishing much, and must have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their duty.

Perhaps no men ever undertook such an important mission under such peculiarly distressing, forbidding, and unpropitious circumstances. Most of them when they left this place nearly two years ago were worn down with sickness and disease, or were taken sick on the road. Several of their families were also afflicted and needed their aid and support. But knowing that they had been called by the God of heaven to preach the gospel to other nations, they conferred not with flesh and blood, but obedient to the heavenly mandate, without purse or scrip, commenced a journey of five thousand miles, entirely dependent on the providence of that God who had called them to such a holy calling.

While journeying to the seaboard, they were brought into many trying circumstances; after a short recovery from severe sickness, they would be taken with a relapse, and have to stop among strangers, without money and without friends. Their lives were several times despaired of, and they have taken each other by the hand, expecting it would be the last time they should behold one another in the flesh. However, notwithstanding their afflictions and trials, the Lord always interposed in their behalf and did not suffer them to sink in the arms of death. Some way or other was made for their escape—friends rose up when they most needed them and relieved their necessities; and thus they were enabled to pursue their journey and rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.

They, truly, "went forth weeping, bearing precious seed," but have "returned with rejoicing, bearing their sheaves with them," and thousands upon the shores of Britain have to rejoice that they ever visited their land and proclaimed the sound of the everlasting gospel, which is taking such a wide spread through that empire; and causing the wisdom of the wise to perish and the understanding of the prudent to be hid, but the meek to increase their joy in the Lord, etc., etc.

It is true, they met with considerable opposition from the learned priests, who, like their pious brethren in this land, loved to retail wicked and slanderous reports, and would endeavor, behind their backs, to ridicule their religion, but durst not stand the brunt of honorable investigation. But their efforts to stop the progress of truth were unavailing, the people got their ears and their hearts open, and were determined to hear and understand for themselves, and being convinced of the truth of these things, regardless of the scorn of sinners and the anathemas of the self-righteous, they boldly avowed their attachment to the doctrines of the gospel.

Under the instrumentality of the Twelve and their fellow laborers, large and flourishing churches have been built up in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man; and when they left, the work was progressing with rapid strides.

We cannot too strongly urge upon the elders of Israel to imitate the

Death of D. C. Smith.

On August 7, 1841, Don Carlos Smith, editor of the *Times and Seasons*, and youngest brother of the Prophet, died at his residence in Nauvoo. The following obituary notice was published in *Times and Seasons*, volume 2, pages 503, 504:—

"With emotions of no ordinary kind we announce the death of Don Carlos Smith, the publisher and one of the editors of this paper, which unexpected event took place at his residence in this city on the morning of the 7th inst., at twenty minutes after two o'clock, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

"The deceased had been afflicted some time, but nothing serious was apprehended, and not until a day or two before his death was he thought to be dangerous. It was then ascertained that disease had been preying upon his system in such a manner as baffled all medical skill to check, and he gradually sunk in the arms of death.

"His funeral obsequies took place on the 9th inst., amid a vast concourse of relatives and friends. He was buried with military honors, holding at the time of his death the office of Brigadier General of the Second Cohort of the Nauvoo Legion.

"The death of Bro. Smith, so unexpected, caused a sensation, not only in the minds of his relatives, but his numerous

example which these servants of God have set them, and, whenever they shall be called to proclaim the gospel to the enlightened European, or the dark and benighted African, they will manifest the same zeal and laudable enterprise, trusting in the arm of the Lord for assistance and support, and, undoubtedly, the same blessings will crown their labors and their toil.

We are aware that it is something contrary to the feelings of most men to undertake such a journey without purse or scrip, entirely dependent upon the arm of Jehovah. However it has been done, and those that have gone forth trusting in the name of the Lord, have found his promise true, and have not been suffered to lack any good thing. Let not the faithful laborers be discouraged, but let them gird up their loins, and ever be prepared to move in the direction their heavenly Father would have them go, and labor with all their mights, for a great work remains to be accomplished, and the laborers are but few. If the Lord's people be a willing people in the day of his power, then every obstacle can be overcome, every difficulty can be surmounted, and the work will roll forth with power and great glory. Israel shall be hunted up from the rocks and corners where they have been hid from the gaze of the world, many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 487, 488.

acquaintance of friends, which will never be forgotten. Endeared to the church and to his friends by all that was virtuous, honorable, and exalted in a Christian and a man,—to his partner and children by all that was affectionate, kind, and lovely in a parent and father,—to his aged mother who yet survives her youngest son, by all that was dutiful, and affectionate in a son.

"In all our associations with mankind we never knew of an individual who stood higher in the estimation of all than did the deceased. His manners were courteous and bland. His disposition was kind and gentle, ever looking over the foibles of his fellow men and putting the best construction upon their actions, at the same time setting them such examples of integrity, sobriety, humanity, and virtue as could not but cause every one to admire him, and consequently he secured the good will of all—their friendship and esteem.

"He was just in the bloom of manhood and bid fair to survive most of his contemporaries. But just as the sun was shining with its luster, and shedding a radiance all around, it set in a moment—

"'Lo at day 'twas sudden night!'

The hopes of relatives and friends and the entire community, who had observed with pleasure and delight the opening glories which shone around his path, who had marked his virtues, faith, and piety, and who had received counsel at his hands, were blasted, and sorrow and distress has taken the place of high strung hopes and ardent anticipations.

"Since our acquaintance with the deceased we have shared his friendship, and have had opportunities of marking his character under various circumstances; we have seen him struggling against misfortune and stemming the tide of adversity, and have seen displayed, under those unpropitious circumstances, patience, resolution, and firmness—his only anxiety seemed to be for the welfare and comfort of his family and parents, who clung to him for support. We have likewise marked his conduct while prosperity and peace filled his noble soul and gladdened his fireside, and

while honor from God and man was deservedly lavished upon him, and he remained the same kind, affable, generous, and pious character.

"He will be missed in the councils of the just, and as President of the High Priesthood, which office he filled with honor to himself and credit of the church. As a councilor in the Church of God he has frequently given evidence of wisdom far beyond his years, and the aged have listened with amazement and delight at the wisdom which flowed from his lips.

"He was warmly attached to the cause of truth, and in the day of trial and bitter persecution, when others wavered and turned aside, he stood firm and immovable, trusting in the mighty God of Jacob, and fearlessly advocated the cause of suffering Zion, and ever maintained his integrity.

"While writing this so many associations crowd upon us which give evidence of his moral worth, his kindness, his sensibility, his piety and friendship, as entirely unman us, and we feel we must bring this notice to a close. May that God who in the order of his providence has called from our midst the spirit of our departed brother and friend, be a husband to the widow and a father to the fatherless, and assist us by his Spirit to follow him, as he followed Christ.

"A discourse was delivered at his funeral by Elder John Taylor, which was attentively listened to by the immense concourse which assembled to pay their last respects and kind offices to the deceased.

"'Now he's gone we'd not recall him
From a paradise of bliss,
Where no evil can befall him,
To a changing world like this.
His loved name will never perish,
Nor his memory crown the dust;
For the saints of God will cherish
The remembrance of the just.'

"The deceased has left a wife and three children to mourn his loss."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 503, 504.

On August 7, there was a conference convened in Zarahemla, Iowa, when the branches on that side of the river

reported a numerical strength of seven hundred and fifty. This conference, on the 9th, appointed George W. Gee, church recorder for the Iowa churches.

Some items of interest we will here present in the words of Joseph Smith:—

"Tuesday, 10th. I spent the day in council with B. Young, H. C. Kimball, J. Taylor, O. Pratt, and George A. Smith, and appointed a special conference for the 16th instant, and directed them to send missionaries to New Orleans; Charleston, South Carolina; Salem, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; and Washington, District of Columbia; and also requested the Twelve to take the burthen of the business of the church in Nauvoo, and especially as pertaining to the selling of church lands.

Missionaries sent.

"The department of English literature and mathematics of the University of the City of Nauvoo, is in operation under the tuition of Professor Orson Pratt. . . .

Professor Pratt.

"Letters from various parts of England and Scotland show that numbers are daily added to the church; while shipwrecks, floods, houses and workshops falling, great and destructive fires, sudden deaths, banks breaking, men's hearts failing them for fear, because no man buyeth their merchandise, shopkeepers and manufacturers failing, and many accidents on the railways, betoken the coming of the Son of Man.

"Thursday, 12th. A considerable number of the Sac and Fox Indians have been for several days encamped in the neighborhood of Montrose. The ferryman this morning brought over a great number on the ferryboat and two flatboats, for the purpose of visiting me. The military band and a detachment of Invincibles were on shore ready to receive and escort them to the grove, but they refused to come on shore until I went down. I accordingly went down, and met 'Keokuk,' 'Kiskukosh,' 'Appanoose,' and about one hundred chiefs and braves of those tribes, with their families, at the landing, introduced my brother Hyrum to them, and after the usual salutations, conducted them to the meeting ground in the grove, and

Indians at Nauvoo.

instructed them in many things which the Lord had revealed unto me concerning their fathers, and the promises that were made concerning them in the Book of Mormon; and advised them to cease killing each other and warring with other tribes, and keep peace with the whites; which was interpreted to them.

"Keokuk replied he had a Book of Mormon at his wick-a-up, which I had given him some years before. 'I believe,' said he, 'you are a great and good man; I look rough, but I also am a son of the Great Spirit. I've heard your advice. We intend to quit fighting, and follow the good talk you have given us.'

"After the conversation they were feasted on the green with good food, dainties, and melons by the brethren; and they entertained the spectators with a specimen of their dancing. . . .

"Sunday, 15th. My infant son Don Carlos, died, aged fourteen months, two days.

"Conference met in Zarahemla, and were addressed by Elders B. Young and George Miller, on building the temple in Nauvoo.

"Monday, 16th. Elder Willard Richards arrived at Nauvoo this morning.

"Ebenezer Robinson succeeded Brother Don Carlos as editor of the *Times and Seasons*, with Elder Robert B. Thompson."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 629, 630.

Special conference.

On August 16 a special conference was held in Nauvoo upon the call of President Smith, at which some important business concerning the quorums, the stakes, and other matters of interest was done.[4]

[4] At a special conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, held in the city of Nauvoo, August 16, 1841, Elder Brigham Young was unanimously appointed to preside over the conference, and Elias Smith and Lorenzo Barnes were appointed clerks.

After singing by the choir, conference opened by prayer by the President.

The object of the conference was then presented by the President, who stated that President Joseph Smith (who was then absent on account of the death of his child) had called a special conference to transact certain items of business necessary to be done previous to the October conference, such as to select men of experience to send forth into the vineyard, take measures to assist emigrants who may arrive at the place of

August 25, 1841, Elder Oliver Granger, who had done much valuable work for the church, died at Kirtland, Ohio.

gathering, and prevent impositions being practiced upon them by unprincipled speculators, etc., etc.; and he hoped no one could view him and his brethren as aspiring because they had come forward to take part in the proceedings before them; for he could assure the brethren that nothing could be farther from his wishes and that of his Quorum than to interpose with church affairs at Zion and her stakes, for he had been in the vineyard so long he had become attached to foreign missions, and nothing could induce him to retire therefrom and attend the affairs of the church at home but a sense of duty, the requirements of heaven, or the revelations of God; to which he would always submit, be the consequence what it might; and the brethren of his quorum responded Amen.

A list of names of the elders and cities were read by the president, and a few were selected by nomination and designated as follows: Voted that Elders H. G. Sherwood go to New Orleans, Louisana, A. O. Smoot go to Charleston, South Carolina, B. Winchester go to Salem, Massachusetts, Erastus Snow go to Salem, Massachusetts, John Murdock go to Baltimore, Maryland, Samuel James go to Washington, District of Columbia. On motion of V. Knight, seconded by Samuel Bent:

Resolved, that the Quorum of the Twelve select the individuals to go and preach in such places as they may judge expedient, and present the same to the conference, with a view of expediting the business of the day.

The situation of the poor of Nauvoo City was then presented to the conference by Bishops Knight and Miller, and a collection taken for their benefit.

After singing, conference adjourned until two o'clock p. m.

Conference assembled at two p. m. and was addressed by Elders L. Barnes and H. G. Sherwood concerning the spread of the gospel and the building up of the kingdom of God in these last days.

President Joseph Smith now arriving proceeded to state to the conference at considerable length the object of their present meeting, and in addition to what President Young had stated in the morning, said that the time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency, and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the church at the stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victorious to the nations; and as they had been faithful and had borne the burden in the heat of the day, that it was right that they should have an opportunity of providing something for themselves and families, and at the same time relieve him so that he might attend to the business of translating.

Motion seconded and carried that the conference approve of the instructions of President Smith in relation to the Twelve, and that they proceed accordingly to attend to the duties of their office.

Motion seconded and carried unanimously that every individual who shall hereafter be found trying to influence any emigrants belonging to the church, either to buy of them (except provisions) or sell to them (excepting the church agents), shall be immediately tried for fellowship, and dealt with as offenders, and unless they repent shall be cut off from the church.

President Rigdon then made some appropriate remarks on speculations.

It was moved that the conference accept the doings of the Twelve in designating certain individuals to certain cities, etc.; when President

The 27th, Elder R. B. Thompson, one of the editors of the *Times and Seasons*, died at Nauvoo.

On the 28th a conference was held at Attica, New York.

The Quorum of the Twelve held a council on August 31, at the house of Brigham Young, when it was resolved to send Lorenzo Barnes on a mission to England, Harrison Sagers to the West Indies, and Joseph Ball to South America.

Nothing of peculiar importance transpired during the month of September, though all departments of the work moved on with accustomed regularity, and the good news was being declared in many places, where hundreds were receiving it with gladness.

Semiannual Conference of 1841.

October 1, 1841, the General Semiannual Conference convened in Nauvoo and closed on the 5th. This conference transacted some business of historic importance.[5]

Joseph Smith remarked that the conference had already sanctioned the doings of the Twelve, and it belonged to their office to transact such business with the approbation of the First Presidency, and he would then state what cities should now be built up; viz., Nauvoo, Zarahemla, Warren, Nashville, and Ramus.

Resolved that this conference adjourn to the time of the General Conference in October next. Closed with prayer by President Young.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.
ELIAS SMITH, } Clerks.
LORENZO BARNES, }

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 521, 522.

[5] MINUTES OF A CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS, HELD IN NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, COMMENCING OCTOBER 1, 1841.

Friday, October 1. In consequence of the inclemency of the weather the congregation were prevented from assembling in conference for business.

Saturday, 2d, a. m. The conference assembled on the meeting ground, but as the Presidency were absent laying the corner stone of the Nauvoo House, business was delayed, and the conference organized themselves in their several quorums in order. Bro. B. Young opened divine service and Bro. O. Pratt closed. The conference then made choice of Bro. Joseph Smith to preside in conference, and appointed Elias Smith and Gustavus Hills as secretaries.

P. M. President Joseph Smith opened by calling the choir to sing a Hymn, sung eighteenth hymn. The president then read a letter from Bro. O. Hyde giving an account of his journeys and success in his mission, which was listened to with intense interest; and the conference, by vote, expressed their approbation of the style and spirit of said letter. The President then made remarks on the inclemency of the weather and

the uncomfortable situation of the saints with regard to a place of worship and a place of public entertainment.

The conference was then called upon by the President to elect a general church clerk in place of R. B. Thompson, deceased. Conference made choice of James Sloan. Bro. Lyman Wight then called upon the conference to elect a President of the High Priests Quorum in place of Don Carlos Smith, deceased. Bro. George Miller was nominated and duly elected.

Bro. B. Young then presented to the notice of the conference the business commenced at a late special conference, with regard to the appointment of suitable and faithful men to the several important stations of labor in this and other countries.

Bro. L. Wight then addressed the conference on the importance of order and uniformity of instruction, and of a unanimity of effort to spread the work of the kingdom. President Joseph Smith then made some corrections of doctrine in quoting a passage from 1 Corinthians 12: 28, showing it to be a principle of order or gradation in rising from one office to another in the priesthood.

Bro. Hyrum Smith made remarks disapprobatory of the course pursued by some elders in withstanding the efforts of the Presidency to gather the saints, and in enticing them to stop in places not appointed for the gathering; particularly the conduct of Elder Almon Babbitt, of Kirtland. Brn. Lyman Wight and Henry Miller having traveled in places where Bro. A. Babbitt had been in his journeying eastward from his visit to Nauvoo, testified that he had in many places taught doctrine contrary to the revelations of God and detrimental to the interest of the church.

Moved, seconded, and carried that Elder Almon Babbitt be disfellowshipped by the conference as an elder till such time as he shall make satisfaction.

Closed with singing by the choir, hymn 124, and prayer by Bro. George Smith.

Conference adjourned till to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

Sunday, 3d, a. m. Conference assembled and was called to order by President Marks, and divine service commenced by the choir singing hymn 274, and prayer by Bro. H. C. Kimball.

President Joseph Smith, by request of some of the Twelve, gave instructions on the doctrine of baptism for the dead, which was listened to with intense interest by the large assembly. The speaker presented baptism for the dead as the only way that man can appear as saviors on Mount Zion. The proclamation of the first principles of the gospel was a means of salvation to men individually; and it was the truth, not men, that saved them; but men by actively engaging in rites of salvation substitutionally, became instrumental in bringing multitudes of their kin into the kingdom of God. He explained a difference between an angel and a ministering spirit; the one a resurrected or translated body, with its spirit ministering to embodied spirits; the other a disembodied spirit, visiting and ministering to disembodied spirits. Jesus Christ became a ministering spirit (while his body was lying in the sepulcher) to the spirits in prison; to fulfill an important part of his mission, without which he could not have perfected his work or entered into his rest. After his resurrection he appeared as an angel to his disciples, etc. Translated bodies cannot enter into rest until they have undergone a change equivalent to death. Translated bodies are designed for future missions. The angel that appeared to John on the Isle of Patmos was a translated or resurrected body. Jesus Christ went in body, after his resurrection, to minister to translated and resurrected bodies. There has been a chain of authority and power from Adam down to the presen-

time. The only way to obtain truth and wisdom is, not to ask it from books, but to go to God in prayer and obtain divine teaching. It is no more incredible that God should *save* the dead than that he should *raise* the dead. There is never a time when the sp rit is too old to approach God. All are within the reach of pardoning mercy who have not committed the unpardonable sin, which hath no forgiveness, neither in this world nor the world to come. There is a way to release the spirit of the dead; that is, by the power and authority of the priesthood—by binding and loosing on earth.

This doctrine appears glorious inasmuch as it exhibits the greatness of divine compassion and benevolence in the extent of the plan of human salvation. This glorious truth is well calculated to enlarge the understanding and to sustain the soul under troubles, difficulties, and distresses. For illustration the speaker presented by supposition the case of two men, brothers, equally intelligent, learned, virtuous, and lovely, walking in uprightness and in all good conscience, so far as they had been able to discern duty from the muddy stream of tradition, or from the blotted page of the book of nature. One dies and is buried, having never heard the gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it, and is made the heir of eternal life. Shall the one become a partaker of glory and the other be consigned to hopeless perdition? Is there no chance for his escape? Sectarianism answers, None! none!! none!!! Such an idea is worse than atheism. The truth shall break down and dash in pieces all such bigoted Pharisaism; the sects shall be sifted, the honest in heart brought out, and their priests left in the midst of their corruption.

The speaker then answered the objections urged against the Latter Day Saints for not admitting the validity of sectarian baptism, and for withholding fellowship from sectarian churches. It was like putting new wine into old bottles, and putting old wine into new bottles. What! new revelations in the old churches! New revelations knock out the bottom of their bottomless pit. New wine into old bottles! The bottles burst and the wine runs out. What! Sadducees in the new church! Old wine in new leathern bottles will leak through the pores and escape; so the Sadducee saints mock at authority, kick out of the traces, and run to the mountains of perdition, leaving the long echo of their braying behind them.

The speaker then contrasted the charity of the sects in denouncing all who disagree with them in opinion, and in joining in persecuting the saints, with the faith of the saints, who believe that even such may be saved in this world and in the world to come, (murderers and apostates excepted.)

This doctrine, he said, presents in a clear light the wisdom and mercy of God in preparing an ordinance for the salvation of the dead, being baptized by proxy, their names recorded in heaven, and they judged according to the deeds done in the body. This doctrine was the burden of the Scriptures. Those saints who neglect it, in behalf of their deceased relatives, do it at the peril of their own salvation.

The dispensation of the fullness of times will bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations, also other things that have not been before revealed. He shall send Elijah the prophet, etc., and restore all things in Christ.

The speaker then announced, "There shall be no more baptisms for the dead until the ordinance can be attended to in the font of the Lord's house; and the church shall not hold another General Conference until they can meet in said house; for thus saith the Lord!"

Closed by prayer by President Hyrum Smith; adjourned for one hour.

P. M. Conference opened by the choir singing hymn 105, and prayer by Bro. Lyman Wight.

Bro. B. Young addressed the elders at some length, on the importance of teaching abroad the first principles of the gospel, leaving the mysteries of the kingdom to be taught among the saints. Also on the propriety of the elders, many of them, remaining at home, and working on the Lord's house; and that their labors will be as acceptable to the Lord as their going abroad, and more profitable for the church; that those who go abroad must take a recommend from the proper authorities, without which they will not be fellowshipped; and that those who go and those who remain make consecrations more abundantly than heretofore.

Bro. Lyman Wight followed with remarks of a similar purport, resigning his mission of gathering means for the buildings.

Bro. B. Young called upon the conference to appoint a committee to petition Congress for redress of wrongs and injuries received in Missouri.

On motion Elias Higbee, John Taylor, and Elias Smith were appointed said committee.

On motion Elder John Taylor was appointed to present said petition at the city of Washington.

Closed by choir singing hymn 125, and prayer by Elder John Smith.

Monday, 4th, a. m. Conference opened by the choir singing hymn 183 and prayer by Bro. George Smith.

President Joseph Smith made a lengthy exposition of the condition of the temporal affairs of the church, the agency of which had been committed to him at a General Conference in Quincy, explaining the manner that he had discharged the duties involved in that agency, and the condition of the lands and other property of the church.

On motion, Resolved that Elder Reuben McBride be vested with power of attorney to go, settle, and if possible close a business concern left in an uncertain condition by Elder Oliver Granger deceased.

Prayer by Bro. L. Wight; adjourned for one hour.

P. M. Conference opened by the choir singing hymn 88 and prayer by Elder John Smith.

Bro. Lyman Wight spoke at some length on the subject introduced in the former part of the day, and on the old debts and obligations that are frequently brought up from Kirtland and Missouri; one of which, in the form of a fifty dollar note, he held in his hand and proclaimed as his text.

On motion, voted *viva voce unanime*, that the trustee in trust of church property here be instructed not to appropriate church property to liquidate old claims that may be brought forward either from Kirtland or Missouri.

Pres. H. Smith presented to the notice of conference some embarrassment growing out of his signing as security a certain obligation in Kirtland in favor of Mr. Eaton.

On motion, voted that church property here shall not be appropriated to liquidate said claim.

Bro. B. Young made some appropriate and weighty remarks on the importance of more liberal consecrations and more energetic efforts to forward the work of building, etc. After purchasing Bro. L. Wight's text, by paying him fifty cents, he tore it in pieces and gave it to the winds, saying, "Go ye and do likewise." Choir sung hymn 104 and President Hyrum Smith closed by prayer. Conference adjourned to meet to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

Tuesday 5th, a. m. Conference opened by the choir singing hymn 271 and prayer by Bro. O. Pratt.

Epistle of the Twelve.

In the issue for October 15, 1841, the *Times and Seasons* contains an epistle signed by eight of the Twelve, giving some general instruction.*

Bro. Orson Pratt, by request of President Joseph Smith, presented and read to the conference a recent letter from Smith Tuttle, Esq., one of the proprietors of the Hotchkiss purchase, in reference to some misunderstanding in the adjustment of their claims, and conciliatory of any hard feelings growing out of such misunderstanding.

Bro. B. Young spoke on the contents of the letter, and expressed his earnest desire that that business might be speedily adjusted, and a proper title obtained by the church. Brothers L. Wight and H. Smith followed with appropriate remarks.

On motion, voted that President Joseph Smith write an answer to Mr. Hotchkiss on the subject of his claim.

On motion by President Joseph Smith, voted that the Twelve write an epistle to the saints abroad to use their influence and exertions to secure, by exchange, purchase, donation, etc., a title to the Hotchkiss purchase.

Bro. B. Young presented an appeal from the Elders' Quorum against Elder John A. Hicks, charging him with a breach of the ordinances of the city and of the peace, with falsehood, and with schismatical conversation and behavior, signed by Dimick B. Huntington. After hearing sufficient testimony on his case, On motion conference voted that Elder John A. Hicks be cut off from the church.

Closed by the choir singing 275th hymn, prayer by B. Young. Adjourned for one hour.

P M. Conference opened by the choir singing hymn 104, and prayer by Bro O. Pratt.

Bro. O. Pratt read to the conference the minutes of a special conference held in the city of Nauvoo, August 16, 1841.

President Joseph Smith made remarks explanatory of the importance of the resolutions and votes passed at that time.

On motion, voted that this conference sanction the doings of said special conference.

Bro. B. Young proposed to the congregation that those who would take laborers on the Lord's house into their houses to board with them while thus laboring should manifest their willingness by rising and giving their names. About sixty persons arose.

Conference closed by the choir singing hymn 284 and prayer by Bro. B. Young.

Conference adjourned sine die.

Although conference commenced under discouraging circumstances, owing to the inclemency of the weather, yet a vast number of brethren and visitors from abroad were present, and on Saturday and Sunday, the weather having become favorable, the congregation was immense. The greatest unanimity prevailed; business was conducted with the most perfect harmony and good feelings, and the assembly dispersed with new confidence in the great work of the last days.

JOSEPH SMITH, President.
ELIAS SMITH, } Clerks.
GUSTAVUS HILLS, }

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 576–580

* In this city the church has succeeded in securing several extensive plats of land, which have been laid out in city lots, a part of which have been sold, a part has been distributed to the widow and the orphan, and a part remains for sale. These lots are for the inheritance of the

On October 28, 1841, Joseph Smith, as Trustee in Trust for the church, gave power of attorney to Reuben McBride, of Kirtland, Ohio, authorizing him to transact all church business left in an unfinished condition at

Kirtland affairs.

saints, a resting place for the church, a habitation for the God of Jacob; for here he has commanded a house to be built unto his name where he may manifest himself unto his people as in former times, when he caused the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple to be reared and the cloud and the fire to rest down thereon; and not that the temple be *built only*, but that it be *completed quickly*, and that no more General Conference be held till it shall be held therein; and that the Nauvoo House be finished for the accommodation of the brethren from afar, and the stranger who shall come up hither to inquire after the work of the Lord and worship in his temple. . . .

What then shall we do? Let us all arise and with one united and mighty exertion, by the strength of Israel's God, oppose the powers of darkness, and every being and principle that may rise up against us, and complete the work already commenced. Let us not for a moment lend an ear to evil and designing men, who would subvert the truth and blacken the character of the servant of the Most High God, by publishing abroad that the prophet is enriching himself on the spoils of the brethren. When Bro. Joseph stated to the General Conference the amount and situation of the property of the church, of which he is Trustee in Trust by the united voice of the church, he also stated the amount of his own possessions on earth; and what do you think it was? We will tell you: his old Charley horse, given him in Kirtland; two pet deer; two old turkeys, and four young ones; the old cow given him by a brother in Missouri; his old Major, dog; his wife, children, and a little household furniture;—and this is the amount of the great possessions of that man whom God has called to lead his people in these last days; this is the sum total of the great estates, the splendid mansions and noble living of him who has spent a life of toil and suffering, of privation and hardships, of imprisonments and chains, of dungeons and vexatious suits, and every kind of contumely and contempt ungodly men could heap upon him, and last of all report him as rolling in wealth and luxury which he had plundered from the spoils of those for whose good he had thus toiled and suffered. Who would be willing to suffer what he has suffered and labor near twenty years as he has done, for the wealth he is in possession of?

Brethren, in view of all these things let us be up and doing. Let those in the Eastern States use all diligence in communicating to us their ability to assist in the Hotchkiss payment, being assured that no exertion they can make will equal what has already been made for them and the church generally; and let all the saints come up to the places of gathering, and with their mites and their abundance as God has given them in trust, help to build up the old waste places which have been thrown down for many generations, knowing that when they are completed they will belong unto the people of the Most High God, even the meek, the honest in heart, he shall possess all things in the due time of the Lord. Be not covetous, but deal in righteousness, for what the saints shall not possess by purchase and in righteousness they shall not possess, for no unrighteous thing can enter into the kingdom; therefore, beloved brethren, deal justly, love mercy, walk humbly before God, and whatever your hands find to do, do it with your might, keeping all the commandments, and then, whether in life or in death, all things will be

Kirtland, he to succeed Oliver Granger deceased in this capacity.[7]

October 2, a conference was held in Kirtland, Ohio, A. W. Babbitt president, W. W. Phelps clerk, at which conference

yours, whether they be temples or lands, houses or vineyards, baptisms or enduements, revelations or healings, all things will be yours, for you will be Christ's and Christ is God's.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.
HEBER C. KIMBALL.
ORSON PRATT.
LYMAN WIGHT.
JOHN TAYLOR.
WILFORD WOODRUFF.
GEO. A. SMITH.
WILLARD RICHARDS.

NAUVOO, October 12, 1841.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 2, pp. 567, 569, 570.

[7] Know all men by these presents, that I, Joseph Smith, of Nauvoo, Hancock County, and State of Illinois, "sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," have made, constituted and appointed, and by these presents do make, constitute, and appoint, Reuben McBride, of Kirtland, Lake County, and State of Ohio, my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name, and for my use as "sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," to ask, demand, sue for, recover, and receive all such sum or sums of money, debts, goods, wares, and other demands which are or shall be due, owing, payable, or belonging to me, as Trustee in Trust as aforesaid, by any manner or means whatsoever; also, to dispose of in my name, to grant, bargain, sell, release, and confirm all or any part of my real estate as Trustee in Trust as aforesaid, in and about Kirtland, Lake County, and State of Ohio, and throughout any of the northern and eastern States, and to receive all such sum or sums of money accruing therefrom, for me and for my use as sole Trustee in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to take up the power of attorney which I gave to Oliver Granger, and all the papers and obligations of every description specified therein, or in his possession by virtue thereof, and to settle the same in my name, for me and for my use as above-described; and I, as Trustee in Trust as aforesaid, hereby give and grant unto the said Reuben McBride, my attorney, full power and authority in and about the premises, to have, use, and take all lawful ways and means in my name for the purposes aforesaid, and upon the receipt of any such debts, dues, or sums of money (as the case may be), acquittances, or other sufficient discharges, for me and in my name as aforesaid Trustee, to make and give, and generally to do all other acts and things in the law whatsoever needful and necessary to be done, in the before-mentioned places, for me and in my name as aforesaid Trustee, to do, execute, and perform, as fully and to all intents and purposes, as I might or could do if personally present. Hereby ratifying all and whatsoever my said attorney shall [do], in the places above specified, by virtue hereof.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 28th day of October, 1841.

JOSEPH SMITH, (L. S.)

Witness, John Taylor, John S. Fullmer.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 741, 742.

they appointed Thomas Burdick, Bishop of Kirtland, and his counselors, a company to publish a religious paper called the *Olive Leaf*.

October 31, Hyrum Smith wrote a letter to Kirtland strongly disapprobating this and other business of the conference.[a]

Baptismal font.

November 8, a temporary baptismal font was dedicated in the Lord's house at Nauvoo, a description of which was published in *Millennial Star*.[b]

[a] All the saints that dwell in that land are commanded to come away, for this is, "Thus saith the Lord;" therefore pay out no moneys nor properties for houses, nor lands, in that country; for if you do, you will lose them, for the time shall come that you shall not possess them in peace, but shall be scourged with a sore scourge; yet your children may possess them, but not until many years shall pass away; and as to the organization of that branch of the church, it is not according to the Spirit and will of God; and as to the designs of the leading members of that branch relative to the printing press, and the ordaining of elders, and sending out elders to beg for the poor, are not according to the will of God; and in these things they shall not prosper, for they have neglected the house of the Lord, the baptismal font, in this place, wherein their dead may be redeemed, and the key of knowledge that unfolds the dispensation of the fullness of times may be turned, and the mysteries of God be unfolded, upon which their salvation and the salvation of the world, and the redemption of their dead depends; for "Thus saith the Lord," "there shall not be a General Assembly for a General Conference assembled together until the house of the Lord shall be finished, and the baptismal font, and if we are not diligent the church shall be rejected and their dead also," "Saith the Lord;" therefore, dear brother, any proceedings otherwise than to put forth their hands with their might to do this work, is not according to the will of God, and shall not prosper; therefore tarry not in any place whatever, but come forth unto this place from all the world, until it is filled up, and polished, and sanctified according to my word, saith the Lord; come ye forth from the ends of the earth, that I may hide you from mine indignation that shall scourge the wicked, and then I will send forth and build up Kirtland, and it shall be polished and refined according to my word; therefore your doings and your organizations, and designs in printing, or any of your councils, are not of me, saith the Lord, even so, Amen.

HYRUM SMITH, Patriarch for the whole church.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 589.

[b] Monday, 8th. At five o'clock p. m., I attended the dedication of the baptismal font in the Lord's house. President Brigham Young was spokesman.

The baptismal font is situated in the center of the basement room, under the main hall of the temple. It is constructed of pine timber, and put together of staves tongued and grooved, oval shaped, sixteen feet long east and west, and twelve feet wide, seven feet high from the foundation, the basin four feet deep. The molding of the cap and base are formed of beautiful carved work in antique style; the sides are finished with panel work; a flight of stairs in the north and south sides leading up and down into the basin, guarded by side railing.

Epistle of the Twelve.

On November 15 the Twelve wrote an epistle "to the saints scattered abroad in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the eastern continent," in which they gave instruction regarding the gathering, the building of the temple, and the Nauvoo House. This epistle was signed by each one of the quorum except P. P. Pratt, who was in England, Orson Hyde, who was on a mission to Jerusalem, and John E. Page.

November 20, the Twelve in council expressed their disapproval of the manner in which the *Times and Seasons* was conducted.

Baptism for the dead.

Sunday, November 21, the first baptisms for the dead in the font were administered by Elders B. Young, H. C. Kimball, and John Taylor.

Letter from O. Hyde.

On November 22, 1841, Orson Hyde wrote a letter from Alexandria, Egypt, in which he gave an account of his visit to Jerusalem and of his prayer upon the Mount of Olives.[10]

The font stands upon twelve oxen, four on each side and two at each end, their head, shoulders, and forelegs projecting out from under the font; they are carved out of pine plank, glued together, and copied after the most beautiful five-year-old steer that could be found in the country, and they are an excellent striking likeness of the original; the horns were geometrically formed after the most perfect horn that could be procured.

The oxen and ornamental moldings of the font were carved by Elder Elijah Fordham, from the city of New York, which occupied eight months of time. The font was inclosed by a temporary frame building sided up with split oak clapboards, with a roof of the same material, and was so low that the timbers of the first story were laid above it. The water was supplied from a well thirty feet deep in the east end of the basement.

This font was built for the baptisms for the dead until the temple shall be finished, when a more durable one will supply its place.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, pp. 743, 744.

[10] INTERESTING NEWS FROM ALEXANDRIA AND JERUSALEM.—LETTER FROM ELDER HYDE.

ALEXANDRIA, Nov. 22, 1841.

Dear Brother Pratt:—A few minutes now offer for me to write, and I improve them in writing to you. I have only time to say that I have seen Jerusalem precisely according to the vision which I had. I saw no one with me in the vision; and although Elder Page was appointed to accompany me there, yet I found myself there alone.

The Lord knows that I have had a hard time, and suffered much; but I have great reason to thank him that I enjoy good health at present, and have a prospect before me of soon going to a civilized country, where I shall see no more turbans or camels. The heat is most oppressive, and has been all through Syria.

The Quorum of Twelve being dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Times and Seasons*, met on November 30, 1841; present Brigham Young, H. C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Lyman Wight, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff; President Joseph

The Twelve dissatisfied with Times and Seasons.

I have not time to tell you how many days I have been at sea, without food, or how many snails I have eaten; but if I had had plenty of them, I should have done very well. All this is contained in a former letter to you written from Jaffa.

I have been at Cairo, on the Nile, because I could not get a passage direct. Syria is in a dreadful state; a war of extermination is going on between the Druses and Catholics. At the time I was at Beirut a battle was fought in the mountains of Lebanon, near that place, and about eight hundred killed. Robberies, thefts, and murders are daily being committed. It is no uncommon thing to find persons in the street without heads. An English officer in going from St. Jean d'Acre to Beirut, found ten persons murdered in the street, and was himself taken prisoner, but was rescued by the timely interference of the Pasha. The particulars of all these things are contained in a former letter.

An American traveler by the name of Gager, who was a licensed minister of the Congregational or Presbyterian Church, left Jerusalem in company with me. He was very unwell with the jaundice when we left, and at Damietta we had to perform six days' quarantine before we ascended the Nile. On our passage up he was taken very ill with a fever, and became helpless. I waited and tended upon him as well as our circumstances would allow; and when we landed at Bulak, I got four men to take him to the American consul's, in Cairo, on a litter; I also took all his baggage there, and assisted in putting him upon a good bed—employed a good faithful Arabian nurse, and the English doctor. After the physician had examined him, he told me that he was very low with a typhus fever, and that it would be doubtful whether he recovered. Under these circumstances I left him to obtain a passage to this place. After I had gone on board a boat, and was just about pushing off, a letter came from the doctor stating that poor Mr. Gager died in about two hours after I left him. He told me before we arrived at Cairo that he was twenty-seven years of age, and his friends lived in Norwich, Connecticut, near New London, I think. There are many particulars concerning his death which would be interesting to his friends, but I have no time to write them now.

On Sunday morning, October 24, a good while before day, I arose from sleep and went out of the city as soon as the gates were opened, crossed the brook Cedron, and went upon the Mount of Olives, and there in solemn silence, with pen, ink, and paper, just as I saw in the vision, offered up the following prayer to him who lives for ever and ever:—

"O Thou, who art from everlasting to everlasting, eternally and unchangeably the same, even the God who rules in the heavens above, and controls the destinies of men on the earth, wilt thou not condescend through thine infinite goodness and royal favor to listen to the prayer of thy servant which he this day offers up unto thee in the name of thy holy child Jesus, upon this land where the Sun of Righteousness sat in blood, and thine Anointed One expired!

"Be pleased, O Lord, to forgive all the follies, weaknesses, vanities, and sins of thy servant, and strengthen him to resist all future temptations. Give him prudence and discernment that he may avoid the evil, and a heart to choose the good; give him fortitude to bear up under try-

Smith was also present. The following business was done:—

"It was voted that Ebenezer Robinson be solicited to give up the department of printing the *Times and Seasons* to Elder Willard Richards.

"Voted that if Brother Robinson does not comply with this solicitation, Elder Richards be instructed to procure a press and type and publish a paper for the church.

ing and adverse circumstances, and grace to endure all things for thy name's sake, until the end shall come, when all the saints shall rest in peace.

"Now, O Lord, thy servant has been obedient to the heavenly vision which thou gavest him in his native land; and under the shadow of thine outstretched arm he has safely arrived in this place to dedicate and consecrate this land unto thee, for the gathering together of Judah's scattered remnants, according to the predictions of the holy prophets—for the building up of Jerusalem again after it had been trodden down by the Gentiles so long, and for rearing a temple in honor of thy name. Everlasting thanks be ascribed unto thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast preserved thy servant from the dangers of the seas, and from the plague and pestilence which have caused the land to mourn! The violence of man has also been restrained, and thy providential care by night and by day has been exercised over thine unworthy servant. Accept, therefore, O Lord, the tribute of a grateful heart for all past favors, and be pleased to continue thy kindness and mercy towards a needy worm of the dust.

"O thou who didst covenant with Abraham thy friend, and who didst renew that covenant with Isaac, and confirm the same with Jacob with an oath, that thou wouldst not only give them this land for an everlasting inheritance, but that thou wouldst also remember their seed forever! Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have long since closed their eyes in death, and made the grave their mansion. Their children are scattered and dispersed abroad among the nations of the Gentiles like sheep that have no shepherd, and are still looking forward for the fulfillment of those promises which thou didst make concerning them; and even this land, which once poured forth nature's richest bounty, and flowed, as it were, with milk and honey, has, to a certain extent, been smitten with barrenness and sterility since it drank from murderous hands the blood of him who never sinned.

"Grant therefore, O Lord, in the name of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, to remove the barrenness and sterility of this land, and let springs of living water break forth to water its thirsty soil. Let the vine and the olive produce in their strength, and the fig tree bloom and flourish. Let the land become abundantly fruitful when possessed by its rightful heirs; let it again flow with plenty to feed the returning prodigals who come home with a spirit of grace and supplication; upon it let the clouds distill virtue and richness, and let the fields smile with plenty. Let the flocks and the herds greatly increase and multiply upon the mountains and the hills; and let thy great kindness conquer and subdue the unbelief of the people. Do thou take from them their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh; and may the Sun of thy favor dispel the cold mists of darkness which have beclouded their atmosphere. Incline them to gather in upon this land according to thy word. Let them come like clouds and

"Moved by Elder Young, and seconded by Elder Woodruff, that Lyman Wight and John Taylor present these resolu-

like doves to their windows. Let the large ships of the nations bring them from the distant isles; and let kings become their nursing fathers, and queens with motherly fondness wipe the tear of sorrow from their eye.

"Thou, O Lord, did once move upon the heart of Cyrus to shew favor unto Jerusalem and her children. Do thou now also be pleased to inspire the hearts of kings and the powers of the earth to look with a friendly eye towards this place, and with a desire to see thy righteous purposes executed in relation thereto. Let them know that it is thy good pleasure to restore the kingdom unto Israel, raise up Jerusalem as its capital, and constitute her people a distinct nation and government, with David thy servant, even a descendant from the loins of ancient David, to be their King.

"Let that nation or that people who shall take an active part in behalf of Abraham's children, and in the raising up of Jerusalem, find favor in thy sight. Let not their enemies prevail against them, neither let pestilence or famine overcome them; but let the glory of Israel overshadow them, and the power of the highest protect them; while that nation or kingdom that will not serve thee in this glorious work must perish, according to thy word—'Yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.'

"Though thy servant is now far from his home and the land bedewed with his earliest tear, yet he remembers, O Lord, his friends who are there, and family, whom for thy sake he has left. Though poverty and privation be our earthly lot, yet ah! do thou richly endow us with an inheritance where moth and rust do not corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal.

"The hands that have fed, clothed, or shown favor unto the family of thy servant in his absence, or that shall hereafter do so, let them not lose their reward, but let a special blessing rest upon them, and in thy kingdom let them have an inheritance when thou shall come to be glorified in this society.

"Do thou also look with favor upon all those through whose liberality I have been enabled to come to this land; and in the day when thou shalt reward all people according to their works, let these also not be passed by or forgotten, but in time let them be in readiness to enjoy the glory of those mansions which Jesus has gone to prepare. Particularly do thou bless the stranger in Philadelphia, whom I never saw, but who sent me gold, with a request that I should pray for him in Jerusalem. Now, O Lord, let blessings come upon him from an unexpected quarter, and let his basket be filled, and his storehouse abound with plenty, and let not the good things of the earth be his only portion, but let him be found among those to whom it shall be said, 'Thou hast been faithful over a few things, and I will make thee ruler over many.'

"O my Father in heaven! I now ask thee in the name of Jesus to remember Zion, with all her stakes, and with all her assemblies. She has been grievously afflicted and smitten; she has mourned; she has wept; her enemies have triumphed, and have said, 'Ah, where is thy God?' Her priests and prophets have groaned in chains and fetters within the gloomy walls of prisons, while many were slain, and now sleep in the arms of death. How long, O Lord, shall iniquity triumph, and sin go unpunished?

"Do thou arise in the majesty of thy strength and make bare thine arm in behalf of thy people. Redress their wrongs, and turn their sorrow into joy. Pour the spirit of light and knowledge, grace and wisdom,

tions to Brother Robinson."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 18, p. 791.

Under date of January 17, 1842, Joseph Smith wrote:—

into the hearts of her prophets, and clothe her priests with salvation. Let light and knowledge march forth through the empire of darkness, and may the honest in heart flow to their standard, and join in the march to go forth to meet the Bridegroom.

"Let a peculiar blessing rest upon the Presidency of thy church, for at them are the arrows of the enemy directed. Be thou to them a sun and a shield, their strong tower and hiding place; and in the time of distress or danger be thou near to deliver. Also the Quorum of the Twelve, do thou be pleased to stand by, for thou knowest the obstacles which we have to encounter, the temptations to which we are exposed, and the privations which we must suffer. Give us, therefore, strength according to our day, and help us to bear a faithful testimony of Jesus and his gospel, and to finish with fidelity and honor the work which thou hast given us to do, and then give us a place in thy glorious kingdom. And let this blessing rest upon every faithful officer and member in thy church. And all the glory and honor will we ascribe unto God and the Lamb forever and ever. Amen."

On the top of Mount Olives I erected a pile of stones as a witness, according to the ancient custom. On what was anciently called Mount Zion, where the temple stood, I erected another, and used the rod according to the prediction upon my head.

I have found many Jews who listened with intense interest. The idea of the Jews being restored to Palestine is gaining ground in Europe almost every day. Jerusalem is strongly fortified with many cannon upon its walls. The wall is ten feet thick on the sides that would be most exposed, and four or five feet where the descent from the wall is almost perpendicular. The number of inhabitants within the walls is about twenty thousand. About seven thousand of this number are Jews, the balance being mostly Turks and Armenians. Many of the Jews who are old go to this place to die, and many are coming from Europe into this Eastern world. The great wheel is unquestionably in motion, and the word of the Almighty has declared that it shall roll.

I have not time to write particulars now, but suffice it to say that my mission has been quite as prosperous as I could expect.

I am now about to go on board a fine ship for Trieste, and from thence I intend to proceed to Regensburgh, and there publish our faith in the German language. There are those who are ready and willing to assist me.

I send you this letter by Captain Withers, an English gentleman, who goes direct to England on board the oriental steamer. He has come with me from Jerusalem. If I had money sufficient I should be almost tempted to take passage on board of her to England, but this I cannot do.

On receipt of this I wish you to write to me immediately, and direct to Regensburgh, on the Danube, Beyern, or Bavaria. If you know anything of my family, tell me.

My best respects to yourself and family, to Brothers Adams and Snow, and to all the saints in England.

May grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ, rest upon you all from this time, henceforth, and forever. Amen. Your brother in Christ,

ORSON HYDE.

P. S.—Mr. Gager died on the 15th instant, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 739–742.

"In the evening I attended a council of the Twelve at my office; present Elders Young, Kimball, Orson Pratt, Taylor, Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Richards. . . . The council were unanimously opposed to Robinson's publishing the Book of Mormon and other books."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 22.

Under date of January 28, Joseph Smith made this entry in his history:—

"I received the following revelation to the Twelve concerning the *Times and Seasons*, given January 28, 1842." [11]

Under date of February 4, President Smith wrote:—

"Elder Woodruff took the superintendence of the printing office, and Elder Taylor the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons;* who commenced by taking an inventory of the establishment this day."

It was finally arranged for Joseph Smith to be chief editor, with John Taylor assistant editor. Elder Robinson published his "valedictory" in the *Times and Seasons* for February 15, 1842, which was strongly expressive of confidence in the church, both before, and at the time of writing. [12]

[11] Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, go and say unto the Twelve that it is my will to have them take in hand the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons*, according to that manifestation which shall be given unto them by the power of my Holy Spirit in the midst of their counsel, saith the Lord. Amen.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 38, 39.

[12] VALEDICTORY.

As is customary on like occasions, it now becomes my duty to say a few words to the friends and patrons of the *Times and Seasons*, by way of farewell address.

When I look back and survey the scenery through which this church has passed, for the short space of three years, it is impossible to find words to express my feelings—to recollect that three years this present month many thousands of the members of this church were compelled to leave their peaceful and happy firesides, to sacrifice all the enjoyments of a sweet and pleasant home, which they had purchased with their own money and made comfortable by the labor of their own hands, to flee for their lives, and seek protection in a strange land, among strangers,—all to satisfy the avarice and hellish desire of an infatuated mob, and to obey the order of a second Nero, who then acted as Governor of a, said to be, free and sovereign State—all conspire to fill the mind with solemnity and sad recollections of bygone days.

It is not, however, my intention at present to dwell at length upon these things, more than to draw the contrast between those days and the present.

In the summer of 1839, having a few months previous emerged from

On December 4 and 5 a conference was held at Ramus, at which time the organization of the Ramus stake was discontinued.

December 13, the Twelve wrote an important epistle on baptism for the dead, temple building, and church rejection. By this epistle it appears that the Twelve understood as early as December 13, 1841, that unless the temple was *completed speedily* the rejec-

Temple building and church rejection.

the confines of a Missouri prison, where I had been thrust together with about sixty of my brethren, solely because we would not renounce the religion of heaven, Bro. D. C. Smith and myself purchased the remains of a printing establishment, had by the church in Missouri, which had been saved from the ruins by being buried in the earth, and after having carefully extracted the polluted soil of Missouri from the press and type, which, by the by, like ourselves, were none the better for having passed through the scrutinizing ordeal of an ungodly mob, we issued a prospectus for publishing this paper, under circumstances the most adverse possible. The only place we could obtain wherein to put our press was an underground room to an old warehouse, without any floor, and almost destitute of light. Here we succeeded in issuing a few copies of the paper, when disease (which we had contracted while laboring in a damp room) brought us upon our sick beds, and we were compelled to suspend business for several months. However, in the month of November we were permitted, through the blessings of a kind Providence, again to issue the paper, which has been published until the present time without interruption, notwithstanding two good and mighty men have fallen while acting as its editors.

The *Times and Seasons* is now placed on a permanent basis, with a liberal patronage, and its circulation is daily increasing. The building in which it is published was erected expressly for a printing establishment, with spacious rooms, where each branch can be carried on in its own department, without interfering with the other. The church also is in a flourishing and prosperous condition—more so than at any previous period since its rise; naught but joy and gladness seems to pervade the bosoms of the saints, and peace and happiness attend all their footsteps.

Under these circumstances I now take leave of the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons*, having disposed of my entire interest in the printing establishment, bookbindery, and stereotype foundry, and they are transferred into other hands. The editorial chair will be filled by our esteemed brother, President Joseph Smith, assisted by Elder John Taylor, of the Quorum of the Twelve, under whose able and talented guidance this will become the most interesting and useful religious journal of the day.

With these considerations I feel confident that the agents and friends of the *Times and Seasons* will exert themselves to support the press, knowing that while it is under the supervision of him whom God has chosen to lead his people in the last days, all things will go right.

With these brief remarks, and a bosom filled with kind and grateful feelings towards all my friends, I will say to the patrons of the *Times*, Farewell.

E. ROBINSON.

NAUVOO, February 15, 1842.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 695, 696.

tion of the church was inevitable.[13] This is a serious reflection, and causes one to inquire anxiously, "Was the temple ever completed?" If not, we are confronted with evidence conclusive, if the Twelve are correct, that the church organization existing at that time has been rejected of God.

[13] BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD.—AN EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE TO THE SAINTS OF THE LAST DAYS.

The building of the temple of the Lord, in the city of Nauvoo, is occupying the first place in the exertions and prayers of many of the saints at the present time, knowing as they do, that if this building is not completed speedily, "*we shall be rejected as a church with our dead,*" for the Lord our God hath spoken it; but while many are thus engaged in laboring, and watching, and praying for this all-important object, there are many, very many more, who do not thus come up to their privilege and their duty in this thing, and in many instances we are confident that their neglect arises from want of proper understanding of the principles upon which this building is founded, and by which it must be completed. . . .

There are individuals who have given nothing as yet, either as tithings or consecration, thinking that they shall be able to do a great deal sometime hence, if they continue their present income to their own use; but this is a mistaken idea. Suppose that all should act upon this principle, no one would do aught at present, consequently the building must cease, and this generation remain without a house, and the church be rejected; then suppose the next generation labor upon the same principle, and the same in all succeeding generations, the Son of God would never have a place on earth to lay his head. Let every individual remember that their tithings and consecrations are required from what they *have*, and not from what they *expect* to *have* sometime hence, and are wanted for *immediate use*.

All money and other property designed for tithings and consecrations to the building of the temple must hereafter be presented to the Trustee in Trust, President Joseph Smith, and entered at the Recorder's office in the book before referred to; and all receipts now holden by individuals, which they have received of the building committee for property delivered to them, must also be forwarded to the Recorder's office for entry, to secure the appropriation of said property according to the original design.

The elders everywhere will instruct the brethren, both in public and in private, in the principles and doctrine set forth in this epistle, so that every individual of the church may have a perfect understanding of his duty and privilege.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.
HEBER C. KIMBALL.
ORSON PRATT.
WILLIAM SMITH.
LYMAN WIGHT.
WILFORD WOODRUFF.
JOHN TAYLOR.
GEO. A. SMITH.
WILLARD RICHARDS.

NAUVOO, Illinois, December 13, 1841.

— *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 625–627.

That it was the intention of the church to *finish* the temple, appears from the following statements:—

P. P. Pratt, Willard Richards, John Taylor, and W. W. Phelps on July 15, 1844, stated:—

"Let us then humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and endeavor to put away all our sins and imperfections as a people and as individuals, and to call upon the Lord with the spirit of grace and supplication; and wait patiently on him, until he shall direct our way.

"Let no vain and foolish plans, or imaginations scatter us abroad, and divide us asunder as a people, to seek to save our lives at the expense of truth and principle; but rather let us live or die together and in the enjoyment of society and union. Therefore, we say, let us haste to fulfill the commandments which God has already given us. Yea, let us haste to *build the temple of our God*, and to gather together thereunto, our silver and our gold with us, unto the name of the Lord; and then we may expect that he will teach us of his ways and we will walk in his paths."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 586.

August 15, 1844, the Twelve in an epistle signed by "Brigham Young, President of the Twelve," stated:—

"The temple must be completed by a regular system of tithing, according to the commandments of the Lord, which he has given as a law unto this church, by the mouth of his servant Joseph."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 619.

An editorial in January 1, 1845, when John Taylor was editor, contained the following:—

"Our warning voice therefore is; 'Be ye also ready;' be ready for the times and seasons; be ready for the gathering; be ready for the tithing; be ready to give a reason of your hope; be ready to help finish the temple; be ready to leave apostates to themselves; be ready for the events of the last days; and be ready to serve God according to his commandments; and thus our prayer for all shall be, May God bless you this year according to your works."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 762.

An editorial in October, 1842, by Joseph Smith, is very

significant, taken in connection with subsequent events. This is an extract:—

"Perhaps we have said enough on this subject, but we feel the importance of it, and therefore speak plainly. It is for you, brethren, to say whether the work shall stand or progress. One thing is certain, that unless that is done all our efforts to aggrandize or enrich ourselves will be vain and futile. We may build splendid houses, but we shall not inhabit them; we may cultivate farms, but we shall not enjoy them; we may plant orchards, or vineyards, but we shall not eat the fruit of them. The word of the Lord is, Build my house; and until that command is fulfilled we stand responsible to the great Jehovah for the fulfillment of it; and if not done in due time we may have to share the same fate that we have heretofore done in Missouri."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 939.

P. P. Pratt claims that he received a revelation soon after the death of the martyrs, which, if true, makes it plain that it was the Lord's will for them to complete the temple; and in answer to the inquiry as to whether they should flee "to the wilderness," or remain there, they were instructed to remain.

"As I walked along over the plains of Illinois, lonely and solitary, I reflected as follows: I am now drawing near to the beloved city; in a day or two I shall be there. How shall I meet the sorrowing widows and orphans? How shall I meet the aged and widowed mother of these two martyrs? How shall I meet an entire community bowed down with grief and sorrow unutterable? What shall I say? or how console and advise twenty-five thousand people who will throng about me in tears, and in the absence of my President and the older members of the now presiding council, will ask counsel at my hands? Shall I tell them to fly to the wilderness and deserts? Or, shall I tell them to stay at home and take care of themselves, and continue to build the temple? With these reflections and inquiries, I walked onward, weighed down as it were unto death. When I could endure it no longer, I cried out aloud, saying: O Lord! in the name of Jesus Christ I pray thee, show me what these things

mean, and what I shall say to thy people? On a sudden the Spirit of God came upon me, and filled my heart with joy and gladness indescribable; and while the spirit of revelation glowed in my bosom with as visible a warmth and gladness as if it were fire, the Spirit said unto me: 'Lift up your head and rejoice; for behold! it is well with my servants Joseph and Hyrum. My servant Joseph still holds the keys of my kingdom in this dispensation, and he shall stand in due time on the earth, in the flesh, and fulfill that to which he is appointed. Go and say unto my people in Nauvoo, that they shall continue to pursue their daily duties and take care of themselves, and make no movement in church government to reorganize or alter anything until the return of the remainder of the Quorum of the Twelve. But exhort them that they continue to build the house of the Lord which I have commanded them to build in Nauvoo.'

"This information caused my bosom to burn with joy and gladness, and I was comforted above measure; all my sorrow seemed in a moment to be lifted as a burthen from my back.

"The change was so sudden I hardly dare to believe my senses; I, therefore, prayed the Lord to repeat to me the same things the second time; if, indeed, I might be sure of their truth, and might really tell the saints to stay in Nauvoo, and continue to build the temple.

"As I prayed thus, the same Spirit burned in my bosom, and the Spirit of the Lord repeated to me the same message again. I then went on my way rejoicing, and soon arrived in Nauvoo, and delivered this message both to the people and friends individually, and in the great congregation. In confirmation that the message was right, I found them already renewing their labors on the temple, under the direction of John Taylor and Willard Richards, who were members of our quorum, and were in jail with the prophets when they were murdered—Taylor being wounded with four bullets, and Richards escaping uninjured."—Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, pp. 370-372.

The church failed to do the Lord's will in this matter, and hence according to the epistle of the Twelve, in December,

1841, and the command of God, (Doctrine and Covenants 107:10, 11,)[14] was rejected as a church.

That the church did not finish the temple is evident from the following statements from men who know of what they affirm. The two first-named were reared at Nauvoo and were acquainted with the temple and its condition through all the years of its existence. The last-named was one of the chief men at Nauvoo and certainly knew concerning whereof he speaks:—

"TEMPLE AT NAUVOO NOT FINISHED.

"I lived at Nauvoo from 1839 to 1866; with the exception of the time between September 12, 1846, and February 19, 1847.

"I knew of the work being done on the temple at that place from the time it began until the building was burned in 1848. It was not finished. The basement was fitted for occupation, and the baptismal font was ready for use. The auditorium on the first floor was completed sufficiently to be seated and occupied for assembly purposes. The stairway on the south side was completed for use. The auditorium on second floor, the stairway on north side, nor any other portion of the building except those above-named were completed; though the small rooms above the second floor auditorium were used by President Young and the resident church authorities for various purposes.

"As boy and man I visited the building both while it was being built and after work on it stopped, was all over it from cellar to the dome, many times, with visitors from abroad, and with comrades, after the saints left the city and while David La Barron had charge, attended meetings in it both for worship and for political purposes, and know from actual personal observation that the temple at Nauvoo was

[14] But I command you, all ye my saints, to build an house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build an house unto me, and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me. But, behold, at the end of this appointment, your baptisms for your dead shall not be acceptable unto me; and if you do not these things at the end of the appointment, ye shall be rejected as a church with your dead, saith the Lord your God.

not finished. I know, too, that it was a matter of common talk among members of the church that changes were made in the designs, after the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; and that those portions that were completed so as to be occupied were not in accordance with the original plans.

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"LAMONI, Iowa, June 26, 1897."

"Inasmuch as the subject of the temple built by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois, has been in controversy in the past and sometimes of late called up; and as some have claimed that the temple was finished according to the revelation or command of God, and endowments legally given therein, I wish to make a statement and leave my testimony in history, that perhaps it may correct an error, and free some minds which may be in doubt upon the matter.

"When a boy I was privileged to wander all over the building, and sometimes when the man in charge did not feel like climbing up the many flights of stairs, which led into the cupola to show visitors the wonderful building and beautiful view to be had from the dome, he requested me to show them. I well remember that on one of those occasions I ventured out of the small door on the east side of the rounded top which was covered with bright tin. I walked all around it, and as I approached the door the gentleman whom I was guide to caught me and drew me in, and lectured me for my imprudence, declaring that he would not dare do it.

"The offices in the corner to the left of main entrance on the ground floor were finished, but not furnished. The auditorium or main meeting room was temporarily finished; the seats and pulpit were only temporary.

"The upper auditorium; the plastering was not done, the floor was only the rough boards, intended only for the lining, was laid, and from this floor upward the stairs, except in the tower, or circular main stairs, were also temporary; the upper floor which was to have been divided into numerous rooms was laid, and partitioned off with cotton factory cloth, and used for some purposes before the saints were driven away.

"I was told that the cloth of those partitions was subsequently used for wagon covers, by the saints on their journey across the plains.

"To my knowledge the temple never was finished, and those who have been led to believe it was, have been deceived. I make this statement freely for the benefit of the present and future generations.

"ALEXANDER H. SMITH.

"AUDUBON, Minnesota, July 2, 1897."

"REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG, DELIVERED AT THE TEMPLE, ST. GEORGE, JANUARY 1, 1877.

" 'I cannot consent in my feelings to retire from this house without exercising my strength, the strength of my lungs, stomach, and speaking organs, in speaking to this people. I hardly dare say what is in my heart to say to this people. Perhaps it would not be prudent, but I will say a few encouraging things to the Latter Day Saints; that is, they ought to be encouraging. We that are here are enjoying a privilege that we have no knowledge of any other people enjoying since the days of Adam; that is, to have a temple completed, wherein all the ordinances of the house of God can be bestowed upon his people. Brethren and sisters, do you understand this? It seems that a great many of the people know nothing about it. It is true that Solomon built a temple for the purpose of giving endowments, but from what we can learn of the history of that time they gave very few if any endowments, and one of the high priests was murdered by wicked and corrupt men, who had already begun to apostatize, because he would not reveal those things appertaining to the priesthood that were forbidden him to reveal until he came to the proper place. I will not say but what Enoch had temples and officiated therein, but we have no account of it. We know that he raised up a people so pure and holy that they were not permitted to remain with the wicked inhabitants of the earth, but were taken to another place. We as Latter Day Saints have been laboring for over forty years, and the revelations given us in the first were to establish the kingdom by gathering the saints, building temples, and organizing the people as the family of

heaven here on the earth. We reared up a temple in Kirtland, but we had no basement in it, nor a font, nor preparations to give endowments for the living or the dead. It was left by the saints before it was completed, they going to Missouri. Joseph located the site for the Temple Block in Jackson County, Missouri, and pointed out the southeast corner of the temple in the year 1831; also laid the corner stone for a temple in Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. These temples were not built. We built one in Nauvoo. I could pick out several before me now that were there when it was built, and know just how much was finished and what was done. It is true we left brethren there with instructions to finish it, and they got it nearly completed before it was burned; but the saints did not enjoy it. Now we have a temple which will all be finished in a few days, and of which there is enough completed to commence work therein, which has not been done since the days of Adam, that we have any knowledge of. Now those that can see the spiritual atmosphere can see that many of the saints are still glued to this earth and lusting and longing for the things of this world in which there is no profit. It is true, we should look after the things of this world and devote all to the building up of the kingdom of God.'"—*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 18, pp. 303, 304.

Joseph Smith gives as a fitting close to the history of 1841, a partial list of publications issued for and against the church.[15]

[15] The following list shows some of the books, pamphlets, letters, etc., etc., published for and against the Latter Day Saints in 1841:

"A Proclamation to the Saints scattered abroad;" January 15, by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith.

Twenty-three numbers of the *Times and Seasons*, were published at Nauvoo.

Twelve numbers of the *Millennial Star* were published in England by Parley P Pratt.

First edition of the "Book of Mormon," published in England, 21st January, by Elders B. Young and W. Richards.

A third edition of the "Voice of Warning," was published in Manchester, England, by Parley P. Pratt.

"A Letter to Queen Victoria of England, Touching the Signs of the Times, and the Political Destiny of the World;" in pamphlet form; by Parley P. Pratt, Manchester, England.

Five hundred copies of "An Address to the Hebrews," in the Dutch

language, by O. Hyde. Published in Rotterdam, Holland; being the first pamphlet pertaining to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints written in a foreign language; July.

A pamphlet containing 116 pages, 8 vo., by O. Hyde, containing "A Synopsis of the Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints;" addressed to the German nation in their own language.

A small selection of hymns, by Christopher Merkley.

"Evidences in proof of the Book of Mormon;" a work of 256 pages, 32 mo. Published at Batavia, New York, by Charles Thompson.

A lengthy "Address to the Citizens of Salem, Massachusetts, and Vicinity," by E. Snow and B. Winchester; October.

Gospel Reflector, a monthly periodical, by Benjamin Winchester. Published in Philadelphia.

"Proclamation and Warning to the Inhabitants of America," by Charles Thompson.

The editor of the *Times and Seasons* noticed the following:—

From the *Upper Mississippian*, a series of letters, entitled "Nauvoo, Mormon Religion," etc. The writer no doubt intended to give a fair statement, and in the main did; but respecting our faith (on some points), "The Book of Mormon," etc., he is widely from the mark.

An article was published in the North Staffordshire *Mercury*, showing the difference between the Baptists and Latter Day Saints; Hanley, February 16; Signed, "A Baptist;" replied to by Parley P. Pratt, who showed the difference between the Baptists and former-day Saints.

A severe article against the Latter Day Saints, which filled several columns of fine print, was published in the Edinburgh *Intelligencer*, of April 7, taken from the *Athenæum*, on the subject of the "Book of Mormon" and the Latter Day Saints; replied to by Parley P. Pratt, May.

Mr. J. B. Rollo, of Edinburgh, Scotland, published a pamphlet entitled "Mormonism Exposed;" replied to by Parley P. Pratt, July 10.

The Preston *Chronicle* of April 24, published a long article against the Latter Day Saints, which was replied to by Parley P. Pratt in the *Millennial Star*, July 10.

A bitter article was published in the Cheltenham *Free Press* of August 23, headed "Latter Day Saints' Swindle;" replied to by Parley P. Pratt in the *Star* of October.

"A few plain facts, showing the folly, wickedness, and imposition of the Rev. Timothy R. Matthews;" by George J. Adams, Bedford, England.

The St. Louis, Missouri, *Atlas* published a favorable article entitled, "The Latter Day Saints."

The Joliet *Courier* published a favorable account of the late trial of Joseph Smith; Monmouth, June.

The Philadelphia Saturday *Courier* and the *Public Ledger* on July 10 published several articles anathematizing the Latter Day Saints.

A slanderous pamphlet entitled "*Mormonism Unmasked;*" by A. Gardner, of Rochdale, England.

"The Mormons—Arrest of Joe Smith," was the heading of an article published in the New York *Herald of Commerce*, and copied in many of the eastern papers.

The *Christian Messenger and Reformer* published an account of the Latter Day Saints, collected from the book of E. D. Howe, of Painesville, Ohio.

Tom Sharp, editor of the Warsaw *Signal*, devoted his entire time to slander, lie against, and misrepresent the Latter Day Saints.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 8, 9.

CHAPTER 25

1842.

THE NEW YEAR—CORRECTIONS—BOOK OF ABRAHAM—EPITOME OF FAITH—EDITORIAL CHARGE—JOHN SNIDER AGENT—LADIES' RELIEF SOCIETY—GENERAL CONFERENCE—JOHN E. PAGE EXPLAINS—THE WASP—THE TEMPLE—BOGGS SHOT—MORALS OF NAUVOO—THE PINERIES.

WE will open this chapter with the words of Joseph Smith, under date of January 6, 1842:—

"Thursday, 6th. The new year has been ushered in and continued thus far under the most favorable auspices, and the saints seem to be influenced by a kind and indulgent Providence in their dispositions and means to rear the temple of the Most High God, anxiously looking forth to the completion thereof as an event of the greatest importance to the church and the world, making the saints in Zion to rejoice, and the hypocrite and sinner to tremble. Truly this is a day long to be remembered by the saints of the last days, a day in which the God of heaven has begun to restore the ancient order of his kingdom unto his servants and his people; a day in which all things are concurring to bring about the completion of the fullness of the gospel, a fullness of the dispensation of dispensations, even the fullness of times; a day in which God has begun to make manifest and set in order his church, those things which have been, and those things which the ancient prophets and wise men desired to see, but died without beholding it; a day in which those things begin to be made manifest which have been hid from before the foundation of the world, and which Jehovah has promised should be made known in his own due time, unto his servants, to prepare the earth for the return of his glory, even a celestial glory, and a kingdom of priests and kings to God and the Lamb forever, on Mount Zion, or the hundred and forty and four

The new year.

thousand whom John the Revelator saw, which should come to pass in the restitution of all things.

"Conference held at Zarahemla, at which the stake was discontinued. A branch organized and John Smith appointed president."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 21, 22.

Corrections. Saturday, January 15, 1842, Joseph Smith began reading the Book of Mormon for the purpose of correcting some mistakes in the first edition.[1] This work continued from time to time as opportunity offered.

Nothing more of peculiar importance occurred except the general routine of business until March 1, 1842. On this date President Smith writes:—

"I commenced publishing my translation of the Book of Abraham, in the *Times and Seasons*."

Book of Abraham. These extracts, as we understand, are from a translation of a roll of manuscript found with some Egyptian mummies purchased of a traveler who visited Kirtland, Ohio, a few years before for the purpose of exhibiting the mummies. The church has never to our knowledge taken any action on this work, either to indorse or condemn; so it cannot be said to be a church publication; nor can the church be held to answer for the correctness of its teachings. Joseph Smith, as the translator, is committed of course to the correctness of the translation, but not necessarily to the indorsement of its historical or doctrinal contents.

Epitome of faith. About this time, at the request of Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago, Illinois, editor and proprietor of the Chicago *Democrat*, Joseph Smith wrote a sketch of the rise and progress of the church, which sketch was published soon after in that paper. This production closed with a plain and comprehensive epitome of the faith and doctrine of the church.[2]

[1] Saturday, 15th. I commenced reading the Book of Mormon, at page 54, American stereotype edition (the previous pages having been corrected), for the purpose of correcting the stereotype plates of some errors which escaped notice in the first edition.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p 22.

[2] We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

This is an important historical document, for the reason that there has been some discussion regarding just what the doctrine of the church was in past years.

On assuming editorial charge of the *Times and Seasons* President Joseph Smith published a notice that he would become responsible for all future editorials and for all papers having his signature, but disclaiming responsibility for the paper in the past.[3]

Editorial charge.

March 20, 1842, the Quorum of the Twelve wrote a general

We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

We believe that these ordinances are, 1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, Repentance; 3d, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

We believe that a man must be called of God by "prophecy, and by laying on of hands" by those who are in authority to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church; viz.: Apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaic glory.

We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.

We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men;* indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, "we believe all things, we hope all things," we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things. Respectfully, etc.,

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 709, 710.

[3] TO SUBSCRIBERS. — This paper commences my editorial career. I alone stand responsible for it, and shall do for all papers having my signature henceforward. I am not responsible for the publication or arrangement of the former paper; the matter did not come under my supervision. JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 710.

epistle to the church in Europe, in which they made the building of the temple and the Nauvoo House a special feature, and appointed John Snider their agent for collecting means.

John Snider agent.

This epistle was signed by each of the quorum except P. P. Pratt and Orson Hyde, who were in foreign lands.[4]

March 24, the "Ladies' Relief Society" was organized. The editor of the *Times and Seasons*, Joseph Smith, in the issue for April 1, speaks of the society and explains the purpose of its creation.[5]

Ladies' Relief Society.

[4] The following is an extract from the epistle of the Twelve:—

Brethren, we wish not to control you or your means; it is not for our peace or interest; nay, rather, it is a source of labor, trouble, and anxiety to have aught to do with the pecuniary business of the church, which we would gladly avoid, could we do it and do our duty, could we do it and the things desired be accomplished and we stand guiltless where God hath placed us; and for this reason we desire to make such arrangements as will most tend to leave the business in your own hands, or in the hands of those whom you shall select; men of your own acquaintance in whom you can repose confidence that they will execute their trust in righteousness. And that our plans may be understood by you and carried into execution, we have sent unto you our beloved brother, Elder John Snider, the bearer of this epistle and other epistles also previously written by us to you; and we beseech you, brethren, to receive him as a servant of the Most High, authorized according to the order of the kingdom of heaven, and assist him by all lawful means in your power to execute the mission intrusted to him; for great events depend on his success, but to none will they be greater than to yourselves.

Our authority for thus sending Brother Snider to you is found in the Book of the Law of the Lord, page 36, as follows: "Nauvoo, December 22, 1841." "The word of the Lord came unto Joseph the Seer, Verily thus saith the Lord, Let my servant John Snider take a mission to the Eastern Continent, unto all the conferences now sitting in that region; and let him carry a package of epistles that shall be written by my servants, the Twelve, making known unto them their duties concerning the building of my houses, which I have appointed unto you, saith the Lord, that they may bring their gold, and their silver, and their precious stones, and the box tree, and the fir tree, and all fine wood to beautify the place of my sanctuary saith the Lord; and let him return speedily with all means which shall be put into his hands; even so, Amen."

In this revelation, the brethren will discover their duty in relation to the building of the temple of the Lord in Nauvoo and the Nauvoo House; and we call upon them with united cry to give heed unto the things written and help to build the houses which God hath commanded, so that Brother Snider may speedily return with means to strengthen the hands of the laborers and adorn and beautify the tabernacle of Jehovah. —*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 736, 737.

[5] LADIES' RELIEF SOCIETY.—A society has lately been formed by the ladies of Nauvoo for the relief of the poor, the destitute, the widow, and the orphan; and for the exercise of all benevolent purposes. The society is known by the name of the "Ladies' Relief Society of the City of Nauvoo;" and was organized on Thursday, the 24th of March, A. D. 1842.

March 26, Elder John Snider was blessed for his mission under the hands of President Joseph Smith and Apostles Page and Richards, and the same day started for England.

On the 27th Joseph Smith baptized one hundred and seven persons in the Mississippi River. April 6, 1842, there was a special General Conference convened at Nauvoo, at which several important items of business were done. Among them was the consideration of the case of Apostle John E. Page who had been under censure for some time in consequence of his failure to accompany Apostle Orson Hyde to the Orient. The investigation resulted in his restoration to fellowship.[6]

General Conference.

John E. Page explains.

The society is duly organized with a presidentess or chairwoman, and two counselors, chosen by herself, a treasurer and secretary. Mrs. Emma Smith takes the presidential chair, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Mrs. Sarah M. Cleveland are her counselors; Miss Elvira Cole is treasuress, and our well-known and talented poetess, Miss Eliza R. Snow, secretary.

There was a very numerous attendance at the organization of the society, and also at their subsequent meetings, of some of our most intelligent, humane, philanthropic, and respectable ladies; and we are well assured from a knowledge of those pure principles of benevolence that flow spontaneously from their humane and philanthropic bosoms, that with the resources they will have at command they will fly to the relief of the stranger, they will pour in oil and wine to the wounded heart of the distressed, they will dry up the tear of the orphan, and make the widow's heart to rejoice.

Our ladies have always been signalized for their acts of benevolence and kindness; but the cruel usage that they have received from the barbarians of Missouri has hitherto prevented their extending the hand of charity in a conspicuous manner; yet in the midst of their persecutions, when the bread has been torn from their helpless offspring by their cruel oppressors, they have always been ready to open their doors to the weary traveler, to divide their scanty pittance with the hungry, and from their robbed and impoverished wardrobes to divide with the more needy and destitute; and now that they are living on a more genial soil, and among a less barbarous people, and possess facilities that they have not heretofore enjoyed, we feel convinced that with their concentrated efforts the condition of the suffering poor, of the stranger, and the fatherless, will be ameliorated.

We had the privilege of being present at their organization, and were much pleased with their *modus operandi* and the good order that prevailed. They are strictly parliamentary in their proceedings, and we believe that they will make pretty good Democrats.—ED.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 743.

[6] CONFERENCE MINUTES.

Special conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, met according to appointment in the city of Nauvoo, April 6, 1842.

The day being wet, the First Presidency did not attend, and Elder Page addressed those present upon the subject of the charges against

him, and said he would be happy to have an opportunity of laying his statement before the conference at a convenient time.

President William Law, General Bennett president pro tem., and President H. Smith all spoke upon the subject of military affairs, showing the necessity of a well-organized and efficient force; that as we were bound to serve our country if required in common with all good citizens, we ought not to be behind any of our neighbors in point of good order, neat uniforms, and equipments, and a well-organized and thoroughly disciplined legion.

April 7. Conference met; President Joseph Smith had the several quorums put in order, and seated. He then made some very appropriate remarks concerning the duties of the church, the necessity of unity of purpose in regard to the building of the houses, and the blessings connected with doing the will of God, and the inconsistency, folly, and danger of murmuring against the dispensations of Jehovah.

He said that the principal object of the meeting was to bring the case of Elder Page before them, and that another object was to choose young men, and ordain them, and send them out to preach, that they may have an opportunity of proving themselves, and of enduring the tarring and feathering and such things as those of us who have gone before them have had to endure.

Elder Page having arrived, was called upon, and addressed the congregation in relation to the nonperformance of his mission to Jerusalem. He said that when he started with Elder Hyde, joy filled their hearts, and they were aware of the responsibility of their mission. Elder Hyde's vision was that he should be in Jerusalem alone; E. P. [Elder Page] considered Elder Hyde to be his father and guide in the mission, and felt it his duty to submit to Elder Hyde's opinion in all things. No elders ever were more in concert on a mission than they were while together. They made a covenant in Quincy to stand by each other while on the mission; that if they were insulted or imposed upon they would stand by each other even unto death, and not separate unless to go a few miles to preach a sermon; that all moneys should go into one purse, and it did so. Elder Hyde in Indiana first said he would go to visit Bro. Knight, and that Elder Page would stay and preach. He assented, and he went and returned to Indianapolis. Elder Page had a mare given him on account of both. Elder Hyde then took the mare, went on, and left his luggage with Elder Page. While away he sold the mare for forty dollars, and received sixty dollars more as a donation from the man to whom he sold the mare. He returned; they preached in Dayton and received a handsome contribution. Elder Page preached sixteen miles off and raised a branch; Elder Hyde went to Cincinnati, revised the "Missouri Persecutions," got two thousand copies printed, and paid for them, and took part of them with him, and left a large box full and about one hundred and fifty loose copies with Elder Page. Elder Hyde started for Philadelphia, purposing to visit churches on the way; he left Elder Page twenty-three dollars and thirty-one cents. Elder Page returned to Dayton and Milton and sold books, with the intention of following Elder Hyde as soon as practicable; but he stayed a day or two too long, and the river closed by the frost, from one to two weeks earlier than usual. Elder Hyde told him that it was possible they might be from one to two years before they would leave America, as it would take upwards of one thousand dollars each to take them to Jerusalem and back; that it would be slow gleaning in England; and assigned this as a reason for not immediately following Elder Hyde, thinking that he would be sure of seeing him in the spring.

Elder Page accused himself of not using better economy in proceeding on his journey. There came out a piece in the paper stating the dis-

April 13, the first number of a periodical called *The Wasp* was issued at Nauvoo, Elder William Smith editor. It was a weekly newspaper devoted to art, science, literature, agriculture, manufactures, trade, commerce, and general news.

The Wasp.

pleasure of the Lord respecting Elder Hyde and Elder Page. He sat down and wrote a piece to put in the paper, acknowledging the justice of the charge; but wisdom prevented its being published; preached about Washington, etc., gathered funds for the mission, in Westchester and in Philadelphia. Elder Hyde raised funds on behalf of the mission, by applauding Elder Page's talents, wisdom, etc.; but they were disappointed in him when they saw him. He raised funds for the mission; the most liberal was in Philadelphia. He intended to sail on the 25th of July, but the brethren said that if he would remain two weeks they would raise funds for him. They found that it would take longer, and he decided to stay a month. He then received a command through a letter from President H. Smith to an official character in Philadelphia, requesting him to return. He wrote to ascertain the reason, but did not get an answer. He was then called in by President J. Smith and Elder B. Young. Elder Hyde would often renew the covenant between them, never to part with each other in that mission. Elder Page had no blame to attach to Elder Hyde—he supposed that he had done right; but if he had been in his place he would have tarried for him until the spring.

The reports of his having apostatized, etc., returned even from this place to New York. Many reproved him for leaving Cincinnati for Dayton.

President J. Smith then arose and stated that it was wrong to make the covenant referred to by him; that it created a lack of confidence for two men to covenant to reveal all acts of secrecy or otherwise to each other, and Elder Page showed a little grannyism. He said that no two men when they agreed to go together ought to separate; that the prophets of old would not, and quoted the circumstance of Elijah and Elisha . . . when about to go to Gilgal; also when about to go to Jericho, and to Jordan; that Elisha could not get clear of Elijah—that he clung to his garment until he was taken to heaven; and that Elder Page should have stuck by Elder Hyde, and he might have gone to Jerusalem; that there is nothing very bad in it, but by the experience let us profit. . . .

When Elder Hyde returns we will reconsider the matter, and perhaps send them back to Jerusalem. We will fellowship Elder Page until Elder Hyde comes, and we will then weld them together and make them one. A vote was then put and carried, that we hold Elder Page in full fellowship.

Voted that Elder Page be sent to Pittsburg. . . .

Elder L. Wight then addressed those who intended to be ordained, on the subject of their duty and requirements to go to preach.

President H. Smith spoke concerning the elders who went forth to preach from Kirtland, and were afterwards called in for the washing and anointing at the dedication of the house; and those who go now will be called in also, when this temple is about to be dedicated, and will then be endowed to go forth with mighty power, having the same anointing, that all may go forth and have the same power; the first, second, and so on, of the seventies, and all those formerly ordained. This will be an important and beneficial mission, and not many years until those now sent will be called in again.

He then spoke in contradiction of a report in circulation about Elder

The temple.

The *Times and Seasons* for May 2, 1842, contained two articles on the temple. One, the epistle of the Twelve to the church in America,[1] and the other

Kimball, B. Young, himself, and others of the Twelve, alleging that a sister had been shut in a room for several days, and that they had endeavored to induce her to believe in having two wives. Also cautioned the sisters against going to the steamboats.

President J. Smith spoke upon the subject of the stories respecting Elder Kimball and others, showing the folly and inconsistency of spending any time in conversing about such stories or hearkening to them, for there is no person that is acquainted with our principles would believe such lies, except Sharp, the editor of the Warsaw *Signal*. Baptisms for the dead, and for the healing of the body, must be in the font; those coming into the church and those rebaptized may be done in the river.

A box should be prepared for the use of the font, that the clerk may be paid, and a book procured by the moneys to be put therein by those baptized, the remainder to go to the use of the temple. Sung a hymn. Ordinations to take place to-morrow morning, baptisms in the font also. There were two hundred and seventy-five ordained to the office of elder under the hands of the Twelve during the conference.

April 8. Sung a hymn; prayer by Elder Kimball; sung a hymn.

Elder Page then addressed the assembly upon several subjects; made many interesting remarks concerning being called to the ministry, labor in the vineyard, etc., spoke of his own travels and the fruits of his labors as an encouragement to the young elders who were going into the vineyard.

President J. Smith said the baptisms would be attended to, also the ordinations. Sung a hymn. Elder John Taylor preached a sermon while the ordinations and baptisms were going on, on the subject of infidelity, showing that the arguments used against the Bible were reasonably, scientifically, and philosophically false.

The stand was occupied in the afternoon by Elder Amasa Lyman and followed by Elder William Smith; then the conference closed by benediction of President J. Smith.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 761–763.

[1] AN EPISTLE OF THE TWELVE.

To the Saints in America; Greeting:—

Beloved brethren, we have whereof to congratulate you at the present time, as we have opportunity from day to day to witness the progress of the building of the temple of the Lord in this city, and which is and must be accomplished by the united exertions of the labors of the brethren who reside here, and the tithings and contributions of those who are scattered abroad in the different States.

In this glorious object the hearts of all the faithful are united, the hands of the laborer are made strong continually, and the purse strings of the more opulent are unloosed, from time to time, to supply those things which are necessary for upraising the stones of this noble edifice; and it may truly be said that the blessing of the Lord is upon his people; we have peace without and love within the borders of our beautiful city—beautiful, indeed, for situation, is Nauvoo, the crown of the great valley of the Mississippi, the joy of every honest heart.

Although all things are more prosperous concerning the temple than at any former period, yet the saints must not suppose that all is done or that they can relax their exertions and the work go on. It is a great work that God has required of his people, and it will require long and

unwearied diligence to accomplish it; and redoubled diligence will be necessary with all to get the building inclosed before another winter, so that the joiner can be employed during the cold weather; and we would again call upon all the saints abroad to unite in making their deposits in banks known to be good and safe, and forward their certificates to the Trustee in Trust, as speedily as possible, when trusty men are not coming immediately to this place who can bring your offerings. All will want the privileges and blessings of the sanctuary when it is completed, and all can have their wishes; but they can obtain them only by faithfulness and diligence in striving to build.

We praise our God for the liberality which has hitherto been manifested. Many have given more than was required of them, many have given their all; but they have done it cheerfully, they have done it voluntarily, and they shall have a great reward; for the blessings of heaven and earth shall be multiplied unto such, even the blessings of that priesthood which hath neither beginning of days nor end of life. While there are those who of their abundance have built unto themselves fine houses, and who ride in carriages and on horseback, and regale themselves with the good things of the land, and at the same time they have left the Lord's house untouched, or, if touched at all, have touched it so lightly as scarce to leave the print of their little finger,—their reward will be according to their deeds, and unless they speedily repent and come up with their abundance to the help of the Lord, they will find in the end that they have no part nor lot in this matter; their gold and silver will become cankered, their garments moth-eaten, and they will perish in their own slothfulness and idolatry, leaving none to mourn their absence.

But, brethren, the temple will be built. There are hundreds and thousands who stand ready to sacrifice the last farthing they possess on earth rather than have the building of the Lord's house delayed; and while this spirit prevails no power beneath the heavens can hinder its progress; but we desire you all to help with the ability which God has given you, that you may all share the blessings which will distill from heaven to earth through this consecrated channel.

This is not all. It will be in vain for us to build a place where the Son of Man may lay his head, and leave the cries of the widow and the fatherless unheard by us, ascending up to the orphan's God and widow's friend. It is in vain we cry, Lord, Lord, and do not the things our Lord hath commanded; to visit the widow, the fatherless, the sick, the lame, the blind, the destitute, and minister to their necessities; and it is but reasonable that such cases should be found among a people who have but recently escaped the fury of a relentless mob on the one hand and gathered from the half-starved population of the scattered nations on the other.

Neither is this all. It is not sufficient that the poor be fed and clothed, the sick ministered unto, the temple built; No! When all this is accomplished, there must be a year of jubilee; there must be a day of rejoicing; there must be a time of release to Zion's sons, or our offerings, our exertions, our hopes, and our prayers will be in vain, and God will not accept of the doings of his people.

On those days of darkness which overspread our horizon, when the wolf was howling for his prey around the streets of Kirtland, when the burglar was committing his midnight and midday depredations in Jackson County, when the heartless politician was thrusting his envious darts in Clay, and when the savage war whoop of Missouri echoed and reëchoed through Far West, and Zion's noblest sons were chained in dungeons, and her daughters driven by a horde of savages, naked and defenseless, from their once peaceful homes to seek a shelter in a far distant land,—

many of the brethren stepped forward to their rescue, and not only expended all they possessed for the relief of suffering innocence, but gave their notes and bonds to obtain more means with which to help those who could not escape from the overwhelming surge of banishment from all that they possessed on earth.

Deaths, wounds, and sickness, from the mob, and the cold and shelterless situation of the brethren, followed in quick succession; and all the means which could possibly be obtained from each other, in addition to the noble charities of the citizens of Illinois, were brought in requisition to sustain a remnant of the saints, who now mostly inhabit this place. To accomplish this the president and bishops loaned [borrowed] money and such things as could be obtained, and gave their obligations in good faith for the payment of the same; and many of the brethren signed with them at different times and in different places to strengthen their hands and help them carry out their designs, fully expecting that, at some future day, they would be enabled to liquidate all such claims to the satisfaction of all parties.

Many of these claims have already been settled, many have been given up as cancelled by those who held them, and many yet remain unsettled. The saints have had many difficulties to encounter since they arrived at this place. In a new country, destitute of houses, food, clothing, and nearly all the necessaries of life, which were rent from them by an unfeeling mob, having to encounter disease and difficulties unnumbered, it is not surprising that the church has not been able to liquidate all such claims, or that many individuals should yet remain involved, from the foregoing circumstances; and while things remain as they are, and men remain subject to the temptations of evil as they now are, the day of release and year of jubilee cannot be; and we write you especially at this time, brethren, for the purpose of making a final settlement of all such claims, of brother against brother, of the brethren against the presidency and bishops, etc., etc.—claims which have originated out of the difficulties and calamities the church has had to encounter, and which are of long standing, so that when the temple is completed there will be nothing from this source to produce jars and discords, strifes and animosities, so as to prevent the blessings of heaven from descending upon us as a people.

To accomplish this most desirable object we call on all the brethren who hold such claims to bring them forward for a final settlement; and also those brethren who have individual claims against each other, of long standing, and the property of the debtor has been wrested from him by violence, or he has been unfortunate and languished on a bed of sickness till his means are expended; and all claims whatsoever between brother and brother, where there is no reasonable prospect of a just and equitable settlement possible, that they also by some means, either by giving up their obligations or destroying them, see that all such old affairs be adjusted so that it shall not give occasion for difficulties to arise hereafter. Yes, brethren, bring all such old accounts, notes, bonds, etc., and make a consecration of them to the building of the temple, and if anything can be obtained on them it will be obtained, and if nothing can be obtained when the temple is completed, we will make a burnt offering of them, even a peace offering, which shall bind the brethren together in the bonds of eternal peace, and love, and union; and joy and salvation shall flow forth into your souls, and you shall rejoice and say, It is good that we have hearkened unto counsel and set our brethren free, for God hath blessed us.

How can we prosper while the church, while the Presidency, while the bishops, while those who have sacrificed everything but life, in this thing, for our salvation, are thus encumbered? it cannot be. Arise

an editorial from the pen of Joseph Smith.* A careful perusal of these articles will indicate that the erection of the temple was one of the leading purposes of the times.

then, brethren, set *them* free, and set each other free, and we will all be free together; we will be free indeed.

Let nothing in this epistle be so construed as to destroy the validity of contracts, or give anyone license not to pay his debts. The commandment is to pay every man his dues, and no man can get to heaven while he justly owes his brother or his neighbor, who has or can get the means and will not pay. It is dishonest, and no dishonest man can enter where God is.

We remain your brethren in the gospel of peace,

B. YOUNG, President.
HEBER C. KIMBALL.
ORSON PRATT.
WILLIAM SMITH.
JOHN E. PAGE.
LYMAN WIGHT.
WILFORD WOODRUFF.
JOHN TAYLOR.
GEORGE A. SMITH.
W. RICHARDS, Clerk.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 767–769.

*THE TEMPLE.—This noble edifice is progressing with great rapidity; strenuous exertions are being made on every hand to facilitate its erection, and materials of all kinds are in a great state of forwardness, and by next fall we expect to see the building inclosed; if not the topstone raised with "shouting of grace, grace unto it." There have been frequently, during the winter, as many as one hundred hands quarrying rock, while at the same time multitudes of others have been engaged in hauling and in other kinds of labor. A company was formed last fall to go up to the pine country to purchase mills and prepare and saw lumber for the temple and the Nauvoo House, and the reports from them are very favorable. Another company has started this last week, to take their place and to relieve those that are already there. On their return they are to bring a very large raft of lumber for the use of the above-named houses.

While the busy multitudes have thus been engaged in their several avocations, performing their daily labor, and working one tenth of their time, others have not been less forward in bringing in their tithings and consecrations for the same great object. Never since the formation [foundation] of this church was laid have we seen manifested a greater willingness to comply with the requisitions of Jehovah, a more ardent desire to do the will of God, more strenuous exertions used, or greater sacrifices made, than there has been since the Lord said, "Let the temple be built by the tithing of my people." It seemed as though the spirit of enterprise, philanthropy, and obedience rested simultaneously upon old and young; and brethren and sisters, boys and girls, and even strangers, who were not in the church, united with an unprecedented liberality in the accomplishment of this great work; nor could the widow, in many instances, be prevented, out of her scanty pittance, from throwing in her two mites.

We feel at this time to tender to all, old and young, both in the church and out of it, our unfeigned thanks for their unprecedented liberality,

On May 17, 1842, Gen. John C. Bennett resigned his position as Mayor of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith was elected by the City Council to succeed him.

On May 6, 1842, Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, was

kindness, diligence, and obedience, which they have so opportunely manifested on the present occasion. Not that we are personally or individually benefited in a pecuniary point of view, but when the brethren as in this instance show a unity of purpose and design, and all put their shoulder to the wheel, our care, labor, toil, and anxiety is materially diminished; "our yoke is made easy, and our burden is light."

The cause of God is one common cause, in which all the saints are alike interested. We are all members of the one common body, and all partake of the same Spirit, and are baptized into one baptism, and possess alike the same glorious hope. The advancement of the cause of God and the building up of Zion is as much one man's business as another. The only difference is that one is called to fulfill one duty and another another duty; "but if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it," and if one member is honored all the rest rejoice with it, and the eye cannot say to the ear I have no need of thee, nor the head to the foot I have no need of thee; party feelings, separate interests, exclusive designs should be lost sight of in the one common cause, in the interest of the whole.

The building up of Zion is a cause that has interested the people of God in every age; it is a theme upon which prophets, priests, and kings have dwelt with peculiar delight. They have looked forward with joyful anticipation to the day in which we lived; and fired with heavenly and joyful anticipations they have sung, and wrote, and prophesied of this our day. But they died without the sight; we are the favored people that God has made choice of to bring about the latter-day glory; it is left for us to see, participate in, and help to roll forward the latter-day glory—"the dispensation of the fullness of times, when God will gather together all things that are in heaven, and all things that are upon the earth, even in one;" when the saints of God will be gathered in one from every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue; when the Jews will be gathered together into one, the wicked will also be gathered together to be destroyed, as spoken of by the prophets; the Spirit of God will also dwell with his people, and be withdrawn from the rest of the nations, and all things whether in heaven or on earth will be in one, even in Christ. The heavenly priesthood will unite with the earthly, to bring about those great purposes; and whilst we are thus united in the one common cause to roll forth the kingdom of God, the heavenly priesthood are not idle spectators; the Spirit of God will be showered down from above, it will dwell in our midst. The blessings of the Most High will rest upon our tabernacles, and our name will be handed down to future ages; our children will rise up and call us blessed; and generations yet unborn will dwell with peculiar delight upon the scenes that we have passed through, the privations that we have endured, the untiring zeal that we have manifested, the insurmountable difficulties that we have overcome, in laying the foundation of a work that brought about the glory and blessings which they will realize; a work that God and angels have contemplated with delight, for generations past; that fired the souls of the ancient patriarchs and prophets;—a work that is destined to bring about the destruction of the powers of darkness, the renovation of the earth, the glory of God, and the salvation of the human family.—Ed – *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 775, 776.

shot and severely wounded at his home in Independence, Missouri. It was at first reported that he was dead, but this was a mistake. He recovered and went to California, where he died some years later.

Boggs shot.

Because of the part that Governor Boggs had taken in driving the saints from the State, suspicion rested upon them. It was quite generally charged that Joseph Smith sent one O. P. Rockwell to do the deed. Rockwell was apprehended, tried, and acquitted. Gen. A. W. Doniphan was attorney for Rockwell, and he told us a few years ago that there was not one particle of evidence produced in court to connect Rockwell with the crime. At the time Boggs was shot he was a candidate for State senator, and politics was agitated during the campaign in a very vindictive spirit. Boggs had many bitter political enemies. There was surely as much reason to suspect his political enemies of being guilty of the crime as to suspect the Latter Day Saints.

About this time the Quincy *Whig* published an account of the tragedy, which is a fair specimen of the reports which went the rounds of the press.[9]

To this Joseph Smith published an answer and denial.[10]

[9] Assassination of Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri.—Lilburn W. Boggs, late Governor of Missouri, was assassinated at his residence in Independence, Missouri, by an unknown hand, on the 6th instant. He was sitting in a room by himself, when some person discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot, through an adjoining window; three of the shot took effect in his head, one of which penetrated the brain. His son, a boy, hearing the report of the pistol, ran into the room in which his father was seated, and found him in a helpless situation, upon which he gave the alarm. Footprints were found beneath the window, and the pistol which gave the fatal shot. The Governor was alive on the seventh, but no hopes are entertained of his recovery. A man was suspected, and is probably arrested before this. There are several rumors in circulation in regard to the horrid affair; one of which throws the crime upon the Mormons, from the fact, we suppose, that Mr. Boggs was Governor at the time, and in no small degree instrumental in driving them from the State. Smith, too, the Mormon prophet, as we understand, prophesied, a year or so ago, his death by violent means. Hence there is plenty of foundation for rumor. The citizens of Independence had offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the murderer.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 439.

[10] Nauvoo, Illinois, May 22, 1842.

Mr. Bartlett; Dear Sir:—In your paper (the Quincy *Whig*) of the 21st instant, you have done me manifest injustice in ascribing to me a pre-

The report of the English mission to the conference at Manchester, June 1, 1842, showed a membership of 7,514.

Morals of Nauvoo.

On June 17, 1842, Elder William Law made a statement regarding the morals and loyalty of Nauvoo, which makes an extraordinarily good showing for the dominant church there.[11]

diction of the demise of Lilburn W. Boggs, Esq., Ex-Governor of Missouri, by violent hands. Boggs was a candidate for the State Senate, and, I presume, fell by the hand of a political opponent, with "his hands and face yet dripping with the blood of murder;" but he died not through my instrumentality. My hands are clean, and my heart pure, from the blood of all men. I am tired of the misrepresentation, calumny, and detraction heaped upon me by wicked men; and desire and claim only those principles guaranteed to all men by the Constitution and laws of the United States and of Illinois. Will you do me the justice to publish this communication, and oblige, yours respectfully,

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 439, 440.

[11] What have the Mormons done in Illinois? is a question which I have frequently asked of those who are busy with the tongue of slander in calumniating the Latter Day Saints, but as yet I have found none who are willing to answer me honestly or correctly. Perhaps many judge from rumor, not having investigated the matter for themselves. I have, therefore, thought it might be well to lay before the public some facts in relation to the case, believing that there is a respectable portion of community who, after having received correct information, will frown with indignation upon the conduct of those who are endeavoring to raise a persecution against our people.

In the first place, we would say, that where a crime is committed there is a law broken, for if no law has been violated there cannot have been a crime committed; if, then, our people have broken the law, is there not power in those laws to vindicate themselves, or to redress the wrongs of those who are injured? We say there is; neither would we cast any aspersion upon the characters of the administrators of the laws, as though they were not vigilant in the discharge of their duty; we believe they have been (with very few exceptions).

With these facts before us, there is then no difficulty in obtaining correct information as to the amount of crime committed by the Mormons throughout the State. You have only to refer to the various dockets kept by the administrators of law, from the highest court to the lowest, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and there you will find recorded the crimes of the Mormons, if it so be that they have committed any. We say their faults are few compared to the population. Where is there a record of murder committed by any of our people? None in the State. Where is there a record against any of our people for a penitentiary crime? Not in the State. Where is there a record of fine or county imprisonment (for any breach of law) against any of the Latter Day Saints? I know of none in the State. If, then, they have broken no law, they consequently have taken away no man's rights—they have infringed upon no man's liberties.

We have been three years in this State, and have not asked for any county or State officer. Laws have been administered by those not of our persuasion; administered rigorously, even against the *appearance* of crime, and yet there has been no conviction of which I have heard.

But favorable as the statement of Elder Law is, it is not more complimentary to their industry, good government, and morality than is a statement made by the Rev. Mr. Prior, of the Methodist Church, who visited Nauvoo in 1843.[12]

Where is there another community of thirty thousand, *in any State*, against none of whom there is a record of conviction for crime in any court during the space of three years? And yet there are those who cry out "Treason! murder! bigamy! burglary! arson!" and everything that is evil, without being able to refer to a single case that has ever been proved against the Mormons.

This, then, must be the "head and front of our offending," that by industry in both spiritual and temporal things we are becoming a great and numerous people; we convert our thousands and tens of thousands yearly to the light of truth—to the glorious liberty of the gospel of Christ; we bring thousands from foreign lands, from under the yoke of oppression, and the iron hand of poverty, and we place them in a situation where they can sustain themselves, which is the highest act of charity towards the poor. We dry the widow's tear, we fill the orphan's hand with bread, and clothe the naked; we teach them the principles of morality and righteousness, and they rejoice in the God of Abraham, and in the Holy One of Israel, and are happy.

Thus it is with the honest in heart; but when the wicked creep in amongst us for evil, to trample upon the most holy and virtuous precepts, and find our moral and religious laws too strict for them, they cry out, "Delusion, false prophets, speculation, oppression, illegal ordinances, usurpation of power, treason against the government, etc. You must have your charters taken away; you have dared to pass an ordinance against fornicators and adulterers; you have forbid the vending of spirituous liquors within your city; you have passed an ordinance against vagrants and disorderly persons; with many other high-handed acts. You even threaten to vote at the next election, and maybe (at least we fear) you will send a member to the legislature; none of which doings we, the good mobocrats and anti-Mormon politicians (and some priests as well) are willing to bear."

This is the cry of the base and vile, the priest and the speculator, but the noble, the high-minded, the patriotic, and the virtuous breathe no such sentiments; neither will those who feel an interest in the welfare of the State; for who does not know that to increase the population ten thousand a year with the most industrious people in the world, to pay thousands of dollars of taxes, to bring into the State immense sums of gold and silver from all countries, to establish the greatest manufacturing city in America (which Nauvoo will be in a few years), and to create the best produce market in the West, is for the good and prosperity of the community at large, and of the State of Illinois in particular. As to the city ordinances, we have passed all such as we deemed necessary for the peace, welfare, and happiness of the inhabitants, whether Jew or Greek, Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, Latter Day Saint, or any other; that they all worship God according to their own conscience, and enjoy the rights of American freemen.

WILLIAM LAW.

NAUVOO, June 17, 1842.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 483, 486.

[12] At length the city burst upon my sight. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels, which I had expected to find, I

On June 26 a council was held, to decide upon the propriety of sending a delegation to the pineries, to engage in the lumber business in the interest of the temple and Nauvoo House. On the 28th it was decided to send a company under the leadership of Ezra Chase.

The pineries.

was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the West. The buildings, though many of them were small, and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equaled in this country. The far-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with the habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken, and instead of being in Nauvoo of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy at the city of Leghorn, which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants, who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity and wrested it from the bonds of disease, and in two or three short years rescued it from a dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities of the West. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with the dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the temple, which was now raised fifteen or twenty feet above the ground. The few trees that were permitted to stand are now in full foliage, and are scattered with a sort of fantastic irregularity over the slope of the hill.

But there was one object which was far more noble to behold, and far more majestic than any other yet presented to my sight, and that was the widespread and unrivaled Father of Waters, the Mississippi River, whose mirror-bedded waters lay in majestic extension before the city, and in one general curve seemed to sweep gallantly by the beautiful place. On the farther side was seen the dark green woodland, bending under its deep foliage, with here and there an interstice bearing the marks of cultivation. A few houses could be seen through the trees on the other side of the river, directly opposite to which is spread a fairy isle, covered with beautiful timber. The isle and romantic swell of the river soon brought my mind back to days of yore, and to the bright emerald isles of the far-famed fairy land. The bold and prominent rise of the hill, fitting to the plain with exact regularity, and the plain pushing itself into the river, forcing it to bend around its obstacle with becoming grandeur, and fondly to cling around it to add to the heightened and refined luster of this sequestered land.

I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business—much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality, but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred and impudent. I heard not an oath in the place, I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite, and industrious.—Smucker's History of the Mormons, pp. 152–155.

CHAPTER 26.

1842.

CASE OF J. C. BENNETT—THE CASE EDITORIALLY—BISHOP MILLER'S STATEMENT—MASS MEETING—RELIEF SOCIETY—NOT UNDER DURESS—OTHER EVIDENCE—MARRIAGE.

IN a former chapter we made some mention of John C. Bennett, who about this time was expelled from the church,[1] and soon after published his "Mormonism Exposed," charging the church leaders with immorality and crime. We devote this space to Mr. Bennett because it is a part of the history, and to show the course pursued by the church with such characters, also to show what the position of the church was on some of the things charged.

Case of J. C. Bennett.

[1] NOTICE.

The subscribers, members of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, withdraw the hand of fellowship from General John C. Bennett, as a Christian, he having been labored with from time to time to persuade him to amend his conduct, apparently to no good effect.

JOSEPH SMITH.
HYRUM SMITH.
WILLIAM LAW.

The following members of the Quorum of the Twelve concur in the above sentiments:—

BRIGHAM YOUNG.
HEBER C. KIMBALL.
LYMAN WIGHT.
WILLIAM SMITH.
JOHN E. PAGE.
JOHN TAYLOR.
WILFORD WOODRUFF.
GEORGE A. SMITH.
WILLARD RICHARDS.

We concur in the above sentiments:—

N. K. WHITNEY.
V. KNIGHT.
GEORGE MILLER.
Bishops of the above-mentioned church.

NAUVOO, May 11, 1842.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 830.

The case editorially.

In the *Times and Seasons* for July 1, 1842, Joseph Smith presents the case editorially, which we here give in full:—

"*To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and to all the honorable part of community:—*

"It becomes my duty to lay before the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the public generally, some important facts relative to the conduct and character of Dr. John C. Bennett, who has lately been expelled from the aforesaid church; that the honorable part of community may be aware of his proceedings, and be ready to treat him and regard him as he ought to be regarded; viz., as an impostor and base adulterer.

"It is a matter of notoriety that said Dr. J. C. Bennett became favorable to the doctrines taught by the elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and located himself in the city of Nauvoo about the month of August, 1840, and soon after joined the church. Soon after it was known that he had become a member of said church, a communication was received at Nauvoo, from a person of respectable character, and residing in the vicinity where Bennett had lived. This letter cautioned us against him, setting forth that he was a very mean man and had a wife and two or three children in McConnelsville, Morgan County, Ohio; but knowing that it is no uncommon thing for good men to be evil spoken against, the above letter was kept quiet, but held in reserve.

"He had not been long in Nauvoo before he began to keep company with a young lady, one of our citizens; and she being ignorant of his having a wife living, gave way to his addresses, and became confident, from his behavior towards her, that he intended to marry her; and this he gave her to understand he would do. I, seeing the folly of such an acquaintance, persuaded him to desist; and, on account of his continuing his course, finally threatened to expose him if he did not desist. This, to outward appearance, had the desired effect, and the acquaintance between them was broken off.

"But, like one of the most abominable and depraved beings which could possibly exist, he only broke off his publicly wicked actions to sink deeper into iniquity and hypocrisy. When he saw that I would not submit to any such conduct, he went to some of the females in the city, who knew nothing of him but as an honorable man, and began to teach them that promiscuous intercourse between the sexes was a doctrine believed in by the Latter Day Saints, and that there was no harm in it; but this failing, he had recourse to a more influential and desperately wicked course; and that was, to persuade them that myself and others of the authorities of the church not only sanctioned but practiced the same wicked acts; and when asked why I publicly preached so much against it, said that it was because of the prejudice of the public, and that it would cause trouble in my own house. He was well aware of the consequence of such willful and base falsehoods, if they should come to my knowledge; and consequently endeavored to persuade his dupes to keep it a matter of secrecy, persuading them there would be no harm if they should not make it known. This proceeding on his part answered the desired end,—he accomplished his wicked purposes; he seduced an innocent female by his lying, and subjected her character to public disgrace, should it ever be known.

"But his depraved heart would not suffer him to stop here. Not being contented with having disgraced one female, he made an attempt upon others; and, by the same plausible tale, overcame them also; evidently not caring whose character was ruined, so that his wicked, lustful appetites might be gratified.

"Sometime about the early part of July, 1841, I received a letter from Elder H. Smith and William Law, who were then at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. This letter was dated June 15, and contained the particulars of a conversation betwixt them and a respectable gentleman from the neighborhood where Bennett's wife and children resided. He stated to them that it was a fact that Bennett had a wife and children living, and that she had left him because of his ill-treatment towards her. This letter was read to Bennett,

which he did not attempt to deny; but candidly acknowledged the fact.

"Soon after this information reached our ears Dr. Bennett made an attempt at suicide, by taking poison; but he being discovered before it had taken effect, and the proper antidotes being administered, he again recovered; but he very much resisted when an attempt was made to save him. The public impression was that he was so much ashamed of his base and wicked conduct that he had recourse to the above deed to escape the censures of an indignant community.

"It might have been supposed that these circumstances transpiring in the manner they did would have produced a thorough reformation in his conduct; but, alas! like a being totally destitute of common decency and without any government over his passions, he was soon busily engaged in the same wicked career, and continued until a knowledge of the same reached my ears. I immediately charged him with it, and he admitted that it was true; but in order to put a stop to all such proceedings for the future, I publicly proclaimed against it, and had those females notified to appear before the proper officers that the whole subject might be investigated and thoroughly exposed.

"During the course of investigation the foregoing facts were proved by credible witnesses, and were sworn and subscribed to before an alderman of the city, on the 15th ult. The documents containing the evidence are now in my possession.

"We also ascertained by the above investigation that others had been led by his conduct to pursue the same adulterous practice, and in order to accomplish their detestable designs made use of the same language insinuated by Bennett, with this difference, that they did not hear me say anything of the kind, but Bennett was one of the heads of the church, and he had informed them that such was the fact, and they credited his testimony.

"The public will perceive the aggravating nature of this case, and will see the propriety of this exposure. Had he only been guilty of adultery, that was sufficient to stamp disgrace upon him, because he is a man of better information

and has been held high in the estimation of many. But when it is considered that his mind was so intent upon his cruel and abominable deeds, and his own reputation not being sufficient to enable him to do it, he must make use of my name in order to effect his purposes, an enlightened public will not be astonished at the course I have pursued.

"In order that it may be distinctly understood that he willfully and knowingly lied in the above insinuations, I will lay before my readers an affidavit taken before an alderman of the city, after I had charged him with these things:—

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
"City of Nauvoo. }

"Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, an Alderman of said city of Nauvoo, John C. Bennett, who being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith: that he never was taught anything in the least contrary to the strictest principles of the gospel, or of virtue, or of the laws of God, or man, under any circumstances, or upon any occasion, either directly or indirectly, in word or deed, by Joseph Smith; and that he never knew the said Smith to countenance any improper conduct whatever, either in public or private; and that he never did teach to me in private that an illegal, illicit intercourse with females was, under any circumstances, justifiable, and that I never knew him so to teach others.

"JOHN C. BENNETT.

"Sworn to and subscribed, before me, this 17th day of May, A. D. 1842.

"DANIEL H. WELLS, Alderman.

"The following conversation took place in the City Council, and was elicited in consequence of its being reported that the Doctor had stated that I had acted in an indecorous manner, and given countenance to vices practiced by the Doctor and others:—

"Dr. John C. Bennett, ex-mayor, was then called upon by the mayor to state if he knew aught against him; when Mr. Bennett replied: 'I know what I am about, and the heads of the church know what they are about. I expect I have no difficulty with the heads of the church. I publicly avow

that anyone who has said that I have stated that General Joseph Smith has given me authority to hold illicit intercourse with women is a liar in the face of God; those who have said it are damned liars; they are infernal liars. He never, either in public or private, gave me any such authority or license, and any person who states it is a scoundrel and a liar. I have heard it said that I should become a second Avard by withdrawing from the church, and that I was at variance with the heads and should use an influence against them because I resigned the office of mayor; this is false. I have no difficulty with the heads of the church, and I intend to continue with you, and hope the time may come when I may be restored to full confidence, and fellowship, and my former standing in the church; and that my conduct may be such as to warrant my restoration; and should the time ever come that I may have the opportunity to test my faith, it will then be known whether I am a traitor or a true man.'

"Joseph Smith then asked: 'Will you please state definitely whether you know anything against my character either in public or private?'

"General Bennett answered: 'I do not; in all my intercourse with General Smith, in public and in private, he has been strictly virtuous.'

"Aldermen: N. K. WHITNEY.
"HIRAM KIMBALL.
"ORSON SPENCER.
"GUST. HILLS.
"G. W. HARRIS.

"Counselors: WILLARD RICHARDS.
"GEO. A. SMITH.
"WILSON LAW.
"B. YOUNG.
"JOHN TAYLOR.
"H. C. KIMBALL.
"W. WOODRUFF.
"JOHN P. GREEN.
"JAMES SLOAN, City Recorder.

"May 19, 1842.

"After I had done all in my power to persuade him to amend his conduct, and these facts were fully established, (not only by testimony, but by his own concessions,) he having acknowledged that they were true, and seeing no prospects of any satisfaction from his future life, the hand of fellowship was withdrawn from him as a member of the

church, by the officers; but on account of his earnestly requesting that we would not publish him to the world, we concluded not to do so at that time, but would let the matter rest until we saw the effect of what we had already done.

"It appears evident that as soon as he perceived that he could no longer maintain his standing as a member of the church, nor his respectability as a citizen, he came to the conclusion to leave the place; which he has done, and that very abruptly; and had he done so quietly, and not attempted to deceive the people around him, his case would not have excited the indignation of the citizens, so much as his real conduct has done. In order to make his case look plausible, he has reported, 'that he had withdrawn from the church because we were not worthy of his society;' thus instead of manifesting a spirit of repentance, he has to the last proved himself to be unworthy the confidence or regard of any upright person, by lying, to deceive the innocent, and committing adultery in the most abominable and degraded manner.

"We are credibly informed that he has colleagued with some of our former wicked persecutors, the Missourians, and has threatened destruction upon us; but we should naturally suppose that he would be so much ashamed of himself at the injury he had already done to those who never injured, but befriended him in every possible manner, that he could never dare to lift up his head before an enlightened public, with the design either to misrepresent or persecute; but be that as it may, we neither dread him nor his influence; but this much we believe, that unless he is determined to fill up the measure of his iniquity, and bring sudden destruction upon himself from the hand of the Almighty, he will be silent, and never more attempt to injure those concerning whom he has testified upon oath he knows nothing but that which is good and virtuous.

"Thus I have laid before the Church of Latter Day Saints, and before the public, the character and conduct of a man who has stood high in the estimation of many; but from the foregoing facts it will be seen that he is not entitled to any credit, but rather to be stamped with indignity and dis-

grace so far as he may be known. What I have stated I am prepared to prove, having all the documents concerning the matter in my possession, but I think that to say further is unnecessary, as the subject is so plain that no one can mistake the true nature of the case.

"I remain yours, respectfully,

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"NAUVOO, June 23, 1842."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 839-842.

Mr. George Miller, who was at that time Bishop of the church, made some investigations into Mr. Bennett's early history, and published the following:—

"MCCONNELSVILLE, Morgan Co., Ohio, March 2, 1841.

"*Dear Sir:*—By your request I have made inquiries into the history of John Cook Bennett, and am enabled to give you the following facts which may be relied on as correct:—

Bishop Miller's statement.

"'When a young man his character stood fair, he studied medicine with his uncle, Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth, of Marietta, Washington County, Ohio. It is believed he has a diploma, and also recommendations from some of the principal physicians of that place. He started out with fair prospects, and married a daughter of Colonel Joseph Barker, near Marietta. Bennett and his wife united with the Methodist Church, and he became a local preacher. It was soon manifest that he was a superficial character, always uneasy, and moved from place to place; at different times lived in Barnesville, McConnelsville, Malta, Wheeling, Virginia, Colesville, Pennsylvania, and Indiana; it is presumed that not less than twenty towns have been his place of residence at different times. He has the vanity to believe he is the smartest man in the nation; and if he cannot at once be placed at the head of the heap, he soon seeks a situation; he is always ready to fall in with whatever is popular. By the use of his recommendations he has been able to push himself into places and situations entirely beyond his abilities; he has been a prominent personage in and about colleges and universities, but had soon vanished; and the next thing his friends hear of him he is

off in some other direction. At one time he was a prominent Campbellite preacher.

" 'During many years his poor but confiding wife followed him from place to place, with no suspicion of his unfaithfulness to her. At length, however, he became so bold in his departures that it was evident to all around that he was a sore offender, and his wife left him under satisfactory evidence of his adulterous connections. Nor was this his only fault; he used her bad otherwise. Mrs. Bennett now lives with her father, has two children living, and has buried one or two. Dr. Bennett has three brothers-in-law living in this place, who, if they were disposed, could give all the particulars; but I dislike to urge them. I did apply to one which I thought the most likely; but he seemed reluctant to give it, but referred me to the person who has given me the foregoing; but he not being a connection, has not been particular in following him in all his peregrinations; but is no doubt correct, so far as given. It has been Dr. Bennett's wish that his wife should get a bill of divorcement, but as yet she has not; nor does my informant know that she contemplates doing so;—in fine, he is an impostor, and unworthy of the confidence of all good men.' . . .

"Through motives of delicacy, we withhold the names of our informants and other correspondents; but hold ourselves in readiness, at all times, to substantiate by abundant testimony all that has been asserted, if required, as the documents are all on hand.

"GEORGE MILLER."

— *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 842.

Mr. Bennett was also dropped from the Masonic Lodge in Nauvoo, upon evidence that he had before been expelled from Pickaway Lodge, Ohio.

In the *Times and Seasons* for August 1, 1842, there is an editorial on "John C. Bennett," of which the following is an extract:—

"Such was Dr. Avard and John C. Bennett. With the latter we have to do at the present time, and in many of the foregoing statements and prophecies we shall see his character and conduct exemplified. He professed the greatest

fidelity, and eternal friendship, yet he was an adder in the path and a viper in the bosom. He professed to be virtuous and chaste, yet did he pierce the heart of the innocent, introduce misery and infamy into families, reveled in voluptuousness and crime, and led the youth that he had influenced over to tread in his unhallowed steps. He professed to fear God, yet did he desecrate his name, and prostitute his authority to the most unhallowed and diabolical purposes, even to the seduction of the virtuous, and the defiling of his neighbor's bed. He professed indignation against Missouri saying, 'My hand shall avenge the blood of the innocent;' yet now he calls upon Missouri to come out against the saints, and he 'will lead them on to glory and to victory.'

"It may be asked why it was that we would countenance him so long after being apprised of his iniquities, and why he was not dealt with long ago. To this we would answer, that he has been dealt with from time to time, when he would acknowledge his iniquity, ask and pray for forgiveness, beg that he might not be exposed, on account of his mother, and other reasons, saying he should be ruined and undone. He frequently wept like a child, and begged like a culprit for forgiveness, at the same time promising before God and angels to amend his life, if he could be forgiven. He was in this way borne with from time to time, until forbearance was no longer a virtue, and then the First Presidency, the Twelve, and the Bishops withdrew their fellowship from him, as published in the sixteenth number of this paper. The church afterwards publicly withdrew their fellowship from him, and his character was published in the seventeenth number of this paper. Since that time he has published that the conduct of the saints was bad; that Joseph Smith and many others were adulterers, murderers, etc.; that there was a secret band of men that would kill people, etc., called Danites; that he was in duress when he gave his affidavit and testified that Joseph Smith was a virtuous man; that we believed in and practiced polygamy; that we believed in secret murders, and aimed to destroy the government, etc., etc. As he has made his statements very

public, and industriously circulated them through the country, we shall content ourselves with answering his base falsehoods and misrepresentations, without giving publicity to them, as the public are generally acquainted with them already."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 868, 869.

At a mass meeting of the citizens of Nauvoo the following proceedings were had:—

Mass meeting.

"At a meeting of the citizens of the city of Nauvoo, held in said city at the meeting ground, July 22, 1842, Orson Spencer, Esq., was called to the chair, and Gustavus Hills was appointed clerk.

"The meeting was called to order by the chairman, who stated the object of the meeting to be to obtain an expression of the public mind in reference to the reports gone abroad calumniating the character of President Joseph Smith. General Wilson Law then rose and presented the following resolution:—

" 'Resolved, that having heard that John C. Bennett was circulating many base falsehoods respecting a number of the citizens of Nauvoo, and especially against our worthy and respected Mayor, Joseph Smith, we do hereby manifest to the world that so far as we are acquainted with Joseph Smith we know him to be a good, moral, virtuous, peaceable, and patriotic man, and a firm supporter of law, justice, and equal rights; that he at all times upholds and keeps inviolate the Constitution of this State and of the United States.'

"A vote was then called and the resolution adopted by a large concourse of citizens, numbering somewhere about a thousand men. Two or three voted in the negative.

"Elder Orson Pratt then rose and spoke at some length in explanation of his negative vote. President Joseph Smith spoke in reply:—

"Question to Elder Pratt, 'Have you personally a knowledge of any immoral act in me toward the female sex, or in any other way?' Answer by Elder O. Pratt, 'Personally, toward the female sex, I have not.'

"Elder O. Pratt responded at some length. Elder B. Young then spoke in reply, and was followed by Elders

William Law, H. C. Kimball, and President H. Smith. Several others spoke bearing testimony of the iniquity of those who had calumniated President J. Smith's character.

"Meeting adjourned for one hour.

"P. M. Meeting assembled pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the chairman.

"A petition was then received from a committee appointed by the city council for the reception, approbation, and signatures of the citizens generally, petitioning the Governor of Illinois for protection in our peaceable rights, which was read, and approved, and signed by eight hundred persons.

"ORSON SPENCER, Esq., Chairman.
"GUSTAVUS HILLS, Clerk."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 869.

Relief Society.

In the same issue it is editorially stated that the "Ladies' Relief Society," and many citizens not members of the church, signed petitions to the same effect.[2]

Not under duress.

Thirteen members of the City Council published an affidavit to the effect that J. C. Bennett was not under duress when he made affidavit to the good character of Joseph Smith.[3]

[2] The "Ladies' Relief Society" also drew up a petition signed by about one thousand ladies, speaking in the highest terms of the virtue, philanthrophy, and benevolence of Joseph Smith; begging that he might not be injured, and that they and their families might have the privilege of enjoying their peaceable rights. A petition was also drawn up by many citizens in and near Nauvoo, who were not Mormons, setting forth the same things.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, p. 869.

[3] AFFIDAVIT OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

We the undersigned, members of the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, testify that John C. Bennett was not under duress at the time that he testified before the City Council May 19, 1842, concerning Joseph Smith's innocence, virtue, and pure teaching. His statements that he has lately made concerning this matter are false; there was no excitement at the time, nor was he in anywise threatened, menaced, or intimidated. His appearance at the City Council was voluntary; he asked the privilege of speaking, which was granted. After speaking for some time on the city affairs, Joseph Smith asked him if he knew anything bad concerning his public or private character. He then delivered those statements contained in the testimony voluntarily, and of his own free will, and went of his own accord as free as any member of the council.

We do further testify that there is no such thing as a Danite society in

The above facts are abundantly sustained by the statements and affidavits of Hyrum Smith, D. H. Wells, George Miller, William Law, Elias Higbee, William Marks, and others. (See *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 870-875.)

In this connection we insert an article "On Marriage," from *Times and Seasons*, October 1, 1842, which sets forth the faith of the church on marriage; to which is attached the certificates from leading gentlemen and ladies of the church, showing that there was no other system of marriage known to them:—

Marriage.

"According to the custom of all civilized nations, marriage is regulated by laws and ceremonies: therefore we believe, that all marriages in this Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints should be solemnized in a public meeting, or feast, prepared for that purpose: and that the solemnization should be performed by a presiding high priest, high priest, bishop, elder, or priest, not even prohibiting those persons who are desirous to get married, of being married by other authority. We believe that it is not right to prohibit members of this church from marrying out of the church, if it be their determination so to do, but such persons will be considered weak in the faith of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

"Marriage should be celebrated with prayer and thanksgiving; and at the solemnization, the persons to be married, standing together, the man on the right, and the woman on the left, shall be addressed, by the person officiating, as he shall be directed by the Holy Spirit; and if there be no legal objections, he shall say, calling each by their names: 'You

this city, nor any combination, other than the Masonic Lodge, of which we have any knowledge.

Wilson Law.	Geo. A. Smith.
John Taylor.	Geo. W. Harris.
W. Woodruff.	N. K. Whitney.
Vinson Knight.	Brigham Young.
H. C. Kimball.	Charles C. Rich.
John P. Green.	Orson Spencer.
William Marks.	

Subscribed and sworn to, by the persons whose names appear to the foregoing affidavit, this 20th day of July, A. D. 1842; except N. K. Whitney, who subscribed and affirmed to the foregoing this day, before me.

Daniel H. Wells,
Justice of the peace, within and for Hancock County, Illinois.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 869, 870

both mutually agree to be each other's companion, husband and wife, observing the legal rights belonging to this condition; that is, keeping yourselves wholly for each other, and from all others, during your lives.' And when they have answered, 'Yes,' he shall pronounce them 'husband and wife' in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by virtue of the laws of the country and authority vested in him: 'May God add his blessings and keep you to fulfill your covenants from henceforth and forever. Amen.'

"The clerk of every church should keep a record of all marriages solemnized in his branch.

"All legal contracts of marriage made before a person is baptized into this church, should be held sacred and fulfilled. Inasmuch as this Church of Christ has been reproached with the crime of fornication, and polygamy: we declare that we believe that one man should have one wife; and one woman but one husband, except in case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again. It is not right to persuade a woman to be baptized contrary to the will of her husband, neither is it lawful to influence her to leave her husband. All children are bound by law to obey their parents; and to influence them to embrace any religious faith, or be baptized, or leave their parents without their consent, is unlawful and unjust. We believe that husbands, parents, and masters who exercise control over their wives, children, and servants, and prevent them from embracing the truth, will have to answer for that sin.

"We have given the above rule of marriage as the only one practiced in this church, to show that Dr. J. C. Bennett's 'secret wife system' is a matter of his own manufacture; and further to disabuse the public ear, and show that the said Bennett and his misanthropic friend Origen Bachelor are perpetrating a foul and infamous slander upon an innocent people, and need but be known to be hated and despised. In support of this position, we present the following certificates:—

"We the undersigned members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and residents of the city of Nauvoo, persons of families, do hereby certify and declare that

we know of no other rule or system of marriage than the one published from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and we give this certificate to show that Dr. J. C. Bennett's 'secret wife system' is a creature of his own make, as we know of no such society in this place, nor never did.

"S. Bennett.	N. K. Whitney.
"George Miller.	Albert Pettey.
"Alpheus Cutler.	Elias Higbee.
"Reynolds Cahoon.	John Taylor.
"Wilson Law.	E. Robinson.
"W. Woodruff.	Aaron Johnson.

"We the undersigned members of the Ladies' Relief Society, and married females, do certify and declare that we know of no system of marriage being practiced in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints save the one contained in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants; and we give this certificate to the public to show that J. C. Bennett's 'secret wife system' is a disclosure of his own make.

"Emma Smith, President.
"Elizabeth Ann Whitney, Counselor.
"Sarah M. Cleveland, Counselor.
"Eliza R. Snow, Secretary.

"Mary C. Miller.	Catharine Pettey.
"Lois Cutler.	Sarah Higbee.
"Thirza Cahoon.	Phebe Woodruff.
"Ann Hunter.	Leonora Taylor.
"Jane Law.	Sarah Hillman.
"Sophia R. Marks.	Rosanna Marks.
"Polly Z. Johnson.	Angeline Robinson.
"Abigail Works."	

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, pp. 939, 940.

CHAPTER 27.

1842.

POLITICAL SITUATION—BOATS START FOR PINERY—JOSEPH SMITH ARRESTED — BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD — JOSEPH RESIGNS AS EDITOR—JACOB'S BOOK.

THE political situation assumed a peculiar aspect this summer, and the lines were being drawn between anti-Mormons and Mormon sympathizers. A convention was held and a county ticket nominated, pledged to receive no support from and to yield no quarter to "Mormons."

Political situation.

On July 1 Joseph Smith published a statement strongly calling upon the independent element to come out and stand for liberty and right.[1]

[1] TO THE CITIZENS OF HANCOCK COUNTY.

As a people the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints are found "more sinned against than sinning." In political affairs we are ever ready to yield to our fellow citizens of the county equal participation in the selection of candidates to offices.

We have been disappointed in our hopes of being met with the same disposition on the part of some of the old citizens of the county. They indeed seem to manifest a spirit of intolerance and exclusion incompatible with the liberal doctrines of true republicanism.

At the late anti-Mormon convention a complete set of candidates pledged to a man to receive no support from, and to yield no quarters to "Mormons," are commended to all the citizens of this county for their suffrages!

As a portion of the said citizens of Hancock we embrace the opportunity to decline this ticket for the want of reciprocity in its terms and honesty and intelligence in the character of some of its candidates.

If the old citizens of the county are still desirous of equal participations with us in the choice of candidates, we are ready to coöperate with them. If independent gentlemen will announce themselves and possess the requisite qualities, capacity, and integrity, they will receive the united support of our people in the country.

The time for holding a convention seems to have already gone by; there is time enough for the friends of justice and fair play to elect a ticket to be announced in the independent manner we have suggested. Let the gentlemen who have the courage to oppose the spirit of dictation which governed the anti-Mormon convention candidates, show themselves, and we will exercise enough, on the terms proposed in this article, to insure complete success.

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 536, 537.

July 4, there was a parade and celebration at Nauvoo, at which everything passed off pleasantly. Two individuals were fined ten dollars and twenty-five cents each for *offering* whisky for sale on the ground.

July 6, two boats started for the pineries. Of these Joseph writes:—

"Two keel boats, sloop rigged, and laden with provisions and apparatus necessary for the occasion, and manned with fifty of the brethren, started this morning on an expedition to the upper Mississippi, among the pineries, where they can join those already there, and erect mills, saw boards and plank, make shingles, hew timber, and return next spring with rafts for the temple of God, Nauvoo House, etc., to beautify the city of Nauvoo, according to the prophets."

Boats start for pinery.

August 31; Bishop Vinson Knight died at Nauvoo.

On August 8, Joseph Smith was arrested at Nauvoo on the charge of "being an accessary before the fact to an assault with an intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs on the night of the 6th of May, 1842." O. P. Rockwell was arrested at the same time.

Joseph Smith arrested.

Of this case so far as it concerns Joseph Smith, we give a fuller account on succeeding pages.

Joseph, as will be seen, eluded the officers by keeping himself concealed. All kinds of rumors were in circulation concerning his whereabouts, even among the saints. Some supposed he had gone to Washington to plead his cause there, some supposed that he had gone to Europe. But at a special conference held at Nauvoo, August 29, while his brother Hyrum was speaking he suddenly stepped upon the stand amid the rejoicing of the saints.

On September 1, Joseph wrote an epistle to all the saints in Nauvoo concerning the subject of baptism for the dead.[2]

Baptism for the dead.

[2] NAUVOO, September 1, 1842.

To all the Saints in Nauvoo:—

1. Forasmuch as the Lord has revealed unto me that my enemies, both in Missouri and this State, were again on the pursuit of me; and inasmuch as they pursue me without a cause, and have not the least shadow

or coloring of justice or right on their side in the getting up of their prosecutions against me; and inasmuch as their pretensions are all founded in falsehood of the blackest dye, I have thought it expedient and wisdom in me to leave the place for a short season, for my own safety and the safety of this people. I would say to all those with whom I have business, that I have left my affairs with agents and clerks, who will transact all business in a prompt and proper manner; and will see that all my debts are canceled in due time, by turning out property, or otherwise as the case may require, or as the circumstances may admit of. When I learn that the storm is fully blown over, then I will return to you again.

2. And as for the perils which I am called to pass through, they seem but a small thing to me, as the envy and wrath of man have been my common lot all the days of my life; and for what cause it seems mysterious, unless I was ordained from before the foundation of the world, for some good end, or bad, as you may choose to call it. Judge ye for yourselves. God knoweth all these things, whether it be good or bad. But nevertheless, deep water is what I am wont to swim in; it all has become a second nature to me. And I feel like Paul to glory in tribulation, for to this day has the God of my fathers delivered me out of them all, and will deliver me from henceforth; for, behold, and lo, I shall triumph over all my enemies, for the Lord God hath spoken it.

3. Let all the saints rejoice, therefore, and be exceeding glad, for Israel's God is their God; and he will mete out a just recompense of reward upon the heads of all your oppressors.

4. And again, verily thus saith the Lord, Let the work of my temple, and all the works which I have appointed unto you, be continued on and not cease; and let your diligence and your perseverance, and patience, and your works be redoubled; and you shall in nowise lose your reward, saith the Lord of hosts. And if they persecute you, so persecuted they the prophets and righteous men that were before you. For all this there is a reward in heaven.

5. And again, I give unto you a word in relation to the baptism for your dead. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you concerning your dead: When any of you are baptized for your dead, let there be a recorder; and let him be eyewitness of your baptisms; let him hear with his ears, that he may testify of a truth, saith the Lord; that in all your recordings, it may be recorded in heaven, that whatsoever you bind on earth, may be bound in heaven; whatsoever you loose on earth may be loosed in heaven; for I am about to restore many things to the earth pertaining to the priesthood, saith the Lord of hosts.

6. And again, let all the records be had in order, that they may be put in the archives of my Holy Temple, to be held in remembrance from generation to generation, saith the Lord of hosts.

7. I will say to all the saints, that I desired, with exceeding great desire, to have addressed them from the stand, on the subject of baptism for the dead, on the following Sabbath. But inasmuch as it is out of my power to do so, I will write the word of the Lord from time to time, on that subject, and send it to you by mail, as well as many other things.

8. I now close my letter for the present, for the want of more time; for the enemy is on the alert, and, as the Savior said, The prince of this world cometh, but he hath nothing in me.

9. Behold, my prayer to God is, that you all may be saved. And I subscribe myself your servant in the Lord, prophet and seer of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

JOSEPH SMITH.

—Doctrine and Covenants, sec. 109.

On September 6 he wrote another epistle, in which he renewed the subject and considered it more minutely.[a]

[a] NAUVOO, September 6, 1842.

To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Sendeth Greeting:—

1. As I stated to you in my letter before I left my place, that I would write to you from time to time, and give you information in relation to many subjects, I now resume the subject of the baptism for the dead; as that subject seems to occupy my mind, and press itself upon my feelings the strongest, since I have been pursued by my enemies.

2. I wrote a few words of revelation to you concerning a recorder. I have had a few additional views in relation to this matter, which I now certify. That is, it was declared in my former letter that there should be a recorder, who should be eyewitness, and also to hear with his ears, that he might make a record of a truth before the Lord.

3. Now, in relation to this matter, it would be very difficult for one recorder to be present at all times, and to do all the business. To obviate this difficulty, there can be a recorder appointed in each ward of the city, who is well qualified for taking accurate minutes; and let him be very particular and precise in taking the whole proceedings, certifying in his record that he saw with his eyes and heard with his ears, giving the date and names, etc., and the history of the whole transaction; naming, also, some three individuals that are present, if there be any present, who can, at any time when called upon, certify to the same, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

4. Then let there be a general recorder, to whom these other records can be handed, being attended with certificates over their own signatures, certifying that the record which they have made is true. Then the general church recorder can enter the record on the general church book, with the certificates and all the attending witnesses, with his own statement that he verily believes the above statement and records to be true, from his knowledge of the general character and appointment of those men by the church. And when this is done on the general church book, the record shall be just as holy, and shall answer the ordinance just the same as if he had seen with his eyes and heard with his ears, and made a record of the same on the general church book.

5. You may think this order of things to be very particular, but let me tell you that they are only to answer the will of God, by conforming to the ordinance and preparation that the Lord ordained and prepared before the foundation of the world, for the salvation of the dead who should die without a knowledge of the gospel.

6. And further, I want you to remember that John the Revelator was contemplating this very subject in relation to the dead, when he declared, as you will find recorded in Revelation 20: 12, "And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works."

7. You will discover in this quotation that the books were opened, and another book was opened, which was the book of life; but the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works; consequently, the books spoken of must be the books which contained the record of their works, and refer to the records which are kept on the earth. And the book which was the book of life, is the record which is kept in heaven; the principle agreeing precisely with the doctrine which is commanded you in the revelation contained

in the letter which I wrote to you, previous to my leaving my place, "that in all your recordings it may be recorded in heaven."

8. Now the nature of this ordinance consists in the power of the priesthood, by the revelation of Jesus Christ, wherein it is granted that whatsoever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; or, in other words, taking a different view of the translation, whatsoever you record on earth shall be recorded in heaven, and whatsoever you do not record on earth shall not be recorded in heaven; for out of the books shall your dead be judged, according to their own works, whether they themselves have attended to the ordinances in their own *propria personæ* or by the means of their own agents, according to the ordinance which God has prepared for their salvation from before the foundation of the world, according to the records which they have kept concerning their dead.

9. It may seem to some to be a very bold doctrine that we talk of—a power which records or binds on earth and binds in heaven; nevertheless, in all ages of the world, whenever the Lord has given a dispensation of the priesthood to any man by actual revelation, or any set of men, this power has always been given. Hence, whatsoever those men did in authority, in the name of the Lord, and did it truly and faithfully, and kept a proper and faithful record of the same, it became a law on earth and in heaven, and could not be annulled, according to the decrees of the great Jehovah. This is a faithful saying. Who can hear it?

10. And again, for a precedent, Matthew 16: 18, 19. "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

11. Now the great and grand secret of the whole matter, and the *summum bonum* of the whole subject that is lying before us, consists in obtaining the powers of the holy priesthood. For him to whom these keys are given there is no difficulty in obtaining a knowledge of facts in relation to the salvation of the children of men, both as well for the dead as for the living.

12. Herein is glory and honor, and immortality and eternal life. The ordinance of baptism by water, to be immersed therein in order to answer to the likeness of the dead, that one principle might accord with the other. To be immersed in the water, and come forth out of the water, is in the likeness of the resurrection of the dead in coming forth out of their graves; hence this ordinance was instituted to form a relationship with the ordinance of baptism for the dead, being in likeness of the dead.

13. Consequently the baptismal font was instituted as a simile of the grave, and was commanded to be in a place underneath where the living are wont to assemble, to show forth the living and the dead; and that all things may have their likeness, and that they may accord one with another; that which is earthly conforming to that which is heavenly, as Paul hath declared. (1 Corinthians 15: 46–48.)

14. "Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly." And as are the records on the earth in relation to your dead, which are truly made out, so also are the records in heaven. This, therefore, is the sealing and binding power, and in one sense of the word, the keys of the kingdom, which consists in the key of knowledge.

15. And now my dearly beloved brethren and sisters, let me assure you that these are principles in relation to the dead and the living that cannot be lightly passed over, as pertaining to our salvation. For their salvation is necessary and essential to our salvation, as Paul says concerning the fathers, "that they without us cannot be made perfect;" neither can we without our dead be made perfect.

16. And now in relation to the baptism for the dead, I will give you another quotation of Paul. 1 Corinthians 15: 29. "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?"

17. And again, in connection with this quotation, I will give you a quotation from one of the prophets, who had his eye fixed on the restoration of the priesthood, the glories to be revealed in the last days, and in an especial manner this most glorious of all subjects belonging to the everlasting gospel; viz.: the baptism for the dead; for Malachi says, last chapter, verses 5 and 6, "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."

18. I might have rendered a plainer translation to this, but it is sufficiently plain to suit my purpose as it stands. It is sufficient to know in this case that the earth will be smitten with a curse, unless there is a welding link of some kind or other, between the fathers and the children, upon some subject or other, and, behold, what is that subject? It is the baptism for the dead. For we without them cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect. Neither can they or we be made perfect without those who have died in the gospel also; for it is necessary in the ushering in of the dispensation of the fullness of times; which dispensation is now beginning to usher in, that a whole, and complete, and perfect union, and welding together of dispensations, and keys, and powers, and glories should take place, and be revealed, from the days of Adam even to the present time; and not only this, but those things which never have been revealed from the foundation of the world, but have been kept hid from the wise and prudent, shall be revealed unto babes and sucklings in this the dispensation of the fullness of times.

19. Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? "A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth, glad tidings for the dead: a voice of gladness for the living and the dead; glad tidings of great joy; how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those that bring glad tidings of good things; and that say unto Zion, Behold, thy God reigneth! As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them."

20. And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven, declaring the fulfillment of the prophets—the book to be revealed. A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca County, declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the book. The voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the Devil when he appeared as an angel of light. The voice of Peter, James, and John, in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna County, and Colesville, Broome County, on the Susquehanna River, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the dispensation of the fullness of times.

21. And again, the voice of God in the chamber of old Father Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca County, and at sundry times, and in divers places, through all the travels and tribulations of this Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or

Excepting the excitement occasioned by and interest in the case of Joseph Smith, things passed off in their usually quiet way.

Joseph resigns as editor.

In the November 15 number of the *Times and Seasons* is published Joseph Smith's "*valedictory*," he resigning the editorial chair to John Taylor.[4]

Adam, down to the present time, all declaring each one their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their priesthood; giving line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little and there a little—giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope.

22. Brethren, shall we not go on in so great a cause? Go forward and not backward. Courage, brethren; and on, on to the victory! Let your hearts rejoice, and be exceeding glad. Let the earth break forth into singing. Let the dead speak forth anthems of eternal praise to the King Immanuel, who hath ordained before the world was that which would enable us to redeem them out of their prisons; for the prisoners shall go free.

23. Let the mountains shout for joy, and all ye valleys cry aloud; and all ye seas and dry lands tell the wonders of your eternal King. And ye rivers, and brooks, and rills, flow down with gladness. Let the woods and all the trees of the field praise the Lord; and ye solid rocks weep for joy. And let the sun, moon, and the morning stars sing together, and let all the sons of God shout for joy. And let the eternal creations declare his name forever and ever. And again I say, How glorious is the voice we hear from heaven, proclaiming in our ears, glory, and salvation, and honor, and immortality, and eternal life; kingdoms, principalities, and powers.

24. Behold, the great day of the Lord is at hand, and who can abide the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appeareth, for he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Let us, therefore, as a church and a people, and as Latter Day Saints, offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness, and let us present in his holy temple, when it is finished, a book containing the records of our dead, which shall be worthy of all acceptation.

25. Brethren, I have many things to say to you on the subject; but shall now close for the present, and continue the subject another time.

I am, as ever, your humble servant and never deviating friend,

JOSEPH SMITH.

[4] VALEDICTORY.

I beg leave to inform the subscribers of the *Times and Seasons* that it is impossible for me to fulfill the arduous duties of the editorial department any longer. The multiplicity of other business that daily devolves upon me renders it impossible for me to do justice to a paper so widely circulated as the *Times and Seasons*. I have appointed Elder John Taylor, who is less encumbered and fully competent to assume the responsibilities of that office, and I doubt not but that he will give satisfaction to the patrons of the paper. As this number commences a new volume, it also commences his editorial career.

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 8.

There was a book circulated, written by a Mr. Jacobs on the subject of marriage, that some supposed had the indorsement of Joseph Smith because issued from the office of the *Times and Seasons;* but Joseph corrects this misunderstanding and disapproves the book in a notice published in the December 1 issue.[5]

Jacobs' book.

Sometime in December Orson Hyde returned to Nauvoo from his oriental mission.

Thus the year passed away, with Joseph absent, but everything in Nauvoo moving smoothly along.

[5] There was a book printed at my office a short time since, written by Udney H. Jacobs, on marriage, without my knowledge; and had I been apprised of it, I should not have printed it; not that I am opposed to any man enjoying his privileges, but I do not wish to have my name associated with the authors, in such an unmeaning rigmarole of nonsense, folly, and trash.

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 32.

CHAPTER 28.

1842.

ARREST OF JOSEPH SMITH—HIS MOVEMENTS—MRS. SMITH WRITES GOVERNOR CARLIN—GOVERNOR'S REPLY—OTHER CORRESPONDENCE—JOSEPH SURRENDERS—EDITORIAL COMMENT—THE TRIAL—THE OPINION.

WE devote this chapter to an account of the arrest of Joseph Smith, his trial and acquittal.

The following statement of Joseph Smith regarding this case, in his own language, as published in his history as it appears in the *Millennial Star*, will be of interest:—

"Monday, 8th. This afternoon I was arrested by the deputy sheriff of Adams County and two assistants, on a warrant issued by Governor Carlin, founded on a requisition from Governor Reynolds of Missouri, upon the affidavit of ex-Governor Boggs, complaining of the said Smith as 'being an accessory before the fact, to an assault with an intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs,' on the night of the sixth of May, A. D. 1842. Brother Rockwell was arrested at the same time as principal. There was no evasion of the officers, though the Municipal Court issued a writ of habeas corpus according to the constitution of the State, article 8, and section 13. This writ demanded the bodies of Messrs. Smith and Rockwell to be brought before the aforesaid court; but these officers refused to do so, and finally without complying they left them in the care of the marshal, without the original writ by which they were arrested and by which only they could be retained, and returned back to Governor Carlin for further instructions; and Messrs. Smith and Rockwell went about their business.

Arrest of Joseph Smith.

"I have yet to learn by what rule of right I was arrested to be transported to Missouri for a trial of the kind stated.

'An accessory to an assault with an intent to kill,' does not come under the provision of the fugitive act, when the person charged has not been out of Illinois, etc. An accessory before the fact to manslaughter is something of an anomaly. The isolated affidavit of ex-Governor Boggs is no more than any other man's, and the Constitution says, 'That no person shall be liable to be transported out of the State for an offense committed within the same.' The whole is another Missouri farce. In fact, implied power and constructive guilt, as a dernier resort, may answer the purpose of despotic governments, but are beneath the dignity of the sons of liberty, and would be a blot on our judicial escutcheon."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 630, 631.

Mrs Smith writes Gov. Carlin.

On August 17, 1842, Mrs. Emma Smith wrote Governor Carlin in behalf of her husband, appealing to his knowledge of Boggs' cruelty and his own sense of justice.[1]

[1] NAUVOO, August 17, 1842.

To His Excellency Governor Carlin.

Sir:—It is with feelings of no ordinary cast that I have retired, after the business of the day and evening too, to address your honor. I am at a loss how to commence; my mind is crowded with subjects too numerous to be contained in one letter. I find myself almost destitute of that confidence necessary to address a person holding the authority of your dignified and responsible office: and I would now offer as an excuse for intruding upon your time and attention, the justice of my cause.

Was my cause the interest of an individual or of a number of individuals, then, perhaps, I might be justified in remaining silent. But it is not. Nor is it the pecuniary interest of a whole community alone that prompts me again to appeal to your Excellency. But, dear sir, it is for the peace and safety of hundreds, I may safely say, of this community, who are not guilty of any offense against the laws of the country; and also the life of my husband, who has not committed any crime whatever; neither has he transgressed any of the laws or any part of the Constitution of the United States; neither has he at any time infringed upon the rights of any man, or of any class of men, or community of any description. Need I say that he is not guilty of the crime alleged against him by Governor Boggs? Indeed, it does seem entirely superfluous for me or any one of his friends in this place to testify his innocence of that crime, when so many of the citizens of your place, and of many other places in this State, as well as in the Territory, do know positively that the statement of Governor Boggs is without the least shadow of truth; and we do know, and so do many others, that the prosecution against him has been conducted in an illegal manner; and every act demonstrates the fact that all the design of the prosecution is to throw him into the power of his enemies, without the least ray of hope that he would ever be allowed to obtain a fair trial; and that he would be inhumanly and ferociously murdered, no person having a knowledge of the existing circumstances has

Joseph resumes his history as follows:—

"Several rumors were afloat in the city, intimating that my retreat had been discovered, and that it was no longer safe for me to remain at Bro. Sayers'; consequently Emma came to see me at night, and informed me of the report. It was considered wisdom that I should remove immediately,

one remaining doubt; and your honor will recollect that you said to me that you would not advise Mr. Smith ever to trust himself in Missouri.

And, dear sir, you cannot for one moment indulge one unfriendly feeling towards him if he abides by your counsel. Then, sir, why is it that he should be thus cruelly pursued? Why not give him the privilege of the laws of this State? When I reflect upon the many cruel and illegal operations of Lilburn W. Boggs, and the consequent suffering of myself and family, and the incalculable losses and sufferings of many hundreds who survived, and the many precious lives that were lost,—all the effect of unjust prejudice and misguided ambition, produced by misrepresentation and calumny,—my bosom heaves with unutterable anguish. And who that is as well acquainted with the facts as the people of the city of Quincy, would censure me if I should say that my heart burned with just indignation towards our calmuniators as well as the perpetrators of those horrid crimes?

But happy would I now be to pour out my heart in gratitude to Governor Boggs, if he had rose up with the dignity and authority of the chief executive of the State, and put down every illegal transaction, and protected the peaceable citizens and enterprising emigrants from the violence of plundering outlaws, who have ever been a disgrace to the State, and always will, so long as they go unpunished. Yes, I say, how happy would I be to render him not only the gratitude of my own heart, but the cheering effusions of the joyous souls of fathers and mothers, of brothers and sisters, widows and orphans, whom he might have saved by such a course, from now drooping under the withering hand of adversity brought upon them by the persecutions of wicked and corrupt men.

And now may I entreat your Excellency to lighten the hand of oppression and persecution which is laid upon me and my family, which materially affect the peace and welfare of this whole community; for let me assure you that there are many whole families that are entirely dependent upon the prosecution and success of Mr. Smith's temporal business for their support; and if he is prevented from attending to the common avocations of life, who will employ these innocent, industrious, poor people, and provide for their wants?

But, my dear sir, when I recollect the interesting interview I and my friends had with you when at your place, and the warm assurances you gave us of your friendship and legal protection, I cannot doubt for a moment your honorable sincerity; but do still expect you to consider our claims upon your protection from every encroachment upon our legal rights as loyal citizens, as we always have been, still are, and are determined always to be a law-abiding people; and I still assure myself that when you are fully acquainted with the illegal proceedings practiced against us in the suit of Governor Boggs, you will recall those writs which have been issued against Mr. Smith and Rockwell, as you must be aware that Mr. Smith was not in Missouri, and of course he could not have left there; with many other considerations, which, if duly considered, will justify Mr. Smith in the course he has taken.

And now I appeal to your Excellency, as I would unto a father who is

and accordingly I departed in company with Emma and Brother Derby, and went to Carlos Granger's, who lived on the northeast part of the city. Here we were kindly received and well treated.

"Friday morning, 19th. William Clayton presented Emma's letter of the 17th to Governor Carlin at Quincy, in presence of Judge Ralston. The Governor read the letter with much attention, apparently; and when he got through he passed high encomiums on Emma Smith, and expressed astonishment at the judgment and talent manifest in the manner of her address. He presented the letter to Judge Ralston, requesting him to read it. Governor Carlin then proceeded to reiterate the same language as on a former occasion; viz., that he was satisfied there was 'no excitement anywhere but in Nauvoo, amongst the "Mormons" themselves;' all was quiet and no apprehension of trouble in other places, so far as he was able to ascertain.

"He afterwards stated, when conversing on another subject, that 'Persons were offering their services every day, either in person or by letter, and held themselves in readiness to go against the "Mormons" whenever he should call upon them; but he never had the least idea of calling out the militia, neither had he thought it necessary.'

"There was evidently a contradiction in his assertions in the above instances; and although he said 'there was no

not only able but willing to shield me and mine from every unjust prosecution. I appeal to your sympathies, and beg you to spare me and my helpless children. I beg you to spare my innocent children the heart-rending sorrow of again seeing their father unjustly dragged to prison or to death. I appeal to your affections as a son, and beg you to spare our aged mother—the only surviving parent we have left—the unsupportable affliction of seeing her son, whom she knows to be innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, thrown again into the hands of his enemies, who have so long sought for his life; in whose life and prosperity she only looks for the few remaining comforts she can enjoy. I entreat of your Excellency to spare us these afflictions, and many sufferings which cannot be uttered, and secure to yourself the pleasure of doing good and vastly increasing human happiness, secure to yourself the benediction of the aged, and the gratitude of the young, and the blessing and veneration of the rising generation.

Respectfully, your most obedient,

EMMA SMITH.

P. S.—Sir, I hope you will favor me with an answer. E. S.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 725, 726.

excitement but amongst the Mormons,' it is evident he knew better. He also said that it was his opinion that if Joseph would give himself up to the sheriff, he would be honorably acquitted and the matter would be ended; but on Judge Ralston asking how he thought Mr. Smith could go through the midst of his enemies without violence being used towards him, and if acquitted how he was to get back, the Governor was evidently at a loss what to say, but made light of the matter, as though he thought it might be easily done. He took great care to state that it was not his advice that Mr. Smith should give himself up, but thought it would be soonest decided. It appeared evident by the conversation that Governor Carlin was no friend to the saints and they could expect no good things from him. He explicitly acknowledged his ignorance of the law touching the case in question.

"After spending the day in conversation and reading, in the evening I received a visit from my Aunt Temperance Mack, and at night went to the city, and concluded to tarry at home until something further transpired relative to the designs of my persecutors.

"Saturday, 20th. Spent the day in my general business office, otherwise called the Lodge, or Assembly Room, or Council Chamber, which is over my store, and the place where most of the business of the city and church is transacted: my health very indifferent. In the evening had an interview with my brother Hyrum, William Law, Wilson Law, Newel K. Whitney, and George Miller, on the illegality of the proceedings of our persecutors."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, pp. 726, 727.

"[22d.] Received an interesting visit from Mother, and Aunt Temperance Mack. My health and spirits good.

"This afternoon received a few lines from Emma, informing me that she would expect me home this evening, believing that she could take care of me better at home than elsewhere. Accordingly, soon after dark I started for home, and arrived safe, without being noticed by any person. All is quiet in the city.

"Wednesday, 24th. At home all day; received a visit from

Brothers Newel K. Whitney and Isaac Morley."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 758.

On the above date Governor Carlin replied to Mrs. Emma Smith's letter of the 17th instant.[2]

[2] QUINCY, August 24, 1842.

Dear Madam:—Your letter of this date has just been handed to me, which recalls to my mind your great solicitude in reference to the security and welfare of your husband; but I need not say it recalls to my mind the subject matter of your solicitude, because that subject, except at short intervals, has not been absent from my mind. I can scarcely furnish you a justifiable apology for delaying a reply so long, but be assured, Madam, it is not for want of regard for you and your peace of mind that I have postponed it, but a crowd of public business which has required my whole time, together with very ill health since the receipt of your former letter; and it would be most gratifying to my feelings now if due regard to public duty would enable me to furnish such a reply as would fully conform to your wishes. But my duty in reference to all demands made by executives of other States, for the surrender of fugitives from justice, appears to be plain and simple, consisting entirely of an executive, and not a judicial character, leaving me no discretion or adjudication as to the innocence or guilt of persons so demanded and charged with crime; and it is plain that the Constitution and laws of the United States in reference to fugitives from justice presumes and contemplates that the laws of the several States are ample to do justice to all who may be charged with crime, and the statute of this State simply requires, "That whenever the Executive of any other State, or of any Territory of the United States, shall demand of the Executive of this State any person as a fugitive from justice, and shall have complied with the requisitions of the act of Congress in that case made and provided, it shall be the duty of the Executive of this State to issue his warrant under the seal of the State, to apprehend the said fugitive," etc. With the Constitution and laws before me, my duty is so plainly marked out that it would be impossible to err, so long as I abstain from usurping the right of adjudication. I am aware that a strict enforcement of the laws by an executive, or a rigid administration of them by a judicial tribunal, often results in hardship to those involved, and to you it doubtless appears to be peculiarly so, in the present case of Mr. Smith. If, however, as you allege, he is innocent of any crime, and the proceedings are illegal, it would be the more easy for him to procure an acquittal. In reference to the remark you attribute to me that I "would not advise Mr. Smith ever to trust himself in Missouri," I can only say—as I have heretofore said on many occasions—that I never have entertained a doubt that if Mr. Smith should submit to the laws of Missouri that the utmost latitude would be allowed him in his defense, and the fullest justice done him, and I only intended to refer (in the remark made to you when at my house) to the rabble, and not to the laws of Missouri.

Very much has been attributed to me in reference to General Smith that is without foundation in truth, a knowledge of which fact enables me to receive what I hear as coming from him with great allowance. In conclusion, Dear Madam, I feel conscious when I assure you that all my official acts in reference to Mr. Smith have been prompted by a strict sense of duty, and in discharge of that duty have studiously pursued that course least likely to produce excitement and alarm, both in your community and the surrounding public; and I will here add that I much

Joseph continues:—

"August: Friday, 26th. At home all day. In the evening, in council with some of the Twelve and others. I gave some important instructions upon the situation of the church, showing that it was necessary that the officers that could should go abroad through the States, and, inasmuch as a great excitement had been raised through the community at large by the falsehoods put in circulation by John C. Bennett and others, it was wisdom in God that the elders should go forth and deluge the States with a flood of truth, setting forth the mean, contemptible, persecuting conduct of ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, and those connected with him in his mean and corrupt proceedings, in plain terms, so that the world might understand the abusive conduct of our enemies, and stamp it with indignation.

"I advised the Twelve to call a special conference on Monday next, to give instructions to the elders, and call upon them to go forth upon this important mission; meantime, that all the affidavits concerning Bennett's conduct be taken and printed, so that each elder could be properly furnished with correct and weighty testimony to lay before the public.

"Great distress prevails in England on account of the dull state of trade.

"Saturday, 27th In the assembly room with some of the Twelve and others, who were preparing affidavits for the press."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 759.

On the above date Mrs. Emma Smith wrote to Governor Carlin in reply to the Governor's letter of the 24th instant.[3]

regret being called upon to act at all, and that I hope he will submit to the laws, and that justice will ultimately be done.

Be pleased to present my best respects to Mrs. ——— Smith and Miss Snow, your companions when at Quincy, and accept of my highest regard for yourself, and best wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

Your obedient servant,

Mrs. Emma Smith. THOS. CARLIN.

—Copied from original letter in our possession.

[3] NAUVOO, August 27, 1842.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR CARLIN.

Dear Sir:—I received your letter of the 24th in due time, and now tender to you the sincere gratitude of my heart for the interest which you have felt in my peace and prosperity; and I assure you that every act of kindness and every word of consolation have been thankfully received and duly appreciated by me and my friends also; and I much regret your

Joseph further continues, as follows:—

"August: Tuesday, 30th. At home through the day.

"Wednesday, 31st. At home in the forenoon; afternoon rode to the grove with Emma, and attended the Female Relief Society's meeting."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 789.

"Friday, [Sept.] 2d. Spent the day at home. A report

ill health, and still hope that you will avail yourself of sufficient time to investigate our cause and thoroughly acquaint yourself with the illegality of the prosecution instituted against Mr. Smith. And I now certify that Mr. Smith, myself, nor any other person to my knowledge has ever, nor do we at this time wish your honor to swerve from your duty as an Executive, in the least. But we do believe that it is your duty to allow us in this place the privileges and advantages guaranteed to us by the laws of this State and the United States. This is all we ask, and if we can enjoy these rights unmolested, it will be the ultimate end of all our ambition; and the result will be peace and prosperity to us and all the surrounding country, as far as we are concerned. Nor do we wish to take any undue advantage of any intricate technicalities of law, but honorably and honestly to fulfill all of the laws of this State and of the United States, and then, in turn, to have the benefits resulting from an honorable execution of those laws.

And now, your Excellency will not consider me assuming any unbecoming dictation, but recollect that the many prosecutions that have been got up unjustly, and pursued illegally against Mr. Smith, instigated by selfish and irreligious motives, has obliged me to know something for myself; therefore, let me refer you to the eleventh section of our City Charter:—

"All power is granted to the City Council, to make, ordain, establish, and execute all ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the State or of the United States, or, as they may deem necessary for the peace and safety of said city." Accordingly there is an ordinance passed by the City Council to prevent our people from being carried off by an illegal process. And if anyone thinks he is illegally seized, under this ordinance, he claims the right of *habeas corpus* under section 17 of the charter, to try the question of identity, which is strictly constitutional.

These powers are positively granted in the charter over your own signature; and now, dear sir, where can be the justice in depriving us of these rights which are lawfully ours, as well as they are the lawful rights of the inhabitants of Quincy and Springfield and many other places, where the citizens enjoy the advantages of such ordinances without controversy? With these considerations, and many more which might be adduced, give us the privilege, and we will show your honor, and the world beside, if required, that the Mr. Smith referred to in the demand from Missouri is not the Joseph Smith of Nauvoo, for he was not in Missouri; neither is he described in the writ, according as the law requires; and that he is not a fugitive from justice. Why, then, be so strenuous to have my husband taken, when you know him to be innocent of any attempt on the life of Governor Boggs, and that he is not a fugitive from justice?

It is not the fear of a just decision against him that deters Mr. Smith from going into Missouri, but it is an actual knowledge that it was never intended that he should have a fair trial. And now, sir, if you were not aware of the fact, I will acquaint you with it now, that there were lying in wait between this place and Warsaw, twelve men from Jackson

reached the city this afternoon that the sheriff was on his way to Nauvoo with an armed force.

"Saturday, 3d. In the morning at home, in company with John Boynton."—*Millennial Star*, vol. 19, p. 791.

Other correspondence.

On September 5, 1842, "The Nauvoo Relief Society" wrote the Governor an appeal, praying him to exert his official privilege in behalf of the innocent.

On September 7, 1842, Governor Carlin replied to Mrs. Emma Smith's letter of the 27th ultimo.[4]

County, Missouri, for the purpose of taking Mr. Smith out of the hands of the officers who might have him in custody Also those two men from Missouri that were here with Messrs. King and Pitman, divulged the most illegal and infernal calculations concerning taking Mr. Smith into Missouri, the evidence of which we can furnish you at any time, if required. And, dear sir, our good feelings revolt at the suggestion that your Excellency is acquainted with the unlawful measures taken by those engaged in the prosecution—measures which, if justice was done to others, as it would be done to us, were we to commit as great errors in our proceedings, would subject all concerned in the prosecution to the penalty of the law, and that without mercy. I admit, sir, that it is next to an impossibility for anyone to know the extent of the tyranny, treachery, and knavery of a great portion of the leading characters of the State of Missouri: yet it only requires a knowledge of the Constitution of the United States, and statutes of the State of Missouri, and a knowledge of the outrages committed by some of the inhabitants of that State, upon the people called Mormons, and that passed unpunished by the administrators of the law, to know that there is not the least confidence to be placed in any of those men that were engaged in those disgraceful transactions.

If the law was made for the lawless and disobedient, and punishment instituted for the guilty, why not execute the law upon those that have transgressed it, and punish those who have committed crime, and grant encouragement to the innocent, and liberality to the industrious and peaceable?

And now I entreat your honor to bear with me patiently while I ask, What good can accrue to this State or the United States, or any part of this State or the United States, or to yourself, or any other individual, to continue this persecution upon this people, or upon Mr. Smith—a persecution that you are well aware is entirely without any just foundation or excuse?

With sentiments of due respect, I am, your most obedient servant,

EMMA SMITH.

To his Excellency, Thomas Carlin,
Governor of the State of Illinois.

P. S.—*Sir*, you will please tender my best respects and considerations to your wife and family, and tell them I greatly desire to see them with yourself in our place as soon as can be convenient.

EMMA SMITH.

—From copy of original letter in our possession.

[4] QUINCY, September 7, 1842.

Dear Madam:—Your letter of the 27th ultimo was delivered to me on

There was much correspondence between Joseph and the Governor, but Joseph avoided arrest until Governor Carlin's term of office had expired and he was succeeded on January 1, 1843, by Governor Thomas Ford.

Monday the 5th instant, and I have not had time to answer it until this evening; and I now appropriate a few moments to the difficult task of replying satisfactorily to its contents, every word of which evinces your devotedness to the interest of your husband, and pouring forth the effusions of a heart wholly his. I am thus admonished that I can say nothing, that does not subserve his interest, that can possibly be satisfactory to you; and before I proceed, I will here repeat my great regret that I have been officially called upon to act in reference to Mr. Smith in any manner whatever. I doubt not your candor when you say you do not desire me "to swerve from my duty as Executive in the least," and all you ask is to be allowed the privileges and advantages guaranteed to you by the Constitution and laws: you then refer me to the eleventh section of the Charter of the City of Nauvoo, and claim for Mr. Smith the right to be heard by the Municipal Court of said city, under a writ of *habeas corpus* emanating from said court, when he was held in custody under an executive warrant. The Charter of the City of Nauvoo is not before me at this time, but I have examined both the charters and city ordinance upon the subject, and must express my surprise at the extraordinary assumption of power by the board of Aldermen as contained in said ordinances. From my recollection of the charter it authorizes the Municipal Court to issue writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases of imprisonment or custody arising from the authority of the ordinances of said city; but that the power was granted or intended to be granted to release persons held in custody under the authority of writs issued by the courts or the Executive of the State, is most absurd and ridiculous, and an attempt to exercise it is a gross usurpation of power that cannot be tolerated. I have always expected and desired that Mr. Smith should avail himself of the benefits of the laws of this State, and of course that he would be entitled to a writ of *habeas corpus* issued by the Circuit Court, and entitled to a hearing before said court; but to claim the right of a hearing before the Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo, is a burlesque upon the charter itself. As to Mr. Smith's guilt or innocence of the crime charged upon him, it is not my province to investigate or determine; nor has any court on earth jurisdiction of his case but the courts of the State of Missouri; and, as stated in my former letter, both the Constitution and laws presume that each and every State in this Union are competent to do justice to all who may be charged with crime committed in said State.

Your information that twelve men from Jackson County, Missouri, were lying in wait for Mr. Smith between Nauvoo and Warsaw, for the purpose of taking him out of the hands of the officers who might have him in custody, and murdering him, is like many other marvelous stories that you hear in reference to him—not one word of it true; but I doubt not that your mind has been continually harrowed up with fears produced by that and other equally groundless stories. That that statement is true is next to impossible, and your own judgment, if you will but give it scope, will soon set you right in reference to it. If any of the citizens of Jackson County had designed to murder Mr. Smith, they would not have been so simple as to perpetrate the crime in Illinois, when he would necessarily be required to pass through to the interior of the State of Missouri, where the opportunity would have been so much better and

Joseph Smith and his friends were anxious to test the legality of the cause of arrest, and at the solicitation of President Smith Governor Ford issued a duplicate warrant, upon which Joseph Smith went to Springfield and surrendered. He then obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from Judge Pope of the Federal Court.

Joseph surrenders.

Governor Ford in his history of Illinois states:—

"We turn again to the history of the State as connected with the Mormons. This people had now become about sixteen thousand strong in Hancock County, and several thousands more were scattered about in other counties. As I have said before, Governor Carlin, in 1842, had issued his warrant for the arrest of Joe Smith their prophet, as a fugitive from justice in Missouri. This warrant had never been executed, and was still outstanding when I came into office.

the prospect of escape much more certain. That is like the statement made by Mr. Smith's first messenger after his arrest, to Messrs. Ralston and Warren, saying that I had stated that Mr. Smith should be surrendered to the authorities of Missouri, dead or alive,—not one word of which was true. I have not the most distant thought that any person in Illinois or Missouri contemplated personal injury to Mr. Smith by violence in any manner whatever.

I regret that I did not see General Law when last at Quincy. A previous engagement upon business that could not be dispensed with, prevented, and occupied my attention that evening until dark. At half past one o'clock p. m. I came home and learned that the General had called to see me, but the hurry of business only allowed me about ten minutes to eat my dinner, and presuming if he had business of any importance that he would remain in the city until I returned. It may be proper here in order to afford you all the satisfaction in my power, to reply to a question propounded to my wife by General Law in reference to Mr. Smith; viz., whether any other or additional demand had been made upon me by the Governor of Missouri for the surrender of Mr. Smith. I answer, None; no change whatever has been made in the proceedings. Mr. Smith is held accountable only for the charge as set forth in my warrant under which he was arrested. In conclusion you presume upon my own knowledge of Mr. Smith's innocence, and ask why the prosecution is continued against him. Here I must again appeal to your own good judgment, and you will be compelled to answer that it is impossible I could know him to be innocent; and as before-stated it is not my province to investigate as to his guilt or innocence, but could I know him innocent, and were he my own son, I would nevertheless (and the more readily) surrender him to the legally constituted authority to pronounce him innocent.

With sentiments of high regard and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. CARLIN.

Mrs. Emma Smith.

—Copied from original letter in our possession.

The Mormons were desirous of having the cause of arrest legally tested in the Federal Court. Upon their application a duplicate warrant was issued in the winter of 1842–43, and placed in the hands of the Sheriff of Sangamon County. Upon this Joe Smith came to Springfield and surrendered himself a prisoner. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from Judge Pope of the Federal Court, and Smith was discharged."—Ford's History of Illinois, pp. 313, 314.

Editorial comment.

The editor of the *Times and Seasons* (John Taylor) in the issue of January 2, 1843, gives a statement of the case, as follows:—

"THE RELEASE OF GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH.

"We are happy to have it in our power to state that the distinguished individual above-named is once more free, and that the illegal prosecution and persecution which has been instituted against him by ex-Governor Boggs, Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, and ex-Governor Carlin, of this State, has terminated successfully in behalf of the innocent and unoffending; and we have had one striking instance of the dignity and purity of our laws being held inviolate, despite of executive influence and intrigue, and the influence of misrepresentation and bigotry.

"Mr. Smith had long been convinced of the illegality of the proceedings which were instituted against him; but he at the same time thought that when public excitement was so great and popular prejudice so strong that it would be hazardous for him to place himself in the hands of any of the minions of ex-Governor Carlin; judging (very correctly) that if that gentleman had issued a writ illegally and unconstitutionally for his apprehension, he might use an unwarrantable executive influence in having him delivered up to the justice (i. e. injustice) of the State of Missouri.

"But while on the one hand he feared and had reason to fear usurped executive power, he as firmly believed that if he could obtain a fair and impartial hearing before the judiciary, that there was sufficient strength and virtue in the laws to deliver him from the unjust influence and maladministration of his enemies.

"Feeling fully convinced of the justice of his cause, he repaired to Springfield, about two weeks ago, for the purpose of obtaining a hearing, (and as he believed,) receiving an acquittal from the District Court of the United States for the District of Illinois.

"The Secretary of State had been instructed to send for the writ issued by Governor Carlin, that Mr. Smith might have the privilege of the *habeas corpus* and of having the legality and constitutionality of the writ tested.

"But as ex-Governor Carlin, or the sheriff of Adams County, or both, were either afraid of having their deeds investigated or wished to set at defiance the law, the writ was not forthcoming; and after the great hue and cry that has been made about Joseph Smith's fleeing from justice, he was absolutely under the necessity of petitioning Governor Ford to issue another writ before he could obtain a hearing before the court. For the purpose of answering the ends of justice and that Mr. Smith might be legally and fairly dealt with, Governor Ford issued another writ, which was a copy of the one issued by Governor Carlin. Mr. Smith then petitioned the United States District Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted, and he appeared before that court on Saturday, the 30th of December, 1842, and gave bail for his appearance at court on Monday. Mr. Lambourn, the Attorney General of the State of Illinois, appeared in behalf of the State, and Mr. Butterfield was counsel for General Smith.

"On Monday Mr. Lambourn requested of the court a little time, stating that the subject was new to him, that it was one of great importance, that he had not had an opportunity of investigating it, and he hoped that the court would indulge him with one or two days. The court granted him that privilege and the trial was postponed until Wednesday, the 4th of January. Mr. Lambourn objected to the proceedings on the ground that the United States Court had no jurisdiction in this case, and that it belonged to the courts of this State to adjudicate in this matter. He moreover contended that they could not go behind the writ, to try the

guilt or innocence of the accused party. His objections, however, were overruled by the court.

"Mr. Edwards and Butterfield showed in a very lucid manner that Mr. Lambourn was in the dark concerning this matter, and Mr. Butterfield contended that in this case, and under the circumstances of the issuing of this writ, the United States District Court not only had jurisdiction, but that it had exclusive jurisdiction. He also showed very clearly that although they had no right to go behind the writ when judgment was rendered, that they had a perfect right where that was not the case. He quoted several authorities in defense of the position that he took, and very clearly showed that the course which he had taken in this affair was strongly supported by law, that he was sustained by the Constitution of the United States, and by a law of Congress based upon the Constitution, and by all former precedents. He then exposed in a very able manner the corruption of Governor Reynolds of Missouri, and of Governor Carlin of Illinois, in relation to this matter, proving from their own documents that the steps which they had taken were illegal, that Governor Reynolds had no foundation to issue a writ, or to demand Joseph Smith from Governor Carlin on anything that there was in the affidavit of ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri, and that he was obliged to add certain clauses in his demand which were not found in the body of the affidavit, before his claims upon this State could have the semblance of law; and that Governor Carlin with these lame documents before him wished to make it a little more plain, and added another addition, by way of codicil to the charge. He clearly showed the progress of crime among those governors. Ex-Governor Boggs' affidavit stated that 'he believed and had good reason to believe that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and that he was a resident of Illinois.' Governor Reynolds stated that it had been represented to him that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and had fled from the justice of Missouri; and to make up the thing complete, Governor Carlin stated that he was a fugitive from justice, consequently neither Governor Reynolds nor Governor Carlin had any foundation

whereon to base the issuing of a demand, proclamation, or writ.

"After showing very clearly the ignorance and injustice of those executives, proving to a demonstration that Joseph Smith had not been in Missouri for three years, that he could not be a fugitive from justice, and that if he were guilty of being an accessory the thing was not done in Missouri, and he could not be taken there to be tried,—he concluded by saying that all the difference there was between the Mormons and other professions was that the different sects believed in the ancient prophets only, and the Mormons believed in both ancient and modern prophecy. Another distinction was that the ancient prophets prophesied in poetry, and the modern ones in prose.

"Judge Pope then stated that the court would give its decision the next morning.

"On Wednesday morning the Judge in his decision investigated the whole matter, and in a very able manner sustained the views of Mr. Butterfield, and adduced additional testimony and evidence in favor of the acquittal of Mr. Smith; and after a very learned and able address, he concluded by saying that, 'The decision of the court is that the prisoner be discharged; and I wish it entered upon the records in such a way that Mr. Smith be no more troubled about this matter.'"—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 59, 60.

The trial.

A copy of the proceedings, with the opinion of the Court, was published January 16, 1843, by the *Times and Seasons*. We reproduce it here as a fitting close to this chapter:—

"CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

"December term, A. D. 1842.

"Before the Honorable Nathaniel Pope, Presiding Judge.

"*Ex parte* Joseph Smith on *Habeas Corpus*.

J. Butterfield and B. S. Edwards, Counsel for Smith

J. Lambourn, Attorney General for the State of Illinois.

"This case came before the court upon a return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was issued by this court on the 31st of December, 1842, upon a petition for a *habeas corpus* on the relation of Joseph Smith, setting forth that he was arrested and in custody of William F. Elkin, Sheriff of Sangamon County, upon a warrant issued by the Governor of the State of Illinois, upon the requisition of the Governor of the State of Missouri, demanding him to be delivered up to the Governor of Missouri, as a fugitive from justice; that his arrest as aforesaid was under color of a law of the United States, and was without the authority of law in this, that he was not a fugitive from justice, nor had he fled from the State of Missouri.

"Afterwards on the same day the Sheriff of Sangamon County returned upon the said *habeas corpus*, that he detained the said Joseph Smith in custody by virtue of a warrant issued by the Governor of the State of Illinois upon the requisition of the Governor of the State of Missouri, made on the affidavit of L. W. Boggs. Copies of the said affidavit, requisition, and warrant were annexed to the said return in the words and figures following:—

" 'STATE OF MISSOURI, } ss.
County of Jackson. }

" 'This day personally appeared before me, Samuel Weston, a justice of the peace within and for the county of Jackson, the subscriber, Lilburn W. Boggs, who being duly sworn, doth depose and say, that on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, while sitting in his dwelling in the town of Independence, in the county of Jackson, he was shot with intent to kill, and that his life was despaired of for several days; and that he believes and has good reason to believe from evidence and information now in his possession, that Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon prophet, was accessory before the fact of the intended murder; and that the said Joseph Smith is a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois; and the said deponent hereby applies to the Governor of the State of Missouri to make a demand on the Governor of the State of Illinois to deliver the said Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon prophet, to some person

authorized to receive and convey him to the State and county aforesaid, there to be dealt with according to law.

"'LILBURN W. BOGGS.

"'Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 20th day of July, 1842.

"'SAMUEL WESTON, J. P.'

"'The Governor of the State of Missouri, to the Governor of the State of Illinois; Greeting:—

"'Whereas it appears by the annexed document, which is hereby certified to be authentic, that one Joseph Smith is a fugitive from justice, charged with being accessory before the fact to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this State, and it is represented to the executive department of this State, has fled to the State of Illinois:

"'Now, therefore, I, Thomas Reynolds, Governor of the said State of Missouri, by virtue of the authority in me vested by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do by these presents demand the surrender and delivery of the said Joseph Smith to Edward R. Ford, who is hereby appointed as the agent to receive the said Joseph Smith on the part of the State.

"'In testimony,' etc.

"'The people of the State of Illinois, to the Sheriff of Sangamon County; Greeting:—

"'Whereas, it has been made known to me by the executive authority of the State of Missouri that one Joseph Smith stands charged by the affidavit of one Lilburn W. Boggs, made on the 20th day of July, 1842, at the county of Jackson, in the State of Missouri, before Samuel Weston, a justice of the peace within and for the county of Jackson aforesaid, with being accessory before the fact to an assault with an intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs, on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, at the county of Jackson, in said State of Missouri, and that the said Joseph Smith had fled from the justice of said State and taken refuge in the State of Illinois;—

"'Now therefore, I, Thomas Ford, Governor of the State of Illinois, pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the

United States and of this State do hereby command you to arrest and apprehend the said Joseph Smith, if he be found within the limits of the State aforesaid, and cause him to be safely kept and delivered to the custody of Edward R. Ford, who has been duly constituted the agent of the said State of Missouri to receive said fugitive from the justice of said State, he paying all fees and charges for the arrest and apprehension of said Joseph Smith and make due return to the executive department of this State, the manner in which this writ may be executed.

"'In testimony whereof,' etc.

"The case was set for hearing on the 4th day of January, 1843, on which day Josiah Lambourn, Attorney General of the State of Illinois, appeared, and moved to dismiss the proceedings, and filed the following objection to the jurisdiction of the court, viz.:—

"'1st. The arrest and detention of Smith was not under or by color of authority of the United States, or of any officers of the United States, but under and by color of authority of the State of Illinois, by the officers of Illinois.

"'2d. When a fugitive from justice is arrested by authority of the Governor of any State, upon the requisition of the Governor of another State, the courts of justice, neither State or Federal, have any authority or jurisdiction to inquire into any facts behind the writ.'

"The counsel of the said Joseph Smith then offered to read in evidence affidavits of several persons, showing conclusively that the said Joseph Smith was at Nauvoo, in the County of Hancock and State of Illinois, on the whole of the 6th and 7th days of May, in the year 1842, and on the evenings of those days, more than three hundred miles distant from Jackson County in the State of Missouri, where it is alleged that the said Boggs was shot, and that he had not been in the State of Missouri at any time between the 10th day of February and the 1st day of July, 1842, the said persons having been with him during the whole of that period. That on the 6th day of May aforesaid he attended an officer's drill at Nauvoo aforesaid, in the presence of a large number of people, and on the 7th day of May aforesaid he reviewed

the Nauvoo Legion in presence of many thousand people.

"The reading of these affidavits was objected to by the Attorney General of the State of Illinois, on the ground that it was not competent for Smith to impeach or contradict the return to the *habeas corpus*. It was contended by the counsel of the said Smith, 1st, That he had a right to prove that the return was untrue. 2d, That the said affidavits did not contradict the said return, as there was no averment under oath in said return that the said Smith was in Missouri at the time of the commission of the alleged crime or had fled from the justice of that State. The court decided that the said affidavits should be read in evidence, subject to all objections; and they were read accordingly.

"The cause was argued by J. Butterfield and B. S. Edwards, for Smith, and by Josiah Lambourn, Attorney General of the State of Illinois, contra.

"J. Butterfield, counsel for Smith, made the following points:—

"1. This court has jurisdiction.

"The requisition purports on its face to be made, and the warrant to be issued, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, regulating the surrender of fugitives from justice.—2d section, 4th article, Constitution United States.—1st section of the act of Congress of 12th February, 1793.

"When a person's rights are invaded under a law of the United States he has no remedy except in the courts of the United States.—2d section, 3d article, Constitution United States.—12th Wend. 325.—16 Peters 543.

"The whole power in relation to the delivering up of fugitives from justice and labor has been delegated to the United States, and Congress has regulated the manner and form in which it shall be exercised. The power is exclusive. The State Legislatures have no right to interfere, and if they do, their acts are void.—2d and 3d clause of 2d section, 4th article, Constitution United States.—2d volume laws United States 331.—16 Peters 617, 618, 623.—4th Wheaton's Rep. 122, 193.—12, Wend. 312.

"All courts of the United States are authorized to issue writs of *habeas corpus* when the prisoner is confined under or

by color of authority of the United States.—Act of Congress of September 24, 1789, section 4. 2d condensed 33.—3d Cranch 447. 3d Peters 193.

"2. The return to the *habeas corpus* is not certain and sufficient to warrant the arrest and transportation of Smith.

"In all cases on *habeas corpus* previous to indictment, the court will look into the depositions before the magistrate, and though the commitment be full and in form, yet if the testimony prove no crime, the court will discharge *ex parte*. —Taylor 5th, Cowen 50.

"The affidavit of Boggs does not show that Smith was charged with any crime committed by him in Missouri, nor that he was a fugitive from justice.

"If the commitment be for a matter for which by law the prisoner is not liable to be punished, the court must discharge him.—3. Bac. 434.

"The Executive of this State has no jurisdiction over the person of Smith to transport him to Missouri, unless he has fled from that State.

"3. The prisoner has a right to prove facts not repugnant to the return, and even to go behind the return and contradict it, unless committed under a *judgment* of a court of competent jurisdiction.—3d Bacon 435, 438.—3d Peters 202.—Gale's Revised Laws of Illinois 323.

"The testimony introduced by Smith at the hearing, showing conclusively that he was not a fugitive from justice, is not repugnant to the return.

"J. Lambourn, Attorney General of the State of Illinois, in support of the points made by him, cited 2d Condensed Rep. 37; Gordon's Digest, 73; Gale's Statutes of Illinois 318; Conkling 85; 9th Wendall 212.

"And afterwards, on the 5th day of January, 1843, Judge Pope delivered the following

"OPINION:

"The importance of this case, and the consequences which may flow from an erroneous precedent, affecting the lives and liberties of our citizens, have impelled the court to bestow upon it the most anxious consideration. The able arguments of the counsel for the respect-

The opinion.

ive parties have been of great assistance in the examination of the important question arising in this cause.

"When the patriots and wise men who framed our Constitution were in anxious deliberation to form a perfect union among the States of the confederacy, two great sources of discord presented themselves to their consideration: the commerce between the States, and fugitives from justice and labor. The border collisions in other countries had been seen to be a fruitful source of war and bloodshed, and most wisely did the Constitution confer upon the National Government the regulation of those matters, because of its exemption from the excited passions awakened by conflicts between neighboring States, and its ability alone to adopt a uniform rule, and establish uniform laws among all the States in those cases.

"This case presents the important question arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, whether a citizen of the State of Illinois can be transported from his own State to the State of Missouri, to be there tried for a crime, which, if he ever committed, was committed in the State of Illinois; whether he can be transported to Missouri, as a fugitive from justice, when he has never fled from that State.

"Joseph Smith is before the court on *habeas corpus*, directed to the Sheriff of Sangamon County, State of Illinois. The return shows that he is in custody under a warrant from the Executive of Illinois, professedly issued in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of the State of Illinois, ordering said Smith to be delivered to the agent of the Executive of Missouri, who had demanded him as a fugitive from justice, under the 2d section, 4th article of the Constitution of the United States, and the act of Congress passed to carry into effect that article. The article is in these words; viz.: 'A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.' The act of Congress made to carry into

effect this article, directs that the demand be made on the executive of the State where the offender is found, and prescribes the proof to support the demand; viz.: Indictment or affidavit.

"The court deemed it respectful to inform the Governor and Attorney General of the State of Illinois of the action upon the *habeas corpus:* on the day appointed for the hearing, the Attorney General for the State of Illinois, appeared, and denied the jurisdiction of the court to grant the *habeas corpus.*

"1st. Because the warrant was not issued under color or by authority of the United States, but by the State of Illinois.

"2d. Because no *habeas corpus* can issue in this case from either the Federal or State courts to inquire into facts behind the writ. In support of the first point, a law of Illinois was read, declaring that whenever the executive of any other State shall demand of the Executive of this State, any person, as a fugitive from justice, and shall have complied with the requisition of the act of Congress in that case made and provided, it shall be the duty of the Executive of this State to issue his warrant to apprehend the said fugitive, etc. It would seem that this act does not purport to confer any additional power upon the Executive of this State, independent of the power conferred by the Constitution and laws of the United States, but to make it the *duty* of the Executive to obey and carry into effect the act of Congress. The warrant on its face purports to be issued in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as of the State of Illinois. To maintain the position that this warrant was not issued under color or by authority of the laws of the United States, it must be proved, that the United States could not confer the power on the Executive of Illinois. Because if Congress could and did confer it, no act of Illinois could take it away, for the reason that the Constitution and laws of the United States passed in pursuance of it, and treaties, are the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is enough to dispose of that point. If the legislature of Illinois, as is probable, intended to make it the *duty* of the Governor to exercise the power granted by Congress, and no more, the Executive would be acting by authority of the United States. It may be that the legislature of Illinois, appreciating the importance of the proper execution of those laws, and doubting whether the Governor could be punished for refusing to carry them into effect, deemed it prudent to impose it as a duty, the neglect of which would expose him to impeachment. If it intended more, the law is unconstitutional and void.—16 Peters 617 Prigg vs. Pennsylvania.

"In supporting the second point the Attorney General seemed to urge that there was greater sanctity in a warrant issued by the Governor than by an inferior officer. The court cannot assent to this distinction. This is a government of laws, which prescribes a rule of action, as obligatory upon the Governor as upon the most obscure officer. The character and purposes of the *habeas corpus* are greatly misunderstood by those who suppose that it does not review the acts of an executive functionary: all who are familiar with English history must know that it was extorted from an arbitrary monarch and that it was hailed as a second Magna Charta, and that it was to protect the subject from arbitrary imprisonment by the king and his minions, which brought into existence that great palladium of liberty in the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second. It was indeed a magnificent achievement over arbitrary power. Magna Charta established the principles of liberty; the *habeas corpus* protected them. It matters not how great or obscure the prisoner, how great or obscure the prison keeper, this munificent writ, wielded by an independent judge, reaches all. It penetrates alike the royal towers and the local prisons, from the garret to the secret recesses of the dungeon. All doors fly open at its command, and the shackles fall from the limbs of prisoners of state as readily as from those committed by subordinate officers. The warrant of the king and his secretary of state could claim no more exemption from that searching inquiry, 'The cause of his caption and detention,' than a warrant granted by a jus-

tice of the peace. It is contended that the United States is a government of granted powers, and that no department of it can exercise powers not granted. This is true. But the grant is to be found in the 2d section of the 3d article of the Constitution of the United States: 'The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law or equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made and which shall be made under their authority.'

"The matter under consideration presents a *case* arising under the 2d section, 4th article of the Constitution of the United States, and the act of Congress of February 12, 1793, to carry it into effect. The judiciary act of 1789 confers on this court (indeed on all the courts of the United States) power to issue the writ of habeas corpus, when a person is confined 'under color of or by the authority of the United States.' Smith is in custody under color of and by authority of the 2d section, 4th article of the Constitution of the United States. As to the instrument employed or authorized to carry into effect that article of the Constitution (as he derives from it the authority to issue the warrant), he must be regarded as acting by the authority of the United States. The power is not official in the Governor, but personal. It might have been granted to anyone else by name, but considerations of convenience and policy recommended the selection of the Executive, who never dies. The citizens of the States are citizens of the United States; hence the United States are as much bound to afford them protection in their sphere, as the States are in theirs.

"The court has jurisdiction. Whether the State courts have jurisdiction or not, this court is not called upon to decide.

"The return of the sheriff shows that he has arrested and now holds in custody Joseph Smith, in virtue of a warrant issued by the Governor of Illinois, under the 2d section of the 4th article of the Constitution of the United States, relative to fugitives from justice, and the act of Congress passed to carry it into effect. The article of the Constitution does not designate the person upon whom the demand for the fugitive shall be made; nor does it prescribe the proof upon

which he shall act. But Congress has done so. The proof is 'an indictment or affidavit,' to be certified by the Governor demanding. The return brings before the court the warrant, the demand, and the affidavit. The material part of the latter is in these words; viz.: 'Lilburn W. Boggs, who being duly sworn, doth depose and say, that on the night of the sixth day of May, 1842, while sitting in his dwelling in the town of Independence, in the county of Jackson, he was shot with intent to kill, and that his life was despaired of for several days, and that he believes and has good reason to believe from evidence and information now in his possession, that Joseph Smith, commonly called the Mormon prophet, was accessory before the fact of the intended murder, and that the said Joseph Smith is a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois.' This affidavit is certified by the Governor of Missouri to be authentic. The affidavit being thus verified, furnished the only evidence upon which the Governor of Illinois could act. Smith presented affidavits proving that he was not in Missouri at the date of the shooting of Boggs. This testimony was objected to by the Attorney General of Illinois, on the ground that the court could not look behind the return. The court deems it unnecessary to decide that point, inasmuch as it thinks Smith entitled to his discharge for defect in the affidavit. To authorize the arrest in this case the affidavit should have stated distinctly, 1st, That Smith had committed a crime. 2d, That he committed it in Missouri.

"It must appear that he fled from Missouri to authorize the Governor of Missouri to demand him, as none other than the Governor of the State from which he *fled* can make the demand. He could not have fled from justice, unless he committed a crime, which does not appear. It must appear that the crime was committed in Missouri to warrant the Governor of Illinois in ordering him to be sent to Missouri for trial. The 2d section, 4th article, declares he 'shall be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.'

"As it is not charged that the crime was committed by Smith in Missouri, the Governor of Illinois could not cause him to be removed to that State, unless it can be maintained

that the State of Missouri can entertain jurisdiction of crimes committed in other States. The affirmative of this proposition was taken in the argument with a zeal indicating sincerity. But no adjudged case or dictum was adduced in support of it. The court conceives that none can be. Let it be tested by principle.

"Man in a state of nature is a sovereign, with all the prerogatives of king, lords, and commons. He may declare war and make peace, and as nations often do who 'feel power and forget right,'—may oppress, rob, and subjugate his weaker and unoffending neighbors. He unites in his person the legislative, judicial, and executive power—'can do no wrong,' because there is none to hold him to account. But when he unites himself with a community, he lays down all the prerogatives of a sovereign (except self-defense) and becomes a subject. He owes obedience to its laws and the judgments of its tribunals, which he is supposed to have participated in establishing, either directly or indirectly. He surrenders also the right of self-redress. In consideration of all which, he is entitled to the ægis of that community to defend him from wrongs. He takes upon himself no allegiance to any other community, so owes it no obedience, and therefore cannot disobey it. None other than his own sovereign can prescribe a rule of action to him. Each sovereign regulates the conduct of its subjects, and they may be punished upon the assumption that they know the rule and have consented to be governed by it. It would be a gross violation of the social compact if the State were to deliver up one of its citizens to be tried and punished by a foreign State, to which he owes no allegiance, and whose laws were never binding on him. No State can or will do it.

"In the absence of the constitutional provision, the State of Missouri would stand on this subject in the same relation to the State of Illinois that Spain does to England. In this particular the States are independent of each other. A criminal, fugitive from the one State to the other, could not be claimed as of right to be given up. It is most true as mentioned by writers on the laws of nations that every State is responsible to its neighbors for the conduct of its

citizens so far as their conduct violates the principles of good neighborhood. So it is among private individuals. But for this, the inviolability of territory, or private dwelling, could not be maintained. This obligation creates the right, and makes it the duty of the State to impose such restraints upon the citizen as the occasion demands. It was in the performance of this duty that the United States passed laws to restrain citizens of the United States from setting on foot and fitting out military expeditions against their neighbors. While the violators of this law kept themselves within the United States, their conduct was cognizable in the courts of the United States, and not of the offended state, even if the means provided had assisted in the invasion of the foreign state. A demand by the injured state upon the United States for the offenders, whose operations were in their own country, would be answered, that the United States' laws alone could act upon them, and that as a good neighbor it would punish them.

"It is the duty of the State of Illinois, to make it criminal in one of its citizens to aid, abet, counsel, or advise, any person to commit a crime in her sister State,—anyone violating the law would be amenable to the laws of Illinois, executed by its own tribunals. Those of Missouri could have no agency in his conviction and punishment. But if he shall go into Missouri, he owes obedience to her laws, and is liable before her courts, to be tried and punished for any crime he may commit there, and a plea that he was a citizen of another State, would not avail him. If he escape, he may be surrendered to Missouri for trial. But when the offense is perpetrated in Illinois, the only right of Missouri is, to insist that Illinois compel her citizens to forbear to annoy her. This she has a right to expect; for the neglect of it nations go to war and violate territory.

"The court must hold that where a necessary fact is not stated in the affidavit, it does not exist. It is not averred that Smith was accessory before the fact, in the State of Missouri, nor that he committed a crime in Missouri; therefore he did not commit the crime in Missouri,—did not flee from Missouri to avoid punishment.

"Again, the affidavit charges the shooting on the 6th of May in the county of Jackson and State of Missouri, 'that he believes and has good reason to believe, from evidence and information now [then] in his possession, that Joseph Smith was accessory before the fact, and is a resident or citizen of Illinois.' There are several objections to this. Mr. Boggs having the 'evidence and information in his possession,' should have incorporated it in the affidavit to enable the court to judge of their sufficiency to support his 'belief.' Again, he swears to a legal conclusion when he says that Smith was *accessory before the fact.* What acts constitute a man an accessory in a question of law are not always of easy solution. Mr. Boggs' opinion, then, is not authority. He should have given the facts. He should have shown that they were committed in Missouri, to enable the court to test them by the laws of Missouri, to see if they amounted to a crime. Again, the affidavit is fatally defective in this, that Boggs swears to his *belief.*

"The language in the Constitution is 'charged with felony, or other crime.' Is the Constitution satisfied with a *charge* upon suspicion? It is to be regretted that no American adjudged case has been cited to guide the court in expounding this article. Language is ever interpreted by the subject matter. If the object were to arrest a man near home, and there were fears of escape if the movement to detain him for examination were known, the word *charged* might warrant the issuing of a *capias* on *suspicion.* Rudyard (reported in Skin. 676) was committed to Newgate for refusing to give bail for his good behavior, and was brought before common pleas on *habeas corpus.* The return was that he had been complained of for exciting the subjects to disobedience of the laws against *seditious conventicles,* and upon examination they found *cause* to suspect him. Vauhan, Chief Justice 'Tyrrell and Archer against Wild held the return insufficient; 1st, because it did not appear but that he might abet frequenters of conventicles in the way the law allows. 2d, To say that he was complained of or was examined, is no proof of his guilt. And then to say that he had cause to suspect him is too cautious; for who can tell what they count a cause

of *suspicion*, and how can that ever be tried? At this rate they would have arbitrary power upon their own allegation, to commit whom they pleased.'

"From this case it appears that suspicion does not warrant a commitment, and that all legal intendments are to avail the prisoner. That the return is to be most strictly construed in favor of liberty. If suspicion in the foregoing case did not warrant a commitment in London by its officers, of a citizen of London, might not the objection be urged with greater force against a commitment of a citizen of our State to be transported to another on *suspicion?* No case can arise demanding a more searching scrutiny into the evidence than in cases arising under this part of the Constitution of the United States. It is proposed to deprive a freeman of his liberty; to deliver him into the custody of strangers, to be transported to a foreign State, to be arraigned for trial before a foreign tribunal, governed by laws unknown to him; separated from his friends, his family, and his witnesses, unknown and unknowing. Had he an immaculate character, it would not avail him with strangers. Such a spectacle is appalling enough to challenge the strictest analysis.

"The framers of the Constitution were not insensible of the importance of courts possessing the confidence of the parties. They therefore provided that citizens of different States might resort to the federal courts in civil causes. How much more important that the criminal have confidence in his judge and jury? Therefore before the *capias* is issued, the officers should see that the case is made out to warrant it.

"Again, Boggs was shot on the 6th of May. The affidavit was made on the 20th of July following. Here was time for inquiry, which would confirm into certainty or dissipate his suspicions. He had time to collect facts to be had before a grand jury or be incorporated in his affidavit. The court is bound to assume that this would have been the course of Mr. Boggs, but that his suspicions were light and unsatisfactory.

"The affidavit is insufficient: 1, Because it is not positive. 2, Because it charges no crime. 3, It charges no crime committed in the State of Missouri. Therefore he did not

flee from the justice of the State of Missouri, nor has he taken refuge in the State of Illinois.

"The proceedings in this affair from the affidavit to the arrest affords a lesson to governors and judges whose action may hereafter be invoked in cases of this character.

"The affidavit simply says that the affiant was shot with intent to kill, and he believes that Smith was accessory before the fact to the intended murder, and is a citizen or resident of the State of Illinois. It is not said who shot him, or that the person was unknown.

"The Governor of Missouri in his demand calls Smith a fugitive from justice, charged with being accessory before the fact to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell, on Lilburn W. Boggs, in this State [Missouri]. This Governor expressly refers to the affidavit as his authority for that statement. Boggs in his affidavit does not call Smith a *fugitive from justice*, nor does he state a fact from which the Governor had a right to infer it. Neither does the name of O. P. Rockwell appear in the affidavit, nor does Boggs say Smith *fled*. Yet the Governor says he has *fled* to the State of Illinois. But Boggs only says he is a *citizen* or *resident* of the State of Illinois.

"The Governor of Illinois responding to the demand of the Executive of Missouri, for the arrest of Smith, issues his warrant for the arrest of Smith, reciting that 'whereas Joseph Smith stands charged by the affidavit of Lilburn W. Boggs with being accessory before the fact to an assault with intent to kill, made by one O. P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs, on the night of the 6th day of May, 1842, at the county of Jackson, in said State of Missouri, and that the said Joseph Smith has fled from the justice of said State, and taken refuge in the State of Illinois.'

"Those facts do not appear by the affidavit of Boggs. On the contrary, it does not assert that Smith was accessory to O. P. Rockwell; nor that he had fled from the justice of the State of Missouri, and taken refuge in the State of Illinois.

"The court can alone regard the facts set forth in the affidavit of Boggs, as having any legal existence. The misrecitals and over statements in the requisition and warrant are

not supported by oath, and cannot be received as evidence to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and transport him to a foreign State for trial. For these reasons Smith must be discharged.

"At the request of J. Butterfield, counsel for Smith, it is proper to state in justice to the present Executive of the State of Illinois, Governor Ford, that it was admitted on the argument that the warrant which originally issued upon the said requisition was issued by his predecessor; that when Smith came to Springfield to surrender himself up upon that warrant, it was in the hands of the person to whom it had been issued at Quincy in this State; and that the present warrant, which is a copy of the former one, was issued at the request of Smith, to enable him to test its legality by writ of *habeas corpus.*

"Let an order be entered that Smith be discharged from his arrest."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp, 65-71.

CHAPTER 29.

1843.

ANXIETY IN NAUVOO—PROGRESS AT KIRTLAND GENERAL PROGRESS—P. P. PRATT RETURNS—T. WARD SUCCEEDS PRATT—WM. SMITH IN THE LEGISLATURE—A SEASON OF PEACE—NAUVOO IMPROVING—YOUNG GENTLEMEN AND LADIES' SOCIETY—ANNUAL CONFERENCE—A BAND OF THIEVES—NAUVOO COMPARED WITH OTHER PLACES—MISSIONARIES APPOINTED—HYDE AND ADAMS APPOINTED TO RUSSIA—OTHER APPOINTMENTS—JUDGE HIGBEE DIES—ENGLISH CONFERENCE—ARREST OF JOSEPH SMITH—OTHER CONFERENCES—EXPEDITION TO THE PINERIES—RIGDON'S CONDUCT INVESTIGATED—TEMPLE WORK—SCHEME OF JAMES ARLINGTON BENNETT—JOSEPH'S REPLY—KIDNAPPING.

THE year 1843 commenced with intense anxiety in Nauvoo, occasioned by the suspense felt regarding the trial of Joseph Smith, the conclusion of which was recorded in the last chapter. As is natural in such cases all sorts of reports and theories were circulated, and various opinions were expressed as to the best policy to pursue should he be delivered up to the Missouri agent. Some views were of course conservative, while some were extreme. For none of these was the church responsible, for she defined no policy.

Anxiety in Nauvoo.

From a letter written by Justin Brooks in the November before, and published in *Times and Seasons* for January 2, 1843, it appears evident that the work was taking on a new impetus in Kirtland, Ohio, and vicinity; notwithstanding the reports abroad that the authorities of the church were in bad repute in their former home.[1]

Progress at Kirtland.

[1] KIRTLAND, Ohio, November 7, 1842.

Brother Joseph Smith; Sir:—I now take the opportunity to inform you, the brethren in Nauvoo, and all that feel interested in this last dispensation of Almighty God, which has been committed to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, that since our conference minutes were inclosed, Elders Wight, Green, and Badlam have continued their labors in this place, up to this time, with great success; the Lord pouring out

General progress.

On February 1, 1843, the *Times and Seasons* editorially makes a very encouraging statement of the progress of the work in different places.[2]

P. P. Pratt returns.

Parley P. Pratt, on his return from England, landed in New Orleans, Louisiana, early in January, 1843. He proceeded with his company up the Mississippi River by boat; but learning that the river was not open above St. Louis, the company scattered, seeking places of temporary abode. Elder Pratt and family located for the winter at Chester, Illinois, about eighty miles below St. Louis. Here he left his family and rode to Nauvoo on horseback, arriving early in February, remaining a short time. He then returned to his family and removed them to Nauvoo, arriving April 12, 1843.

his Spirit upon them and also upon the people. There have been, since the above-stated time, several persons baptized, which have looked on, and have seen the rise and progress of this church from the commencement, and many smart, intelligent young men have also been ordained elders. Amongst the number are Austin Babbitt and William Wilson. The number ordained since conference is ten; and several persons have been baptized. The prospect now is that a great blessing will result to the inhabitants of this region of country from the labors of the above-named elders. The reformation which has taken place here has taken some of the most prominent members from among the Methodists; and the Presbyterians begin to think that Mormonism, as they call it, is not dead, as they supposed, in consequence of Bennett's apostasy. . . . Where the reformation that has begun will end, the Lord only knows: such an anxiety to learn the doctrines of this church has never before been manifest since the commencement of the church.

The elders are going to leave us this morning with the prayers and fellowship of the brethren in this region of country. Those which have been the most hostile in their feelings are perfectly friendly with Bro. Wight, and have all invited him to call upon them.

The labors of the elders seem to have effected a union of all parties; and if I must give my opinion I think upon the right principle.

Twelve persons were baptized yesterday. . . . I would further state that Bro. Wight expects to administer baptism to several persons in Painesville, on his way east.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 62, 63.

[2] The work of the Lord is progressing with great rapidity on every hand; from the north, south, and east we are continually receiving accounts of the progress of eternal truth; we cannot find room for many communications. Elder Andrew L. Lamareaux writes from New Trenton, Franklin County, Indiana, and tells us that the work is rolling forth in that neighborhood with unprecedented rapidity, and that there are more doors open than it is possible for them to fill. This seems to be generally the case where our elders are laboring, throughout the Union, as well as in Great Britain.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 89.

On his departure from England he appointed Thomas Ward in charge of the mission, with Lorenzo Snow and Hiram Clark as his counselors, and gave some excellent instruction.[3]

T. Ward succeeds Pratt.

[3] I therefore recommend and appoint Elder Thomas Ward as my successor in the office of the general presidency of the church in Europe, in connection with Elders Lorenzo Snow and Hiram Clark. To these persons I commit the care and government of the church in this country for the present, trusting that they will conduct and counsel in all things according to the mind of the Spirit, and according to the counsel which shall be given them from Nauvoo from time to time, by the Quorum of the Twelve or the First Presidency.

I sincerely hope that the officers and members in the several conferences wil uphold and support these men in their high and holy calling, by the prayer of faith, and by a willing, submissive, and teachable spirit; and in so doing they will prosper.

It will be necessary as soon as convenient for a General Conference to be called for the United Kingdom, and for high priests and presiding elders to be ordained to fill the several vacancies which have or may occur on account of emigration or otherwise, and to transact all other necessary business for the general welfare.

In regard to the ministry I would recommend, and earnestly exhort that the first principles of the gospel be fully and constantly taught, and the spirit of discussion and contention avoided as far as possible; for he that hath the spirit of contention is not of God, but is of the Devil.

In regard to emigration, I would recommend patience as well as perseverance; and that the saints do not emigrate in haste, leaving their affairs unsettled, or their property to be wasted; and above all, pay every man his honest due as far as possible. And in regard to husbands and wives, we feel bound to forbid the separation of one from the other in emigrating, either on account of poverty or any other cause. Let them go together or stay together, live together or die together, and let nothing separate them from each other during so long and tedious a journey.

And again, husband and wife have no right to separate because of one being an unbeliever, and those who do so will not be justified by this church. These have ever been our principles and teachings; but we have received a communication from the First Presidency of late on this subject which is very pointed, and which will probably appear in the next number of the *Star.—Millennial Star*, vol. 3, pp. 110, 111.

The communication referred to above is as follows:—

ADDRESS FROM THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

NAUVOO.

To our well beloved brother, Parley P. Pratt, and to the Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in England, and scattered abroad throughout all Europe, and to the Saints; Greeting:—

Whereas, in times past persons have been permitted to gather with the saints at Nauvoo, in North America—such as husbands leaving their wives and children behind; also, such as wives leaving their husbands and children behind; and such as women leaving their husbands, and such as husbands leaving their wives who have no children, and some because their companions are unbelievers. All this kind of proceeding we consider to be erroneous and for want of proper information. And the same should be taught to all the saints, and not suffer families to be broken up on any account whatever if it be possible to

Elder Ward also succeeded Elder Pratt as editor of the *Millennial Star*.

avoid it. Suffer no man to leave his wife because she is an unbeliever, nor any woman to leave her husband because he is an unbeliever. These things are an evil and must be forbidden by the authorities of the church, or they will come under condemnation; for the gathering is not in haste nor by flight, but to prepare all things before you, and you know not but the unbeliever may be converted and the Lord heal him; but let the believers exercise faith in God, and the unbelieving husband shall be sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the believing husband, and families are preserved and saved from a great evil which we have seen verified before our eyes. Behold this is a wicked generation, full of lyings, and deceit, and craftiness; and the children of the wicked are wiser than the children of light; that is, they are more crafty; and it seems that it has been the case in all ages of the world. And the man who leaves his wife and travels to a foreign nation, has his mind overpowered with darkness, and Satan deceives him and flatters him with the graces of the harlot, and before he is aware he is disgraced forever: and greater is the danger for the woman that leaves her husband. The evils resulting from such proceedings are of such a nature as to oblige us to cut them off from the church.

There is another evil which exists. There are poor men who come here and leave their families behind in a destitute situation, and beg for assistance to send back after their families. Every man should tarry with his family until Providence provides for the whole, for there is no means here to be obtained to send back. Money is scarce and hard to be obtained. The people that gather to this place are generally poor, the gathering being attended with a great sacrifice; and money cannot be obtained by labor, but all kinds of produce are plentiful and can be obtained by labor; therefore the poor man that leaves his family in England, cannot get means, which must be silver and gold, to send for his family; but must remain under the painful sensation that his family must be cast upon the mercy of the people, and separated and put into the poorhouse. Therefore, to remedy the evil, we forbid a man to leave his family behind because he has no means to bring them. If the church is not able to bring them, and the parish will not send them, let the man tarry with his family—live with them, and die with them, and not leave them until Providence shall open a way for them to come all together. And we also forbid that a woman leave her husband because he is an unbeliever. We also forbid that a man shall leave his wife because she is an unbeliever. If he be a bad man (i. e. the unbeliever) there is a law to remedy that evil. And if she be a bad woman, there is law to remedy that evil. And if the law divorce them, then they are at liberty; otherwise they are bound as long as they two shall live, and it is not our prerogative to go beyond this; if we do it, it will be at the expense of our reputation.

These things we have written in plainness, and we desire that they should be publicly known, and request this to be published in the *Star*.

May the Lord bestow his blessing upon all the saints richly, and hasten the gathering, and bring about the fullness of the everlasting covenant, are the prayers of your brethren.

Written by Hyrum Smith, Patriarch, by the order of Joseph Smith, President over the whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

HYRUM SMITH.

—*Millennial Star*, vol. 3, p. 115.

Wm. Smith in the Legislature.

Elder William Smith, brother of the prophet, was a member of the State Legislature in the winter of 1842-43, and did some very satisfactory work in successfully opposing the repeal of the Nauvoo charter, which was twice undertaken.

A season of peace.

The early part of the year after the discharge of President Smith by Judge Pope was a season of peace and tranquility, so far as persecution was concerned.

Nauvoo improving.

The city of Nauvoo was rapidly building, the population being increased by accessions from all parts of the States, also from foreign lands, several shiploads having recently arrived from England.

Young Gentlemen and Ladies' Society.

During this time the organization of a society to be known as "The Young Gentlemen and Ladies' Relief Society of Nauvoo" was perfected. President Smith, H. C. Kimball of the Twelve, and others took an active part in bringing about this organization. It had for its purposes the correction of the follies of youth, to guard against temptations to which they are exposed, and to aid in charitable enterprises.

On March 21, 1843, they adopted a preamble and resolutions indicative of their purpose and providing for their government.[4]

[4] Whereas, the young gentlemen and ladies, citizens of the city of Nauvoo, are desirous of aiding and ameliorating the condition of the poor and of carrying out the principles of charity and benevolence, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, therefore, be it

Resolved, that we form ourselves into a society to be styled the "Young Gentlemen and Ladies' Relief Society of Nauvoo," and that we be governed by the following articles. . . .

6. There shall annually be chosen a committee of vigilance, consisting of five persons, whose duties it shall be to search out the poor of our city, and make known to the society the wants of those whom they, in their judgment, shall consider most deserving of our assistance. . . .

9. This constitution shall be lodged in the hands of the secretary, whose duty it shall be to present it at each meeting of the society, and receive the names of all persons wishing to become members, under thirty years of age, who can sustain a good moral character, and who are willing to support this constitution.

10. Any person being a member of this society, and being found guilty of any disorderly conduct, or refusing to comply with the rules of the society, can be expelled at any regular meeting of the same, by a vote of the majority of the members present. . . .

William Walker was chosen president, William Cutler vice president, Lorin Walker treasurer, and James M. Monroe secretary. Stephen

Annual Conference.

April 6, 1843, a special conference for the whole church convened on the platform of the temple in Nauvoo. Some business of historical importance was done.[5]

Perry, Marcellus L. Bates, R. A. Allred, William H. Kimball, and Garrett Ivans were appointed as a committee of vigilance. After some discussion the meeting adjourned until the next Tuesday evening.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 156.

[5] President Joseph then asked the conference if they were satisfied with the First Presidency, so far as he was concerned, as an individual, to preside over the whole church; or would they have another? If, said he, I have done anything that injures my character, reputation, or standing, or have dishonored our religion by any means in the sight of men or angels, or in the sight of men and women, I am sorry for it, and if you will forgive me I will endeavor to do so no more. I do not know that I have done anything of the kind; but if I have, come forward and tell me of it. If anyone has any objection to me, I want you to come boldly and frankly and tell me of it; and if not, ever after hold your peace.

Motion was made and seconded that President Joseph Smith continue President of the whole church. After a few minutes silence, the motion was put by President Young, when one vast sea of hands was presented, and the motion was carried unanimously.

President Joseph returned his thanks to the assembly for the manifestation of their confidence, and said he would serve them according to the best ability God should give him.

The First Presidency being disposed of, President Joseph said he did not know anything against the Twelve; if he did he would present them for trial. It is not right that all the burden of the Nauvoo House should rest on a few individuals; and we will now consider the propriety of sending the Twelve to collect means for the Nauvoo House. There has been too great a solicitude, in individuals, for the building of the temple, to the exclusion of the Nauvoo House. The agents have had too great latitude to practice fraud, by receiving donations and never making report. The church has suffered loss, and I am opposed to that system of collecting funds when any elder may receive moneys.

I am opposed to any man's handling the public funds of the church who is not duly authorized.

I advise that some means be devised for transacting business on a sure foundation. The Twelve are the most suitable persons to perform this business; and I want the conference to devise some means to bind them as firm as the pillars of heaven, if possible. The Twelve were always honest, and it will do them no hurt to bind them.

It has been reported that they receive wages at two dollars per day for their services. I have never heard this till recently, and I do not believe it. I know the Twelve have never had any wages at all. They have fulfilled their duty—they have always gone where they were sent, and have labored with their hands for their support, when at home. If we send them into the world to collect funds, we want them to return those funds to this place, that they may be appropriated to the very purpose for which they were designed. I go in for binding up the Twelve, solid, putting them under bonds; and let this conference institute an order to this end, and that the traveling expenses of the agents shall not be borne out of the funds collected for building these houses; and let no man pay money or stock into the hands of the Twelve except he transmit an account of the same immediately to the Trustee in Trust:

A band of thieves.

At this time and for some time after there was a band of thieves committing depredations in the vicinity of Nauvoo and elsewhere. Some members of the church were doubtless engaged in this disreputable practice.

In consequence of this the church suffered in reputation, as those who were religiously opposed were glad to quote the crimes of the lawless and point to them as the acts of the church. To what extent the church members were involved in this contemptible avocation we do not know; but we have evidence conclusive that the authorities of the church unequivocally condemned it, and used both their ecclesiastical and civil authority to put it down. At the conference above referred to both Hyrum and Joseph Smith denounced the practice in unmeasured terms.[6]

and let no man but the Twelve have authority to act as agent for the temple and Nauvoo House. . . .

It was then voted unanimously that the Twelve be appointed a committee to collect funds to build the Nauvoo House, and receive moneys for the temple, with this proviso:—

That the Twelve give bonds for the safe delivery of all funds, coming into their hands belonging to the Nauvoo House and temple, to the Trustee in Trust, and that the payor, also, make immediate report to the Trustee in Trust of all moneys paid by him to the Twelve; and that the instructions of President Joseph Smith to the conference be carried into execution.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 181, 182.

[6] Patriarch Hyrum Smith commenced by saying that he had some communication to make to the conference, on stealing, and he would do it while waiting for Joseph; and referred to the article in the last number of the *Wasp*. Said he, I have had an interview with a man who formerly belonged to the church, and he revealed to me that there is a band of men, and some who pretend to be strong in the faith of the doctrine of the Latter Day Saints; but they are hypocrites, and some who do not belong to the church, who are bound together by secret oaths, and obligations, and penalties, to keep the secret; and they hold it is right to steal from anyone who does not belong to the church, provided they consecrate two thirds of it to the building of the temple. They are also making bogus money.

This man says he has become convinced of the error of his ways, and has come away from them to escape their fury. I wish to warn you all not to be duped by such men, for they are the Gadiantons of the last days.

He then read from the *Wasp* as republished from the *Times and Seasons*, his own affidavit, and the proceedings of the authorities of the church generally, dated November 26, 1841. The man who told me said, "This secret band refer to the Bible, Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and Book of Mormon to substantiate their doctrine;" but no such doctrines are taught there.

They say it has been taught from this stand, that they are the little foxes that spoil the vines, and the First Presidency are the big foxes:

Notwithstanding this practice obtained there, and so much was and is being said about it, Nauvoo was no worse than other places of its size. Governor Ford afterwards made personal investigation of this matter and in his message to the legislature dated December 23, 1844, "in relation to the disturbances in Hancock

Nauvoo compared with other places.

and the big foxes wanted the little foxes to get out of the city and spread abroad, so that the big foxes might have a chance; which everybody knows is false. All these things are used to decoy the foolish and unwary.

I will mention two names, David Holman and James Dunn; they were living in my house. I went to them and asked them if they were stealing for a livelihood. Holman confessed that he had stolen from the world, not from the brethren. I told them to get out of my house. David asked me to forgive him, and he lifted his hands towards heaven and swore if I would forgive him he would never do so again. Soon after he went to Montrose, where he was found stealing salt, as is currently reported; he then stole a skiff and came across the river, stole a barrel of flour that had just been landed from a steamer, rowed down the river to Keokuk, and sold the flour for two dollars, saying he had picked it up in the river, and was likely a little damaged, got his pay, and went his way. Dunn would not promise to quit stealing, but said he would go to St. Louis. I tell you to-day, the man that steals shall not long after be brought to the penitentiary. They will soon be brought to condign punishment. I demand in the presence of God that you will exert your wit and your power to bring such characters to justice. If you do not the curse of God will rest upon you; such things would ruin any people. Should I catch a Latter Day Saint stealing, he is the last man to whom I would show mercy.

President Joseph Smith said, I think it best to continue this subject. I want the elders to make honorable proclamation abroad concerning what the feelings of the First Presidency is, for stealing has never been tolerated by them. I despise a thief above ground. He would betray me if he could get the opportunity. I would know that he would be a detriment to my cause, and if I were the biggest rogue in the world, he would steal my horse when I wanted to run away.

It has been said that some were afraid to disclose what they know of these secret combinations, consequently I issued a proclamation which you may read in the *Wasp*, No. 48, which the President read.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Citizens of Nauvoo:—

Whereas it appears by the republication of the foregoing proceedings and declaration, that I have not altered my views on the subject of stealing: And whereas it is reported that there now exists a band of desperadoes, bound by oaths of secrecy, under severe penalties in case any member of the combination divulges their plans of stealing and conveying properties from station to station, up and down the Mississippi and other routes: And whereas it is reported that the fear of the execution of the pains and penalties of their secret oaths, on their persons, prevents some of the members of said secret association (who have, through falsehood and deceit, been drawn into their snares) from divulging the same to the legally constituted authorities of the land:

Know ye, therefore, that I, Joseph Smith, Mayor of the city of Nau-

County," makes special mention of this feature, and his report is complimentary to Nauvoo and the church;[7] and this notwithstanding his report in general showed him to be strongly prejudiced against Joseph Smith and the church.

Missionaries appointed.

At the above-mentioned conference quite a large number of missionaries were appointed to different parts of the United States and elsewere.[8]

voo, will grant and insure protection against all personal mob violence to each and every citizen of this city who will freely and voluntarily come before me and truly make known the names of all such abominable characters as are engaged in said secret combination for stealing, or are accessory thereto in any manner; and I would respectfully solicit the coöperation of all ministers of justice, in this and the neighboring States, to ferret out a band of thievish outlaws from our midst.

Given under my hand at Nauvoo City, this 25th day of March, A. D. 1843.

JOSEPH SMITH, Mayor of said City.

If any man is afraid to disclose what he knows about this gang of thieves let him come to me, and tell the truth, and I will protect him from violence. *Thieving must be stopped.—Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 183, 184.

[7] Justice, however, requires me here to say, that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community than any other of the same number of inhabitants; and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great. I think it very probable, however, that the Mormons sometimes erred in protecting members of their community from prosecution and punishment, who were accused of offenses, under a belief that the accusation against them was a persecution of their enemies on account of their religion.

I have reason to believe, too, that the report of an alliance with the Indians was a groundless calumny. For, on a late occasion when fifteen or twenty Pottawattamie Indians passed Nauvoo in their canoes on their way to their hunting grounds in Iowa Territory, it was at once asserted that as many as two hundred Indains had come to the assistance of the Mormons, and were ready to scalp and murder their enemies; and this ridiculous story was greedily swallowed by an excited people.—Message of the Governor of the State of Illinois, in Relation to the Disturbances in Hancock County, p. 7.

[8] James Munroe and Truman Gillet; Auburn, New York.

Dominicus Carter; Lockport, Indiana.

Joshua Holman and John Pierce; Madison, Indiana.

Wandle Mace and Isaac Hate; Washingtonville, Orange County, New York.

William O. Clark; Richardson settlement, Iowa.

Benjamin Clapp, John Bear, Wilson Hewitt, and L. O. Littlefield; Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Alonzo Whitney and J. Goodale; Dublin, Ohio.

William Eaton; Westfield, Sullivan County, New York.

Zebedee Coltrin, Graham Coltrin, and James Flanigan; Smith and Tazewell Counties, Virginia.

About this time the First Presidency appointed Orson Hyde, of the Twelve, and Elder G. J. Adams, on a mission to St. Petersburg, Russia.

Hyde and Adams appointed.

Jonathan Dunham; Lawrenceburgh, Indiana.

Lewis Robbins and Jacob Gates; have a roving commission for Massachusetts, with leave to take their wives, but to keep out of the churches.

Stephen Markham and Truman Waite; Berlin, Huron County, Ohio.

John D. Chase and A. M. Harding; Pittsfield, Vermont.

Amos Fuller and Cyrus H. Wheelock; Newfane, Williamsville, Windham County, Vermont.

John S. Gleason and Henry Jacobs; west part of the State of New York.

Marcellus L. Bates and Norman B. Shearer; near Sacket's Harbor, New York.

Samuel Brown; Brandywine and Woodville, Maryland.

Lemuel Mallory and George Slater; Saline, Washtenau County, Michigan.

Moses Wade; some county in New York, where there has been no preaching by the saints.

Chillion Daniels and E. Robinson; Pierpont, St. Lawrence County, New York.

William Brown and Daniel Cathcart; Pensacola, Florida.

Eleazar Willis; go where he likes.

John Zundall, Muskootau, St. Clair County, Illinois.

Crandall Dunn; somewhere in Michigan.

George Middow; Waterloo, Canada.

Samuel H. Rogers and Harvey Green; Greenwich, Cumberland, New Jersey.

Daniel Spencer; Eardly, Bristol, and Clarendon, Lower Canada; March and Fitzroy Harbor, Upper Canada.

Elias Harmar; Green, Chenago County, New York.

Harvey Tate; Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana.

Robert D. Foster and Jonathan Allen; Candor, Tioga County, New York.

William Wharton, of Philadelphia; Wilmington and vicinity, Delaware.

Leonard Soby; Peru, Miami County, Indiana.

Warner Hoops; York County, Pennsylvania.

F. D. Wilson and G. W. Brandon; Dyer and Montgomery Counties, Tennessee.

E. H. Groves and G. P. Dykes; from Terre Haute to Shawneetown and Cairo, on both sides of the Wabash.

P. Sessions; Oxford County, Maine.

John L. Butler and David Lewis; Lexington and Teesburgh, Kentucky.

Charles C. Rich; Ottawa, Illinois.

W. W. Rust; Worcester County, Massachusetts.

Aaron M. York; Maine.

Asaph Rice; Pontiac, Michigan.

Orson Spencer; New Haven, Connecticut.

Lorin Farr; Connecticut, leave to call at Milwaukee.

Stephen Perry, Amos B. Tomlinson, E. G. Terrill, Amos P. Rogers, Joseph Outhouse, and William Bird; State of Connecticut.

Other appointments.

In the issue of the *Times and Seasons* for June 15, 1843, the Twelve Apostles published a short list of missionary appointments, among others sending Elder Reuben Hedlock to preside over the English mission.*

Francis Edwards and Charles Ryan; Overton, Jackson County, Tennessee.

Benjamin Kempton; Wheeling to Mount Vernon, Ohio.

Peter Hess, of Philadelphia; Lancaster and vicinity, Pennsylvania.

Noah Curtis and Luman H. Corkins; Wayne County, New York.

Stratton Thornton and Sandford Porter; southeast part of Illinois and Indiana.

Benjamin Leland and Eden Smith; Erie County, Pennsylvania.

Samuel Swarner; Orleans County, New York.

Samuel Parker; York County, Maine.

Jacob E. Terry and Err Terry; Niagara District, Upper Canada.

Edward P. Duzette and Elisha Edwards; Loraine and Huron Counties, Ohio.

Edwin Williams; New Germantown, Hunterdon County, New Jersey.

Jacob G. Bigler; Weston, Lewis County, Virginia.

Orlando Hovey; New Trenton, Franklin County, Indiana.

William B. Brink; some place in the interior of Pennsylvania, where the elders have not been.

F. B. Jacaway and Samuel Rowland; Adams County, Ohio.

Moses Tracy; Perry County, Illinois.

Alfred Brown; Maysville, Chatauque County, New York.

Noah Rogers, Peter Lemons, Joseph Mount, B. W. Wilson, Addison Pratt, and John Brown; State of Vermont.

Samuel C. Brown; to labor on the temple.

James Carroll; New Castle, Henry County, Indiana.

Levi Stewart and James Pace; Williamson and Gallatin Counties, Illinois.

Edwin Clegg; Rock Island, Illinois.

John Cairns; Richmond, Indiana.

Edward Bosley and Rodman Clark; Genesee, Livingston County, New York.

James Hutchins and Daniel Tyler; Natchez, Mississippi.

George M. Chase; Auburn, Geauga County, Ohio.

John Royce; Sing Sing, New York.

Lyman Whitney; Franklin County, Vermont.

Twenty-two were ordained elders.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 157, 158.

* APPOINTMENTS BY THE QUORUM OF THE TWELVE.

Elder Reuben Hedlock, to England, to preside over the English mission.

Elder John Cairns, to Scotland.

Elder James Sloan, to Ireland.

Elder Benjamin Brown, accompanied by Elder Jesse W. Crosby, to the Province of Nova Scotia.

Elder Edwin W. Webb, to the vicinity of Galena.

Elder Isaac Chase, to the Eastern States.

Elder Stephen Abbott and Charles E. Spencer, to Wisconsin Territory; Elder Isaac Thompson to accompany them.

W. RICHARDS, Clerk.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 232.

About this time occurred the death of Judge Elias Higbee, who had been quite prominent in the councils of the church, especially in his work at Washington in presenting the grievances of the saints before Congress. He was an honorable and faithful man.

Judge Higbee dies.

A General Conference of the English mission was held at Manchester, June 4. This was said to have been the largest gathering ever witnessed in England under the supervision of the saints. There was, however, no business of especial historic importance done.

English conference.

June 23, 1843, Joseph Smith was again arrested by Harmon T. Wilson, a constable of Hancock County, and turned over to Joseph H. Reynolds, of Jackson County, Missouri, who had been appointed, by Governor Thomas Reynolds of Missouri, agent to receive Joseph Smith.

Arrest of Joseph Smith.

Of this arrest, his trial before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, and his final acquittal, we write more fully in a subsequent chapter.

Conferences were held in various parts of the United States, including Kirtland, Ohio, during the summer months, reports to which showed substantial progress.

Other conferences.

The building committees of the temple and Nauvoo House purchased mills in Wisconsin Territory, at a cost of twelve thousand dollars, and an expedition, under Lyman Wight, of the Twelve, and Bishop George Miller, was sent there to manufacture lumber for these two buildings and to ship the same to Nauvoo. This expedition left Nauvoo on July 22, and arrived at its destination August 4, 1843.[10]

Expedition to the pineries.

[10] Lyman Wight in his journal states: "I was busily engaged in my domestic concerns, and also making preparations to move my family to the lumber country in Wisconsin Territory, on Black River, distance from this place about five hundred miles. . . . I accordingly started on the 22d of July, with my family, and about one hundred and fifty persons besides, consisting of men, women, and children, with no other purpose in view only to procure lumber to build the temple, the Nauvoo House, and to assist in the building up the City of Nauvoo.

"The building committees of those two houses are now the proprietors of mills, and a lumbering establishment in that place. We passed up

A special conference convened October 6, at Nauvoo. The special features of this conference were, an investigation into the conduct of Sidney Rigdon, of the First Presidency, with whom President Joseph Smith was in a measure dissatisfied, and the building of the temple, work on which had been suspended for a time.

Rigdon's conduct investigated.

Temple work.

We here insert the minutes on these points:—

"Conference assembled and proceeded to business.

"President Joseph Smith was called to the chair and Gustavus Hills chosen clerk. . . .

"The President stated the items of business to be brought before the conference, to be

"1. The case and standing of Elder Sidney Rigdon, counselor to the First Presidency.

"2. The further progress of the temple; after which, any miscellaneous business.

"Elder Sidney Rigdon addressed the conference on the subject of his situation and circumstances among the saints.

"President Joseph Smith addressed the conference, inviting an expression of any charges or complaints which the conference had to make. He stated his dissatisfaction with Elder Sidney Rigdon as a counselor, not having received any material benefit from his labors or counsels since their escape from Missouri. Several complaints were then brought forward in reference to his management in the post office; a supposed correspondence and connection with John C. Bennett, with ex-Governor Carlin, and with the Missourians, of a treacherous character; also his leaguing with dishonest persons in endeavoring to defraud the innocent.

"President Joseph Smith related to the conference the detention of documents from J. Butterfield, Esq., which were designed for the benefit of himself (President Smith),

the Mississippi River on the steamer, Maid of Iowa, and run as far up as the head of Black River Lake, where we landed on the 26th inst. at eleven o'clock a. m., fifty miles below the mills. From this to the 30th of July, I was scouting about, and viewing the fair quality, and situation of the country, and patiently awaiting for the arrival of the boats from the Falls on Black River, to convey us up the river to the mills. And on this, which is the 30th of July, the boats arrived. We loaded them and started for the mills, where we landed on the 4th day of August, 1843."

but was not handed over for some three or four weeks, greatly to his disadvantage. Also an indirect testimony from Missouri, through the mother of Orrin P. Rockwell, that said Rigdon and others had given information, by letter, of President Smith's visit to Dixon, advising them to proceed to that place and arrest him there. He stated that in consequence of those and other circumstances, and his unprofitableness to him as a counselor, he did not wish to retain him in that station, unless those difficulties could be removed; but desired his salvation, and expressed his willingness that he should retain a place among the saints.

"Elder Almon Babbitt suggested the propriety of limiting the complaints and proofs to circumstances that had transpired since the last conference.

"President Joseph Smith replied, and showed the legality and propriety of a thorough investigation, without such limitation.

"Elder Sidney Rigdon plead, concerning the documents from J. Butterfield, Esq., that he received it in answer to some inquiries which he had transmitted to him; that he received it at a time when he was sick, and unable to examine it—did not know that it was designed for the perusal and benefit of President Joseph Smith; that he had, consequently, ordered it to be laid aside, where it remained until inquired for by Joseph Smith. He had never written to Missouri concerning the visit of Joseph Smith to Dixon, and knew of no other person having done so. That concerning certain rumors of belligerent operations under Governor Carlin's administration, he had related them, not to alarm or disturb anyone, but that he had the rumors from good authorities, and supposed them well founded. That he had never received but one communication from John C. Bennett, and that of a business character, except one addressed to him conjointly with Elder Orson Pratt, which he handed over to President Smith; that he had never written any letters to John C. Bennett. . . .

"Sunday, 8th inst., ten o'clock a. m.

" . . . Elder Sidney Rigdon resumed his plea of defense. He related the circumstances of his reception in the city of

Quincy, after his escape from Missouri; the cause of his delay in not going to the city of Washington, on an express to which he had been appointed; and closed with a moving appeal to President Joseph Smith concerning their former friendship, associations, and sufferings; and expressed his willingness to resign his place, though with sorrowful and indescribable feelings. During this address the sympathies of the congregation were highly excited.

"Elder Almon Babbitt related a conversation he had had with Esquire Johnson, in which he exonerated Elder Sidney Rigdon from the charge or suspicion of having had a treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin.

"President Joseph Smith arose and satisfactorily explained to the congregation the supposed treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin, which wholly removed suspicion from Elder Sidney Rigdon, and from every other person. He expressed entire willingness to have Elder Sidney Rigdon retain his station, provided he would magnify his office and walk and conduct himself in all honesty, righteousness, and integrity; but signified his lack of confidence in his integrity and steadfastness, judging from their past intercourse.

"President Hyrum Smith followed with appropriate and expressive remarks on the attribute of mercy in God, as that by which he influences, controls, and conquers, and the propriety and importance of the saints exercising the same attribute towards their fellows; and especially towards their aged companion and fellow servant in the cause of truth and righteousness.

"Elder Almon Babbitt and President William Law followed with remarks in defense of Elder Sidney Rigdon.

"On motion by President William Marks, and seconded by President Hyrum Smith, conference voted that Elder Sidney Rigdon be permitted to retain his station as counselor to the First Presidency. . . .

"Monday, ten o'clock a. m.

"Conference assembled, and resumed business. . .

"The business pertaining to the temple was then announced by the President as next in order.

"Elder Alpheus Cutler, on the part of the Temple Committee, represented the work of the temple to be retarded for want of team work and provisions; also of iron, steel, powder, and clothing; giving as his opinion that the walls could easily be completed next season, if these embarrassments were removed, and the brethren would come forward to sustain them in the work with the means that were in their hands.

"Elder Reynolds Cahoon followed, seconding the remarks of Elder Cutler, and setting forth the importance of the saints using their utmost exertions to fulfill the revelation concerning the temple, earnestly exhorting the saints here and abroad to roll in the necessary means into the hands of the committee, that the work may advance with rapidity.

"President Hyrum Smith followed with pertinent remarks on the importance of the work—the ease with which it might be advanced to its completion; that it had already become a monument for the people abroad to gaze on with astonishment. He concluded with some advice to parents to restrain their children from vice and folly, and employ them in some business of profit to themselves, to the temple, or elsewhere.

"On motion by Elder William Law and seconded by President Hyrum Smith, conference voted, that we as a conference and individuals will use all the means, exertions, and influence in our power to sustain the Temple Committee in advancing the work of the temple."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 329–331.

Scheme of James Arlington Bennett.

On October 24, 1843, James Arlington Bennett wrote a fawning letter to President Joseph Smith from Arlington House, New York. A friendly correspondence had been carried on between them for some time, but in this letter Mr. Bennett betrayed the design he had in view in gaining the Prophet's favor, and emphatically declared that he expected to locate in Illinois, and become Governor of the State through Joseph's influence; and intimated that he in turn would always favor the saints.[11] In connection with this he writes: "I say, there-

[11] I may yet run for a high office in your State, when you would be sure of my best services in your behalf, therefore a known connection

fore, go ahead; you have my good good wishes. You know Mahomet had his *'right hand man.'* "

Joseph's reply.

This proposition was resented by Joseph Smith in a vigorous letter written November 13, becoming to him as a man, and with the dignity belonging to his calling and station.[12]

with you would be against our mutual interest. It can be shown that a commission in the legion was a *Herald* hoax, coined for the fun of it by me, as it is not believed even now by the public. In short I expect to be yet, through your influence, Governor of the State of Illinois.

My respects to Brother Young, Richards, Mrs. Emma, and all friends.

Yours, most respectfully,

JAMES ARLINGTON BENNETT.

Lieutenant-General Smith.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 372.

[12] The summit of your future fame seems to be hid in the political policy of a "mathematical problem" for the chief magistracy of this State, which I suppose, might be solved by "double position," where the *errors* of the *supposition* are used to produce a true answer.

But, sir, when I leave the dignity and honor I received from heaven, to boost a man into power, through the aid of my friends, where the evil and designing, after the object has been accomplished, can lock up the clemency intended as a reciprocation for such favors; and where the wicked and unprincipled, as a matter of course, would sieze the opportunity, to flintify the hearts of the nation against me for dabbling at a sly game in politics; verily, I say, when I leave the dignity and honor of heaven, to gratify the ambition and vanity of man or men, may my power cease, like the strength of Samson, when he was shorn of his locks, while asleep in the lap of Delilah. Truly said the Savior, Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you.

Shall I who have witnessed the visions of eternity, and beheld the glories of the mansions of bliss, and the regions and the misery of the damned,—shall I turn to be a Judas? Shall I who have heard the voice of God, and communed with angels, and spake as moved by the Holy Ghost for the renewal of the everlasting covenant, and for the gathering of Israel in the last days,—shall I worm myself into a political hypocrite? Shall I who hold the keys of the last kingdom, in which is the dispensation of the fullness of all things spoken by the mouths of all the holy prophets, since the world began, under the sealing power of the Melchisedec priesthood,—shall I stoop from the sublime authority of Almighty God, to be handled as a monkey's cat's paw, and pettify myself into a clown to act the farce of political demagoguery? No, verily no! The whole earth shall bear me witness that I, like the towering rock in the midst of the ocean, which has withstood the mighty surges of the warring waves, for centuries, *am impregnable*, and am a faithful friend to virtue, and a fearless foe to vice; no odds, whether the former was sold as a pearl in Asia, or hid as a gem in America; and the latter dazzles in palaces, or glimmers among the tombs.

I combat the errors of ages; I meet the violence of mobs; I cope with illegal proceedings from executive authority; I cut the Gordian knot of powers; and I solve mathematical problems of universities; WITH TRUTH, *diamond truth, and God is my "right hand man."*

Citizens of Missouri, aided by some from Illinois, began during the closing weeks of the year a policy of kidnapping members of the church and taking them to Missouri without process, and this under pretense that they wanted to see the law executed and justice done.

Kidnapping.

The *Times and Seasons* of November 1, 1843, published an editorial containing some strong language. Perhaps it might be called harsh language; but the provocation was so great as to furnish excuse for forcible criticism.[18]

And to close, let me say in the name of Jesus Christ to you, and to presidents, emperors, kings, queens, governors, rulers, nobles, and men in authority everywhere, *do* the works of righteousness, execute justice and judgment in the earth that God may bless you, and her inhabitants; and

The laurel that grows on the top of the mountain,
Shall green for your fame while the sun sheds a ray;
And the lily that blows by the side of the fountain,
Will bloom for your virtue till earth melts away.

With due consideration and respect I have the honor to be,
Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 374, 375.

[18] KIDNAPPING.

Missouri has been playing one of her old pranks again, and not content with stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property belonging to the saints, has been engaged again in stealing human beings.

Two of our brethren, Daniel and Philander Avery, father and son, were decoyed into the neighborhood of Warsaw, about the 4th of December, and by a gang of desperadoes were forcibly taken across the Mississippi River into Missouri. Daniel Avery was taken by nine men, three of whom were Missourians, and six inhabitants of the State of Illinois. The ruffians were armed, and having forcibly seized Daniel Avery, the father, put him on a horse, and tied his feet underneath. Information was received at Nauvoo relative to this affair, by Mr. Sission Chase, who made affidavit before a magistrate relative to the affair, and a constable was immediately dispatched after a person by the name of John Elliott, one of the villains, who is a schoolmaster, and resides four and a half miles below Warsaw. Mr. Elliott was brought up to Nauvoo, was tried before Aaron Johnson, justice of the peace, proven guilty and committed to the Carthage jail, to wait his trial at the county court.

In the examination facts were developed implicating others, who will in their own due time be brought to punishment. Testimony has since been received which shows that a clan of those villains are associated with the Missourians to assist in killing or kidnapping Joseph Smith and others. Since their names and whereabouts have been ascertained, some of them we are informed have fled, whilst officers are in pursuit of others. Colonel Williams, we are informed, is one of the parties engaged in this very honorable transaction.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, p. 375.

CHAPTER 30.

1843.

JOSEPH'S ARREST NEAR DIXON—LUCY SMITH RELATES THE INCIDENT—THE TRIAL—KINDNESS TO REYNOLDS AND WILSON—BRAYMAN'S LETTER—FORD AGREES.

Joseph's arrest near Dixon.

AS MENTIONED in the last chapter Joseph was arrested, or rather kidnapped, by Reynolds of Missouri and Wilson of Illinois, on June 23, 1843.

In this chapter we give the account of this arrest, trial, and release, as published in the records of the time. The testimonies of some of the witnesses are quite lengthy, but the events of the Missouri troubles are given by them in a more consecutive manner than found elsewhere, and hence we think a careful reading would be profitable.

Lucy Smith in her "Joseph Smith the Prophet" briefly relates this incident, as follows:—

Lucy Smith relates the incident.

"About the middle of June, 1843, Joseph went with his wife to visit Mrs. Wasson, (ten miles southeast of Dixon, Illinois,) who was his wife's sister. Whilst there an attempt was made to kidnap him and take him into Missouri, by J. H. Reynolds, from that State, and Harmon Wilson, of Carthage, Hancock County, Illinois, who was a Missourian in principle. You have read Hyrum's testimony, and can judge of the treatment which Joseph received at their hands. Suffice it to say, he was shamefully abused. Wilson had authority from the Governor of Illinois to take Joseph Smith, Jr., and deliver him into the hands of the before-named Reynolds; but as neither of them showed any authority save a brace of pistols, Joseph took them for false imprisonment. He then obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* of the Master in Chancery of Lee County, returnable before the nearest court authorized to determine upon such writs; and the Municipal Court of Nauvoo being

the nearest one invested with this power, an examination was had before said court, when it was made to appear that the writ was defective and void; furthermore, that he was innocent of the charges therein alleged against him. It was in this case that Hyrum's testimony was given, which is rehearsed in a preceding chapter."—Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors, pp. 292, 293.

The *Times and Seasons* gave the following account of the arrest and other incidents connected therewith:—

The trial.

"Once more at peace, Mr. Smith flattered himself that his relentless persecutors must have satiated their rage and exhausted their ingenuity to find means to prosecute; and he had favorably hoped that had they invented anything else, that the Executive of this State, alive to the injustice that Mr. Smith had already experienced from the hands of Missouri, would not have countenanced or furthered any demands that might be made by that State upon the Executive of this for the person of Joseph Smith. This we believe he had reason to expect; he was in hopes that the time of his trials pertaining to the tyranny of that State was at an end, and that he would be allowed to enjoy the precious boon of liberty, and to dwell in peace in the bosom of his family and with his friends. Feeling perfectly secure, he set off with his family to Mr. Wasson's, to visit his wife's sister, Mrs. Wasson and family, who resided about twelve miles from Dixon, Lee County, in this State. While he was there a Mr. J. H. Reynolds, sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri (so he says), and Mr. Harmon Wilson, of Carthage, arrived at Dixon, professing to be Mormon preachers; from thence they proceeded to Mr. Wasson's, at whose house Mr. Smith was staying. They found Mr. Smith outside of the door, and accosted him in a very uncouth, ungentlemanly manner, quite in keeping however with the common practice of Missourians. [The language here is so profane that we omit as far as the narrative will permit.] They then hurried him off to a carriage that they had, and without serving process, were for hurrying him off without letting him see or bid farewell to his family or friends. Mr. Smith then said: 'Gentlemen, if you

have any legal process I wish to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus*,' and was answered, 'G—d d—n you, you shan't have one.' Mr. Smith saw a friend of his passing and said, 'These men are kidnapping me, and I wish a writ of *habeas corpus* to deliver myself out of their hands.' This friend immediately proceeded to Dixon, whence the sheriff also proceeded full speed. On arriving at the house of Mr. McKennie, tavern keeper, Mr. Smith was thrust into a room and guarded there without being allowed to see anybody, and horses were ordered in five minutes. Mr. Smith then stated to Reynolds: 'I wish to get counsel,' and was answered, 'G—d d—n you, you shan't have counsel, one word more, G—d d—n you, and I'll shoot you.' 'What is the use of this so often,' said Mr. Smith, 'I have often told you to shoot, and I now tell you again to shoot away;' and seeing a person passing he said, 'I am falsely imprisoned here, and I want a lawyer.' A lawyer came, and had the door banged in his face with the old threat of shooting if he came any nearer; another afterwards came and received the same treatment. Many of the citizens of Dixon, by this time being apprised of his situation, stepped forward and gave the sheriff to understand that if that was their mode of doing business in Missouri, they had another way of doing it here; that they were law-abiding people, and republicans; that Mr. Smith should have justice done him and have the opportunity of a fair trial; but that if they persisted in their course, they had a very summary way of dealing with such people;—and gave them to understand that Mr. Smith should not go without a fair and impartial trial. Mr. Reynolds finding further resistance to be useless, allowed one or two attorneys to come to Mr. Smith, who gave them to understand that he had been taken up without process; that they had insulted and abused him, and he wanted a writ of *habeas corpus*. Up to this time they had altogether refused to allow the counsel to have private conversation with him.

"A writ was sued out by Mr. Smith against Harmon Wilson for a violation of the law in relation to writs of *habeas corpus*, the said violation consisting in said Wilson having transferred said Smith to the custody of Reynolds for the purpose

of removing Mr. Smith to Missouri, and thereby avoiding the effect and operation of said writ contrary to law.

"There was also another writ sued out from the Circuit Court of Lee County, in favor of Mr. Smith, against Reynolds and Wilson, for private damage, for false imprisonment, upon the ground that the writ issued by the Governor of Illinois was a void writ in law, upon which said writ said Reynolds and Wilson were held to bail; and were in the custody of the sheriff of Lee County. Reynolds and Wilson obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of being discharged before Judge Young, of Quincy, but they did not go before Judge Young, but gave bail at Carthage for their appearance at the Circuit Court of Lee County in said action.

"Mr. Smith obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the Master in Chancery of Lee County, returnable before the Hon. John D. Caton, judge of the ninth judicial circuit, at Ottawa, upon which said writ Mr. Smith was conveyed by Reynolds and Wilson towards Ottawa as far as Pawpaw Grove, at which last-mentioned place it was ascertained that Judge Caton was on a visit to New York; upon which the party, Messrs. Smith, Reynolds, Wilson, and others in company returned to Dixon, where another writ was issued by the said Master in Chancery, in favor of Smith, returnable before the nearest tribunal in the fifth judicial circuit authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*. It was ascertained that the nearest tribunal authorized to hear and determine upon writs of *habeas corpus*, was at Nauvoo. On their arrival at Nauvoo a writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out before and made returnable to the Municipal Court of the city of Nauvoo, directed to Mr. Reynolds, upon which said writ Mr. Reynolds did produce the body of said Smith before said court, objecting however to the jurisdiction of said court. It was ascertained by the counsel for said Smith that the Municipal Court had full and ample power to hear and determine upon writs of *habeas corpus*. Upon examination before said court he was discharged from said arrest upon the merits of said case, and upon the further ground of substantial defects in said writ so issued by the Governor of the State of Illinois. . . .

"MUNICIPAL COURT OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO, ILLINOIS.

"Second day of special term, July 1, 1843.

"Before Alderman William Marks, Acting Chief Justice; and Aldermen Daniel H. Wells, Newel K. Whitney, George W. Harris, Gustavus Hills, and Hiram Kimball, Associate Justices; presiding.

"Exparte Joseph Smith, } Messrs. Walker, Patrick, and
"On *Habeas Corpus.* } Southwick, Counsel for Smith.

"Mr. Mason, Counsel for Reynolds.

"This case came before the court upon a return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was issued by this court, on the 30th of June, 1843, upon the petition of Joseph Smith, Senior, as follows:—

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, } Sct.
"City of Nauvoo. }

"*To the Honorable the Municipal Court of the City of Nauvoo, Hancock County, and State of Illinois:*—

"Your petitioner, Joseph Smith, Sr., who has been arrested by and under the name of Joseph Smith, Jr., states on oath that he is now detained as a prisoner, and in the custody of Joseph H. Reynolds, in the said city of Nauvoo, and State of Illinois, who claims to be the agent of the State of Missouri; and that your petitioner was arrested by one Harmon G. Wilson, by virtue of what purports to be a warrant issued by His Excellency, Thomas Ford, Governor of the State of Illinois, in the county of Lee, and State of Illinois; and by said Wilson your petitioner was delivered into the custody of said Joseph H. Reynolds, at and within the county of Lee, aforesaid; that said supposed warrant, so issued by His Excellency, Thomas Ford, Governor as aforesaid, and the arrest thereupon, and the imprisonment consequent thereupon, by said Wilson, and afterward by said Joseph H. Reynolds, is illegal, and in violation of law, and without the authority of law, as he is informed and verily believes, for the following, besides other reasons; to wit:—

"1st. The said supposed warrant so issued by the said Governor of the State of Illinois, as aforesaid, does not confer any authority to arrest your petitioner, for that it commands the officers therein named to arrest one Joseph

Smith, Jr., whereas the name of your petitioner is Joseph Smith, Sr., and your petitioner avers that he is not known and reputed by the name of Joseph Smith, Jr.

"2d. The said supposed warrant is defective and void, for that it does not recite that the Joseph Smith, Jr., mentioned therein, has been demanded by the Executive of the State of Missouri, of the Executive of the State of Illinois.

"3d. Said supposed warrant is defective and void, for that it does not state that said Joseph Smith, Jr., therein named, has been indicted or that any other legal accusation of any offense has been legally preferred, and is as pending against him in the said State of Missouri.

"4th. It is defective and void, for that it does not show that any legal foundation was furnished by the Executive of the State of Missouri, upon which to issue the same; and your petitioner avers that the same was issued without due authority of law.

"5th. Said supposed warrant is in other respects defective and void.

"6th. The said Joseph H. Reynolds has no authority to detain your petitioner in custody; for that he is not an officer of the State of Illinois, nor is he legally authorized by the said Governor of the State of Illinois, or otherwise, as the agent of the State of Missouri, in the State of Illinois, or in any other character and capacity to imprison your petitioner within the said State of Illinois.

"7th. Your petitioner before the making of the said arrest upon which he is now detained and imprisoned, had been arrested for the same cause, and upon a charge for the same offense, for which he is now arrested and imprisoned, by virtue of a warrant issued by the Governor of the said State of Illinois, upon a requisition of the executive authority of the said State of Missouri, and was discharged from said arrest and imprisonment by judgment of the Circuit Court of Warren County, at a court holden in the said county of Warren, in or about the month of June, A. D. 1841, in such manner as not to be liable to the said second arrest for the same cause.

"8th. Your petitioner is not a fugitive from justice, and

has not fled from the justice of the said State of Missouri, and he is not guilty and has not been guilty of treason in or against the said State of Missouri.

"9th. Your petitioner was not, and has not been within the limits of the said State of Missouri, for more than four years next, before the making of said arrest and imprisonment whereby he is now detained, nor for or during four years before any indictment or other legal accusation was preferred against him.

"10th. Your petitioner avers that the said supposed warrant, so issued by the said Governor of the said State of Illinois, and under color of which your petitioner is now imprisoned, and the document purporting to be an authority to receive the said Joseph Smith, Jr., are wholly defective and insufficient to legally authorize the arrest and imprisonment of your petitioner: copies of which supposed warrant and the supposed authority from the Executive of the State of Missouri are hereunto annexed.

"Wherefore your petitioner prays that a writ of *habeas corpus* may be awarded, directed to the said Joseph H. Reynolds, commanding him that he bring your petitioner forthwith and without delay, before this honorable court, together with the causes of his caption and detention, in order that your petitioner may be dealt with according to law; and your petitioner as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 30th day of June, A. D. 1843, at the City of Nauvoo, Illinois.

"JAMES SLOAN,
"Clerk of the Municipal Court, of the City of Nauvoo.

"STATE of ILLINOIS, } Sct.
"City of Nauvoo. }

"*The People of the State of Illinois to the Marshal of said City; Greeting:*—

"Whereas application has been made before the Municipal Court of said city that the body of one Joseph Smith, Sr., of the said city of Nauvoo (who is styled in the warrant by which he is held in custody, Joseph Smith, Jr.), is in the

custody of Joseph H. Reynolds,—These are therefore to command the said Joseph H. Reynolds to safely have the body of the said Joseph Smith, Sr., who is styled Joseph Smith, Jr., in his custody detained, as it is said, together with the day and cause of his caption and detention, by whatever name the said Joseph Smith, Sr., may be known or called, before the Municipal Court of said city forthwith, to abide such order as the said court shall make in their behalf: and further, if the said Joseph H. Reynolds or other person or persons having said Joseph Smith, Sr., of said city of Nauvoo in custody, shall refuse or neglect to comply with the provisions of this writ, you, the marshal of said city, or other person authorized to serve the same, are hereby required to arrest the person or persons so refusing or neglecting to comply as aforesaid, and bring him or them, together with the person or persons in his or their custody, forthwith before the Municipal Court aforesaid, to be dealt with according to law; and herein fail not, and bring this writ with you.

"Witness, James Sloan, Clerk of the Municipal Court at Nauvoo, this 30th day of June in the year of [L. S.] our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

"JAMES SLOAN, Clerk.

"I, Joseph H. Reynolds, the within named, do hereby return this writ, with the body of Joseph Smith, with the following cause of caption and detention; to wit: The within named Joseph Smith was arrested on a warrant issued by the Governor of the State of Illinois, by one Harmon T. Wilson, a constable of Hancock County, in the State of Illinois, on the 23d day of June, A. D. 1843, a copy of which warrant is hereunto annexed and marked letter B, and delivered over to my custody as directed by said writ. The person of said Smith was, on said 23d of June, in the county of Lee and State of Illinois, by the said Wilson delivered over to my custody, and that I received and detained the said Smith in my custody by virtue of a certain warrant of attorney issued by the Governor of the State of Missouri, a copy of which is hereto

annexed, and marked letter B, directing me to receive the said Smith, and convey him to and deliver him to the sheriff of Daviess County in the State of Missouri, and that the within detention referred to, is the same referred to, and none other.

"JOSEPH H. REYNOLDS.

"NAUVOO, June 30, 1843.

"Executive Department, City of JEFFERSON.

"Know ye that I, Thomas Reynolds, Governor of the State of Missouri, having full trust and confidence in the integrity and abilities of Joseph H. Reynolds, do hereby constitute and appoint him as the agent of the said State of Missouri, to proceed to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of receiving from the proper authorities of that State, one Joseph Smith, Jr., charged with treason by him committed against the State of Missouri, and as having fled from justice to the State of Illinois, and I do hereby authorize and direct said Joseph H. Reynolds to convey said Joseph Smith, Jr., from the State of Illinois, and deliver him to the custody of the sheriff of Daviess County in the State of Missouri.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set [L. S.] my hand, and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Missouri.

"Done at the city of Jefferson this 13th day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three. By the Governor,

"THOMAS REYNOLDS.

"JAMES L. MINOR, Secretary of State.

"*Thomas Ford, Governor of the State of Illinois, to all Sheriffs and Constables of any County of the State, and to Harmon T. Wilson, of the County of Hancock; Greeting:—*

"Whereas it has been made known to me by the executive authority of the State of Missouri, that one Joseph Smith, Jr., stands charged with the crime of treason, against the State of Missouri, and alleged that Joseph Smith, Jr., has fled from the justice of the said State of Missouri, and taken refuge in the State of Illinois,

"Now therefore I, Thomas Ford, Governor of the State of Illinois, pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State, do hereby command you to arrest

and apprehend the said Joseph Smith, Jr., if he be found within the limits of the State aforesaid, and cause him to be safely kept and delivered to the custody of Joseph H. Reynolds, Esq., who has been duly constituted the agent of the said State of Missouri to receive the said fugitive from the justice of said State, he paying all fees and charges for the arrest and apprehension of said Joseph Smith, Jr., and make due returns to the executive department of this State of the manner in which this writ may be executed.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set [L. S.] my hand and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Springfield, this 17th day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, and of the independence of the United States the sixty-seventh.

"By the Governor, THOMAS FORD.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL, Secretary of State.

"The following witnesses were examined, viz.: Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, George W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight, and Sidney Rigdon.

"Hyrum Smith sworn. Said that the defendant now in court is his brother, and that his name is not Joseph Smith, Jr., but his name is Joseph Smith, Sr., and has been for more than two years past. I have been acquainted with him ever since he was born, which was thirty-seven years in December last, and I have not been absent from him at any one time, not even the space of six months since his birth, to my recollection, and have been intimately acquainted with all his sayings, doings, business transactions and movements, as much as any one man could be acquainted with another man's business up to the present time, and do know that he has not committed treason against any State in the Union, by any overt act, or by levying war, or by aiding and abetting or assisting an enemy in any State in the Union, and that the said Joseph Smith, Sr., has not committed treason in the State of Missouri, nor violated any law or rule of said State, I being personally acquainted with the transactions and doings of said Smith whilst he resided in said

State, which was for about six months in the year 1838; I being also a resident in said State during the same period of time, and I do know that said Joseph Smith, Sr., never was subject to military duty in any State, neither was he in the State of Missouri, he being exempt by the amputation or extraction of a bone from his leg, and by his having a license to preach the gospel, or being, in other words, a minister of the gospel; and I do know that said Smith never bore arms, as a military man, in any capacity whatever, whilst in the State of Missouri, or previous to that time; neither has he given any orders or assumed any command in any capacity whatever; but I do know that whilst he was in the State of Missouri, that the people commonly called Mormons were threatened with violence and extermination, and on or about the first Monday in August, 1838, at the election at Gallatin, the county seat in Daviess County, the citizens who were commonly called Mormons were forbidden to exercise the rights of franchise, and from that unhallowed circumstance an affray commenced, and a fight ensued among the citizens of that place, and from that time a mob commenced gathering in that county, threatening the extermination of the Mormons.

"The said Smith and myself upon hearing that mobs were collecting together, and that they had also murdered two of the citizens of the same place, and would not suffer them to be buried, . . . went over to Daviess County to learn the particulars of the affray, but upon our arrival at Diahman, we learned that none were killed but several were wounded; we tarried all night at Colonel Lyman Wight's. The next morning the weather being very warm and having been very dry for some time previously, the springs and wells in that region were dried up; on mounting our horses to return, we rode up to Mr. Black's, who was then an acting justice of the peace, to obtain some water for ourselves and horses. Some few of the citizens accompanied us there, and after obtaining the refreshment of water, Mr. Black was asked by said Joseph Smith, Sr., if he would use his influence to see that the laws were faithfully executed and to put down mob violence, and he gave us a paper, written by his own hand,

stating that he would do so. He also requested him to call together the most influential men of the county on the next day that we might have an interview with them. To this he acquiesced, and accordingly the next day they assembled at the house of Colonel Wight and entered into a mutual covenant of peace, to put down mob violence and to protect each other in the enjoyment of their rights; after this we all parted with the best of feelings and each man returned to his own home.

"This mutual agreement of peace however did not last long, for but a few days afterwards the mob began to collect again, until several hundreds rendezvoused at Millport, a few miles distant from Diahman. They immediately commenced making aggressions upon the citizens called Mormons, taking away their hogs and cattle, and threatening them with extermination or utter extinction; saying that they had a cannon and there should be no compromise only at its mouth; frequently taking men, women, and children prisoners, whipping them and lacerating their bodies with hickory withes, and tying them to trees and depriving them of food until they were compelled to gnaw the bark from the trees to which they were bound in order to sustain life; treating them in the most cruel manner they could invent or think of, and doing everything they could to excite the indignation of the Mormon people to rescue them, in order that they might make that a pretext of an accusation for the breach of the law, and that they might the better excite the prejudice of the populace and thereby get aid and assistance to carry out their hellish purposes of extermination.

"Immediately on the authentication of these facts, messengers were dispatched from Far West to Austin A. King, judge of the fifth judicial district of the State of Missouri, and also to Major General Atchison, commander in chief of that division, and Brigadier-General Doniphan, giving them information of the existing facts, and demanding immediate assistance. General Atchison returned with the messengers and went immediately to Diahman and from thence to Millport, and he found the facts were true as reported to him; that the citizens of that county were

assembled together in a hostile attitude to the amount of two or three hundred men, threatening the utter extermination of the Mormons. He immediately returned to Clay County and ordered out a sufficient military force to quell the mob. Immediately after they were dispersed, and the army returned, the mob commenced collecting again; soon after, we again applied for military aid, when General Doniphan came out with a force of sixty armed men to Far West; but they were in such a state of insubordination that he said he could not control them, and it was thought advisable by Colonel Hinkle, Mr. Rigdon, and others, that they should return home. General Doniphan ordered Colonel Hinkle to call out the militia of Caldwell and defend the town against the mob, for said he, you have great reason to be alarmed, for he said Neil Gillium from the Platte country had come down with two hundred armed men and had taken up their station at Hunter's mill, a place distant about seventeen or eighteen miles northwest of the town of Far West, and also that an armed force had collected again at Millport, in Daviess County, consisting of several hundred men, and that another armed force had collected at De Witt, in Carroll County, about fifty miles southeast of Far West, where about seventy families of the Mormon people had settled upon the bank of the Missouri River at a little town called De Witt. Immediately a messenger, whilst he was yet talking, came in from De Witt, stating that three or four hundred men had assembled together at that place armed *cap-a-pie*, and that they threatened the utter extinction of the citizens of that place if they did not leave the place immediately, and that they had also surrounded the town and cut off all supplies of food, so that many of them were suffering with hunger. General Doniphan seemed to be very much alarmed, and appeared to be willing to do all he could to assist, and to relieve the sufferings of the Mormon people; he advised that a petition be immediately got up and sent to the Governor. A petition was accordingly prepared and a messenger dispatched immediately to the Governor, and another petition was sent to Judge King.

"The Mormon people throughout the country were in a

great state of alarm, and also in great distress. They saw themselves completely surrounded with armed forces on the north, and on the northwest, and on the south, and also Bogard, who was a Methodist preacher, and who was then a captain over a militia company of fifty soldiers, but who had added to his number out of the surrounding counties about a hundred more, which made his force about one hundred and fifty strong, was stationed at Crooked Creek, sending out his scouting parties, taking men, women, and children prisoners, driving off cattle, hogs, and horses, entering into every house on Log and Long creeks, rifling their houses of their most precious articles, such as money, bedding, and clothing, taking all their old muskets and their rifles or military implements, threatening the people with instant death if they did not deliver up all their precious things, and enter into a covenant to leave the State or go into the city of Far West by the next morning, saying that 'they calculated to drive the people into Far West, and then drive them to hell.' Gillium also was doing the same on the northwest side of Far West; and Sashiel Woods, a Presbyterian minister, was the leader of the mob in Daviess County; and a very noted man of the same society was the leader of the mob in Carroll County; and they were also sending out their scouting parties, robbing and pillaging houses, driving away hogs, horses, and cattle, taking men, women, and children, and carrying them off, threatening their lives and subjecting them to all manner of abuses that they could invent or think of.

"Under this state of alarm, excitement, and distress the messengers returned from the Governor and from the other authorities, bringing the fatal news that the Mormons could have no assistance. They stated that the Governor said that 'the Mormons had got into a difficulty with the citizens, and that they might fight it out for all he cared. He could not render them any assistance.'

"The people of De Witt were obliged to leave their homes and go into Far West; but did not until after many of them had starved to death for want of proper sustenance, and several died on the road there, and were buried by the wayside,

without a coffin or a funeral ceremony, and the distress, sufferings, and privations of the people cannot be expressed. All the scattered families of the Mormon people, in all the counties except Daviess, were driven into Far West, with but few exceptions.

"This only increased their distress, for many thousands who were driven there had no habitations or houses to shelter them, and were huddled together, some in tents and others under blankets, while others had no shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Nearly two months the people had been in this awful state of consternation; many of them had been killed, whilst others had been whipped until they had to swathe up their bowels to prevent them from falling out.

"About this time General Parks came out from Richmond, Ray County, who was one of the commissioned officers who was sent out to Diahman, and I myself, and my brother, Joseph Smith, Sr., went out at the same time. On the evening that General Parks arrived at Diahman, my brother's, the late Don Carlos Smith's wife, came in to Colonel Wight's about eleven o'clock at night, bringing her two children along with her, one about two years and a half old, the other a babe in her arms. She came in on foot, a distance of three miles, and waded Grand River, and the water was then about waist deep, and the snow about three inches deep. She stated that a party of the mob, a gang of ruffians, had turned her out of doors, had taken her household goods and had burnt up her house, and she had escaped by the skin of her teeth. Her husband at that time was in Virginia,[1] and she was living alone.

"This cruel transaction excited the feelings of the people in Diahman, especially Colonel Wight, and he asked General Parks in my hearing how long we had got to suffer such base violence. General Parks said he did not know how long. Colonel Wight then asked him what should be done. General Parks told him 'he should take a company of men, well armed, and go and disperse the mob wherever

[1] This is probably an error. Others say he was in Tennessee.

he should find any collected together, and take away their arms:' Colonel Wight did so precisely, according to the orders of General Parks. And my brother, Joseph Smith, Sr., made no words about it. And after Colonel Wight had dispersed the mob and put a stop to their burning houses belonging to the Mormon people and turning women and children out of doors, which they had done up to that time to the amount of eight or ten houses which were consumed to ashes—after being cut short in their intended designs, the mob started up a new plan. They went to work and moved their families out of the county and set fire to their houses, and not being able to incense the Mormons to commit crimes, they had recourse to this stratagem to set their houses on fire and send runners into all the counties adjacent, to declare to the people that the Mormons had burnt up their houses and destroyed their fields, and if the people would not believe them, they would tell them to go and see if what they had said was not true. Many people came to see; they saw the houses burning, and being filled with prejudice, they could not be made to believe but that the Mormons set them on fire. . . . And the houses that were burnt, together with the preëmption rights, and the corn in the fields, had all been previously purchased by the Mormons of the people, and paid for in money, and with wagons and horses, and with other property, about two weeks before; but they had not taken possession of the premises. But this wicked transaction was for the purpose of clandestinely exciting the minds of a prejudiced populace and the Executive, that they might get an order, that they could the more easily carry out their hellish purposes, in expulsion or extermination or utter extinction of the Mormon people.

"After witnessing the distressed situation of the people in Diahman, my brother, Joseph Smith, Sr., and myself returned back to the city of Far West, and immediately dispatched a messenger with written documents to General Atchison, stating the facts as they did then exist, praying for assistance if possible, and requesting the editor of the *Far West* to insert the same in his newspaper; but he utterly refused to do so. We still believed that we should get

assistance from the Governor, and again petitioned him, praying for assistance, setting forth our distressed situation; and in the meantime the presiding judge of the county court issued orders—upon affidavits made to him by the citizens—to the sheriff of the county, to order out the militia of the county to stand in constant readiness night and day to prevent the citizens from being massacred, which fearful situation they were exposed to every moment.

"Everything was very portentous and alarming. Notwithstanding all this, there was a ray of hope yet existing in the minds of the people that the Governor would render us assistance; and whilst the people were waiting anxiously for deliverance—men, women, and children frightened, praying and weeping—we beheld at a distance, crossing the prairies and approaching the town, a large army in military array, brandishing their glittering swords in the sunshine, and we could not but feel joyful for a moment, thinking that probably the Governor had sent an armed force to our relief, notwithstanding the awful forebodings that pervaded our breasts. But to our great surprise, when the army arrived they came up and formed a line in double file in one half mile on the east of the city of Far West, and dispatched three messengers with a white flag to come to the city. They were met by Captain Morey with a few other individuals whose names I do not now recollect. I was myself standing close by, and could very distinctly hear every word they said.

"Being filled with anxiety, I rushed forward to the spot, expecting to hear good news; but alas! and heart-thrilling to every soul that heard them, they demanded three persons to be brought out of the city before they should massacre the rest. The names of the persons they demanded were Adam Lightner, John Cleminson, and his wife. Immediately the three persons were brought forth to hold an interview with the officers who had made the demand, and the officers told them they had now a chance to save their lives, for they calculated to destroy the people and lay the city in ashes. They replied to the officers and said, 'If the people must be destroyed, and the city burned to ashes, they would

remain in the city and die with them.' The officers immediately returned, and the army retreated and encamped about a mile and a half from the city. A messenger was immediately dispatched with a white flag from the colonel of the militia of Far West, requesting an interview with General Atchison and General Doniphan; but as the messenger approached the camp, he was shot at by Bogart, the Methodist preacher. The name of the messenger was Charles C. Rich, who is now Brigadier-General in the Nauvoo Legion. However, he gained permission to see General Doniphan; he also requested an interview with General Atchison. General Doniphan said that General Atchison had been dismounted by a special order of the Governor a few miles back, and had been sent back to Liberty, Clay County. He also stated that the reason was that he (Atchison) was too merciful unto the Mormons, and Boggs would not let him have the command, but had given it to General Lucas, who was from Jackson County, and whose heart had become hardened by his former acts of rapine and bloodshed, he being one of the leaders in murdering, driving, plundering, and burning some two or three hundred houses belonging to the Mormon people in that county in the years 1833 and 1834.

"Mr. Rich requested General Doniphan [2] to spare the people, and not suffer them to be massacred until the next morning, it then being evening. He coolly agreed that he would not, and also said that 'he had not as yet received the Governor's order, but expected it every hour, and should not make any further move until he had received it; but he would not make any promises so far as regarded Neil Gilliam's army,' he having arrived a few minutes previously, and joined the main body of the army; he knowing well at what hour to form a junction with the main body. Mr. Rich then returned to the city, giving this information. The colonel immediately dispatched a second messenger with a white flag, to request another interview with General Doniphan, in order to touch his sympathy and compassion, and if it were possible, for him to use his best endeavors to preserve the lives of the people. On the

[2] We think this name should be Lucas.

return of this messenger we learned that several persons had been killed by some of the soldiers who were under the command of General Lucas. One Mr. Carey had his brains knocked out by the breech of a gun, and he lay bleeding several hours; but his family were not permitted to approach him, nor anyone else allowed to administer relief to him whilst he lay upon the ground in the agonies of death. Mr. Carey had just arrived in the country from the State of Ohio, only a few hours previous to the arrival of the army. He had a family, consisting of a wife and several small children. He was buried by Lucius N. Scovil, who is now the senior warden of the Nauvoo Lodge. Another man, of the name of John Tanner, was knocked on the head at the same time, and his skull laid bare the width of a man's hand, and he lay, to all appearance, in the agonies of death for several hours; but by the permission of General Doniphan his friends brought him out of the camp, and with good nursing he slowly recovered, and is now living. There was another man whose name is Powell, who was beat on the head with the breech of a gun until his skull was fractured and his brains run out in two or three places. He is now alive and resides in this county, but has lost the use of his senses. Several persons of his family were also left for dead, but have since recovered. These acts of barbarity were also committed by the soldiers under the command of General Lucas, previous to having received the Governor's order of extermination.

"It was on the evening of the 30th of October, according to the best of my recollection, that the army arrived at Far West, the sun about half an hour high. In a few moments afterwards Cornelius Gillium arrived with his army, and formed a junction. This Gillium had been stationed at Hunter's Mills for about two months previous to that time, committing depredations upon the inhabitants, capturing men, women, and children, and carrying them off as prisoners, lacerating their bodies with hickory withes. The army of 'Gillum' were painted like Indians; some of them were more conspicuous than were others, designated by red spots, and he also was painted in a similar manner, with red

spots marked on his face, and styled himself 'the Delaware chief.' They would whoop, and halloo, and yell as nearly like Indians as they could, and continued to do so all that night. In the morning early the colonel of militia sent a messenger into the camp with a white flag, to have another interview with General Doniphan. On his return he informed us that the Governor's order had arrived. General Doniphan said that 'the order of the Governor was, to exterminate the Mormons by God, but *he* would be *damned* if *he* obeyed *that order;* but General Lucas might do what he pleased.' We immediately learned from General Doniphan that 'the Governor's order that had arrived was only a copy of the original, and that the original order was in the hands of Major-General Clark, who was on his way to Far West with an additional army of six thousand men.' Immediately after this there came into the city a messenger from Haun's Mill, bringing the intelligence of an awful massacre of the people who were residing in that place, and that a force of two or three hundred, detached from the main body of the army, under the superior command of Colonel Ashley, but under the immediate command of Captain Nehemiah Comstock, who the day previous had promised them peace and protection, but on receiving a copy of the Governor's order 'to *exterminate or to expel* from the hands of Colonel Ashley, he returned upon them the following day and surprised and massacred the whole population of the town, and then came on to the town of Far West and entered into conjunction with the main body of the army. The messenger informed us that he himself with a few others fled into the thickets, which preserved them from the massacre, and on the following morning they returned and collected the dead bodies of the people and cast them into a well; and there were upwards of twenty who were dead or mortally wounded, and there are several of the wounded who are now living in this city. One, of the name of Yocum, has lately had his leg amputated in consequence of wounds he then received. He had a ball shot through his head, which entered near his eye and came out at the back part of his head, and another ball passed through one of his arms.

"The army, during all the while they had been encamped in Far West, continued to lay waste fields of corn, making hogs, sheep, and cattle common plunder, and shooting them down for sport. One man shot a cow and took a strip of her skin, the width of his hand, from her head to her tail and tied it around a tree to slip his halter into, to tie his horse to. The city was surrounded with a strong guard, and no man, woman, or child was permitted to go out or come in, under the penalty of death. Many of the citizens were shot in attempting to go out to obtain sustenance for themselves and families. There was one field fenced in, consisting of twelve hundred acres, mostly covered with corn. It was entirely laid waste by the horses of the army, and the next day after the arrival of the army, towards evening, Colonel Hinkle came up from the camp, requesting to see my brother Joseph, Parley P. Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, and George W. Robinson, stating that the officers of the army wanted a mutual consultation with those men; also stating that Generals Doniphan, Lucas, Wilson, and Graham,—however, General Graham is an honorable exception, he did all he could to preserve the lives of the people, contrary to the order of the Governor,—he (Hinkle) assured them that these generals had pledged their sacred honor that they should not be abused or insulted, but should be guarded back in safety in the morning, or so soon as the consultation was over. My brother Joseph replied that he did not know what good he could do in any consultation, as he was only a private individual; however, he said he was always willing to do all the good he could and would obey every law of the land, and then leave the event with God. They immediately started with Colonel Hinkle to go down into the camp. As they were going down about half way to the camp they met General Lucas with a phalanx of men, with a wing to the right and to the left and a four-pounder in the center. They supposed he was coming with this strong force to guard them into the camp in safety; but to their surprise, when they came up to General Lucas he ordered his men to surround them, and Hinkle stepped up to the General and said, 'These are the prisoners I agreed to deliver up.'

General Lucas drew his sword and said, 'Gentlemen, you are my prisoners;' and about that time the main army were on their march to meet them. They came up in two divisions, and opened to the right and left, and my brother and his friends were marched down through their lines, with a strong guard in front and a cannon in the rear, to the camp, amidst the whoopings, hallooings, yellings, and shoutings of the army, which was so horrid and terrific that it frightened the inhabitants of the city.

"It is impossible to describe the feelings of horror and distress of the people. After being thus betrayed they were placed under a strong guard of thirty men, armed *cap-a-pie*, which they relieved every two hours. There they were compelled to lay on the cold ground that night, and were told in plain language that they need never to expect their liberties again. So far for their honors pledged. However, this was as much as could be expected from a mob under the garb of military and executive authority in the State of Missouri. On the next day the soldiers were permitted to patrol the streets, to abuse and insult the people at their leisure, and enter into houses and pillage them, and ravish the women, taking away every gun and every other kind of arms or military implements; and about twelve o'clock on that day Colonel Hinkle came to my house with an armed force, opened the door and called me out of doors, and delivered me up as a prisoner unto that force. They surrounded me and commanded me to march into the camp. I told them that I could not go: my family were sick, and I was sick myself, and could not leave home. They said they did not care for that—I must and should go. I asked when they would permit me to return. They made me no answer, but forced me along with the point of the bayonet into the camp, and put me under the same guard with my brother Joseph; and within about half an hour afterwards Amasa Lyman was also brought and placed under the same guard. There we were compelled to stay all that night, and lie on the ground; but along sometime in the same night Colonel Hinkle came to me and told me that he had been pleading my case before the court-martial, but he was afraid he should

not succeed. He said there was a court-martial then in session, consisting of thirteen or fourteen officers, Circuit Judge A. A. King, and Mr. Birch, district attorney; also Sashiel Woods, Presbyterian priest, and about twenty other priests of the different religious denominations in that country. He said they were determined to shoot us on the next morning in the public square in Far West. I made him no reply.

"On the next morning about sunrise General Doniphan ordered his brigade to take up the line of march and leave the camp. He came to us where we were under guard, to shake hands with us, and bid us farewell. His first salutation was, 'By God, you have been sentenced by the court-martial to be shot this morning; but I will be damned if I will have any of the honor of it, or any of the disgrace of it; therefore I have ordered my brigade to take up the line of march and to leave the camp, for I consider it to be cold-blooded murder, and I bid you farewell;' and he went away. This movement of General Doniphan made considerable excitement in the army, and there was considerable whisperings amongst the officers. We listened very attentively, and frequently heard it mentioned by the guard that the damned Mormons would not be shot this time. In a few moments the guard was relieved with a new set; one of those new guards said that the damned Mormons would not be shot this time, for the movement of General Doniphan had frustrated the whole plan, and that the officers had called another court-martial, and had ordered us to be taken to Jackson County, and there to be executed; and in a few moments two large wagons drove up and we were ordered to get into them, and while we were getting into them, there came up four or five men armed with guns, who drew up and snapped their guns at us, in order to kill us. Some flashed in the pan, and others only snapped, but none of their guns went off. They were immediately arrested by several officers and their guns taken from them, and the drivers drove off.

"We requested of General Lucas to let us go to our houses and get some clothing. In order to do this we had to

be driven up into the city. It was with much difficulty that we could get his permission to go and see our families and get some clothing; but after considerable consultation we were permitted to go under a strong guard of five or six men to each of us, and we were not permitted to speak to any one of our families, under the pain of death. The guard that went with me ordered my wife to get me some clothes immediately, within two minutes, and if she did not do it I should go off without them. I was obliged to submit to their yrannical orders, however painful it was, with my wife and tchildren clinging to my arms and to the skirts of my garments, and was not permitted to utter to them a word of consolation, and in a moment was hurried away from them at the point of the bayonet. We were hurried back to the wagons and ordered into them, all in about the same space of time. In the meanwhile our father, and mother, and sisters, had forced their way to the wagons to get permission to see us, but were forbidden to speak to us; and they immediately drove off for Jackson County.

"We traveled about twelve miles that evening, and encamped for the night. The same strong guard was kept around us, and were relieved every two hours, and we were permitted to sleep on the ground. The nights were then cold, with considerable snow on the ground, and for the want of covering and clothing we suffered extremely with the cold. That night was a commencement of a fit of sickness from which I have not wholly recovered unto this day, in consequence of my exposure to the inclemency of the weather. Our provision was fresh beef roasted in the fire on a stick, the army having no bread in consequence of the want of mills to grind the grain. In the morning at the dawn of day we were forced on our journey, and were exhibited to the inhabitants along the road, the same as they exhibit a caravan of elephants or camels. We were examined from head to foot, by men, women, and children; only I believe they did not make us open our mouths to look at our teeth. This treatment was continued incessantly, until we arrived at Independence, in Jackson County. After our arrival at Independence we were driven all through the

town for inspection, and then we were ordered into an old log house, and there kept under guard as usual, until supper, which was served up to us as we sat upon the floor, or on billets of wood, and we were compelled to stay in that house all that night and the next day.

"They continued to exhibit us to the public, by letting the people come in and examine us, and then go away and give place for others, alternately all that day and the next night; but on the morning of the following day we were all permitted to go to the tavern to eat and to sleep; but afterward they made us pay our own expenses for board, lodging, and attendance, and for which they made a most exhorbitant charge. We remained in the tavern about two days and two nights, when an officer arrived with authority from General Clark, to take us back to Richmond, Ray County, where the General had arrived with his army to await our arrival there; but on the morning of our start for Richmond, we were informed by General Wilson that it was expected by the soldiers that we would be hung up by the necks on the road, while on the march to that place, and that it was prevented by a demand made for us by General Clark, who had the command in consequence of seniority, and that it was his prerogative to execute us himself; and he should give us up into the hands of the officer, who would take us to General Clark, and he might do with us as he pleased.

"During our stay at Independence, the officers informed us that there were eight or ten horses in that place belonging to the Mormon people, which had been stolen by the soldiers, and that we might have two of them to ride upon, if we would cause them to be sent back to the owners after our arrival at Richmond. We accepted of them, and they were rode to Richmond, and the owners came there and got them.

"We started in the morning under our new officer, Colonel Price, of Keytsville, Chariton County, with several other men to guard us over. We arrived there on Friday evening, the 9th day of November, and were thrust into an old log house, with a strong guard placed over us. After we had been there for the space of half an hour there came in a man who was said to have some notoriety in the penitentiary,

bringing in his hands a quantity of chains and padlocks. He said he was commanded by General Clark to put us in chains. Immediately the soldiers rose up and pointing their guns at us, placed their thumb on the cock, and their finger on the trigger; and the State's prison keeper went to work, putting a chain around the leg of each man, and fastening it on with a padlock, until we were all chained together, seven of us.

"In a few moments came in General Clark. We requested to know of him what was the cause of all this harsh and cruel treatment. He refused to give us any information at that time, but said he would in a few days; so we were compelled to continue in that situation, camping on the floor, all chained together, without any chance or means to be made comfortable, having to eat our victuals as it was served up to us, using our fingers and teeth instead of knives and forks.

"Whilst we were in this situation, a young man of the name of Grant, brother-in-law to my brother William Smith, came to see us, and put up at the tavern where General Clark made his quarters. He happened to come in time to see General Clark make choice of his men to shoot us on Monday morning, the 12th day of November. He saw them make choice of their rifles, and load them with two balls in each, and after they had prepared their guns, General Clark saluted them by saying, '*Gentlemen, you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning at eight o'clock!*' But in consequence of the influence of our friends, the heathen General was intimidated, so that he durst not carry his murderous designs into execution, and sent a messenger immediately to Fort Leavenworth to obtain the military code of laws. After the messenger's return, the General was employed nearly a whole week, examining the laws; so Monday passed away without our being shot. However, it seemed like foolishness to me for so great a man as General Clark pretended to be, should have to search the military law to find out whether preachers of the gospel, who never did military duty, could be subject to court-martial. However, the General seemed to learn that fact

after searching the military code, and came into the old log cabin where we were under guard, and in chains, and told us he had concluded to deliver us over to the civil authorities, as persons guilty of treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing. The poor deluded General did not know the difference between theft, larceny, and stealing.

"Accordingly we were handed over to the pretended civil authorities, and the next morning our chains were taken off, and we were guarded to the courthouse, where there was a pretended court in session; Austin A. King being the judge, and Mr. Birch, the district attorney, the two extremely and very honorable gentlemen who sat on the court-martial when we were sentenced to be shot. Witnesses were called up and sworn at the point of the bayonet, and if they would not swear to the things they were told to do, they were threatened with instant death; and I do know, positively, that the evidence given in by those men, whilst under duress, was false. This state of things was continued twelve or fourteen days, and after that time we were ordered by the Judge to introduce some rebutting evidence, saying if we did not do it, we would be thrust into prison. I could hardly understand what the Judge meant, for I considered we were in prison already, and could not think of anything but the persecutions of the days of Nero, knowing that it was a religious persecution, and the court an inquisition. However, we gave him the names of forty persons who were acquainted with all the persecutions and sufferings of the people. The Judge made out a subpœna, and inserted the names of those men, and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogart, the notorious Methodist minister, and he took fifty armed soldiers and started for Far West. I saw the subpœna given to him and his company when they started.

"In the course of a few days they returned with most all those forty men whose names were inserted in the subpœna, and thrust them into jail, and we were not permitted to bring one of them before the court; but the judge turned upon us with an air of indignation and said, 'Gentlemen, you must get your witnesses or you shall be committed to jail immediately; for we are not going to hold the court open on ex-

pense much longer for you anyhow.' We felt very much distressed and oppressed at that time. Colonel Wight said, 'What shall we do? Our witnesses are all thrust into prison, and probably will be, and we have no power to do anything; of course we must submit to this tyranny and oppression; we cannot help ourselves.' Several others made similar expressions in the agony of their souls; but my brother Joseph did not say anything, he being sick at that time with the toothache and ague in his face, in consequence of a severe cold brought on by being exposed to the severity of the weather. However, it was considered best by General Doniphan and Lawyer Reese that we should try to get some witnesses before the pretended court; accordingly I myself gave the names of about twenty other persons. The judge inserted them in a subpœna and caused it to be placed in the hands of Bogart, the Methodist priest, and he again started off with his fifty soldiers to take those men prisoners, as he had done to the forty others. The judge sat and laughed at the good opportunity of getting the names, that they might the more easily capture them, and so bring them down to be thrust into prison, in order to prevent us from getting the truth before the pretended court, of which himself was the chief inquisitor or conspirator. Bogart returned from his second expedition with one prisoner only, whom he also thrust into prison.

"The people at Far West had learned the intrigue and had left the State, having been made acquainted with the treatment of the former witnesses. But we, on learning that we could not obtain witnesses, whilst privately consulting with each other what we should do, discovered a Mr. Allen standing by the window on the outside of the house. We beckoned to him as though we would have him come in. He immediately came in. At that time Judge King retorted upon us again, saying, 'Gentlemen, are you not going to introduce some witnesses?' Also saying it was the last day he should hold the court open for us, and if we did not rebut the testimony that had been given against us, he should have to commit us to jail. I had then got Mr. Allen into the house, and before the court, so-called. I told the judge we

had one witness, if he would be so good as to put him under oath. He seemed unwilling to do so; but after a few moments consultation, the State's attorney arose and said he should object to that witness being sworn, and that he should object to that witness giving in his evidence at all, stating that this was not a court to try the case, but only a court of investigation on the part of the State. Upon this General Doniphan arose and said 'he would be God damned if the witness should not be sworn, and that it was a damned shame that these defendants should be treated in this manner; that they could not be permitted to get one witness before the court, whilst all their witnesses, even forty at a time, have been taken by force of arms, and thrust into the "bull pen" in order to prevent them from giving their testimony.' After Doniphan sat down the judge permitted the witness to be sworn and enter upon his testimony. But so soon as he began to speak, a man by the name of Cook, who was a brother-in-law to Priest Bogart, the Methodist, and who was a lieutenant, and whose place at that time was to superintend the guard, stepped in before the pretended court and took him by the nape of his neck and jammed his head down under the pole or log of wood that was placed up around the place where the inquisition was sitting to keep the bystanders from intruding upon the majesty of the inquisitors, and jammed him along to the door, and kicked him out of doors. He instantly turned to some soldiers who were standing by him, and said to them, 'Go and shoot him, damn him, shoot him, damn him.'

"The soldiers ran after the man to shoot him; he fled for his life, and with great difficulty made his escape. The pretended court immediately arose, and we were ordered to be carried to Liberty, Clay County, and there to be thrust into jail. We endeavored to find out for what cause, but all that we could learn was because we were Mormons. The next morning a large wagon drove up to the door, and a blacksmith came into the house with some chains and handcuffs. He said his orders were from the judge, to handcuff us and chain us together. He informed us that the judge had made out a mittimus, and sentenced us to jail for treason; he also

said the judge had done this that we might not get bail; he also said the judge stated his intention to keep us in jail until all the Mormons were driven out of the State; he also said that the judge had further stated that if he let us out before the Mormons had left the State, that we would not let them leave, and there would be another damned fuss kicked up. I also heard the judge say myself, whilst he was sitting in his pretended court, that there was no law for us, nor the Mormons, in the State of Missouri; that he had sworn to see them exterminated, and to see the Governor's order executed to the very letter, and that he would do so.

"However, the blacksmith proceeded and put the irons upon us, and we were ordered into the wagon, and they drove off for Clay County, and as we journeyed along on the road we were exhibited to the inhabitants, and this course was adopted all the way, thus making a public exhibition of us until we arrived at Liberty, Clay County. There we were thrust into prison again, and locked up; and were held there in close confinement for the space of six months, and our place of lodging was the square side of a hewed white oak log, and our food was anything but good and decent. Poison was administered to us three or four times. The effect it had upon our system, was, that it vomited us almost to death, and then we would lay some two or three days in a torpid, stupid state, not even caring or wishing for life; the poison being administered in too large doses, or it would inevitably have proved fatal, had not the power of Jehovah interposed in our behalf to save us from their wicked purpose. We were also subjected to the necessity of eating human flesh, for the space of five days, or go without food, except a little coffee, or a little corn bread. The latter I chose in preference to the former. We none of us partook of the flesh except Lyman Wight. We also heard the guard which was placed over us making sport of us, saying that they had fed us upon 'Mormon beef.' I have described the appearance of this flesh to several experienced physicians, and they have decided that it was human flesh. We learned afterwards, by one of the guard, that it was supposed that that act of savage cannibalism in feeding us with human

flesh, would be considered a popular deed of notoriety; but the people on learning that it would not take, tried to keep it secret; but the fact was noised abroad before they took that precaution.

"Whilst we were incarcerated in prison we petitioned the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri for *habeas corpus*, twice, but were refused both times by Judge Reynolds, who is now the Governor of that State. We also petitioned one of the county judges for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted in about three weeks afterwards; but were not permitted to have any trial; we were only taken out of jail and kept out for a few hours and then remanded back again. In the course of three or four days after that time Judge Turnham came into the jail in the evening, and said he had permitted Mr. Rigdon to get bail; but said he had to do it in the night, and had also to get away in the night, and unknown to any of the citizens, or they would kill him, for they had sworn to kill him if they could find him; and as to the rest of us, he dared not let us go, for fear of his own life, as well as ours. He said it was damned hard to be confined under such circumstances, for he knew we were innocent men, and he said the people also knew it; and that it was only a persecution and treachery, and the scenes of Jackson County acted over again, for fear that we would become too numerous in that upper country. He said the plan was concocted from the Governor down to the lowest judge, and that that damned Baptist priest, Riley, who was riding into town every day to watch the people, stirring up the minds of the people against us all he could, exciting them and stirring up their religious prejudices against us, for fear they would let us go. Mr. Rigdon, however, got bail and made his escape to Illinois. The jailor, Samuel Tillery, Esq., told us also, that the whole plan was concocted by the Governor down to the lowest judge in that upper country, early in the previous spring, and that the plan was more fully carried out at the time that General Atchison went down to Jefferson City, with General Wilson, Lucas, and Gillium, the self-styled 'Delaware chief.' This was sometime in the month of September, when the mob were collected at De Witt, in Carroll

County. He also told us that the Governor was now ashamed enough of the whole transaction and would be glad to set us at liberty if he dared to do it; but said he, you need not be concerned, for the Governor has laid a plan for your release. He also said that Squire Birch, the State's attorney, was appointed to be circuit judge on the circuit passing through Daviess County, and that he (Birch) was instructed to fix the papers, so that we would be sure to be clear from any incumbrance, in a very short time.

"Sometime in April we were taken to Daviess County, as they said, to have a trial; but when we arrived at that place, instead of finding a court or a jury, we found another inquisition, and Birch, who was the district attorney, the same man who was one of the court-martial when we were sentenced to death, was now the circuit judge of that pretended court;[3] and the grand jury that was empanelled were all at the massacre at Haun's Mill, and lively actors in that awful, solemn, disgraceful, cool-blooded murder, and all the pretense they made of excuse was, they had done it because the Governor ordered them to do it. The same jury sat as a jury in the daytime, and were placed over us as a guard in the nighttime; they tantalized and boasted over us, of their great achievements at Haun's Mills, and at other places, telling us how many houses they had burned, and how many sheep, cattle, and hogs they had driven off, belonging to the Mormons, and how many rapes they had committed. . . . This grand jury constantly celebrated their achievements with grog and glass in hand, like the Indian warriors and their war dances, singing and telling each other of their exploits in murdering the Mormons, in plundering their houses and carrying off their property; at the end of every song they would bring in the chorus. [We omit this chorus, as it is too profane for insertion.—Historian.] Then they would pretend to have swooned away into a glorious trance, in order to imitate some of the transactions at camp meetings. Then they would pretend to come out of their trance, and would shout

[3] Austin A. King was presiding judge, but Judge Birch was circuit judge and was probably associated with King on this trial.

and again slap their hands and jump up, while one would take a bottle of whisky and a tumbler and turn it out full of whisky and pour it down each other's necks, crying, 'Damn it, take it, you must take it;' and if anyone refused to drink the whisky, others would clinch him whilst another poured it down his neck, and what did not go down the inside went down the outside. This is a part of the farce acted out by the grand jury of Daviess County whilst they stood over us as guards for ten nights successively; and all this in the presence of the great Judge Birch, who had previously said in our hearing that there was no law for the Mormons in the State of Missouri. His brother was then acting as district attorney in that circuit, and if anything was a greater cannibal than the judge.

"After all these ten days of drunkenness, we were informed that we were indicted for *treason, murder, arson, larceny, theft, and stealing.* We asked for a change of venue from that county to Marion County, but they would not grant it; but they gave us a change of venue from Daviess to Boone County, and a mittimus was made out by the pretended Judge Birch, without date, name, or place. They fitted us out with a two-horse wagon, and horses, and four men, besides the sheriff, to be our guard; there were five of us. We started from Gallatin, the sun about two hours high p. m., and went as far as Diahman that evening and staid till morning. There we bought two horses of the guard and paid for one of them in our clothing, which we had with us, and for the other we gave our note. We went down that day as far as Judge Morin's, a distance of some four or five miles. There we staid until the morning, when we started on our journey to Boone County, and traveled on the road about twenty miles distance. There we bought a jug of whisky, with which we treated the company, and while there the sheriff showed us the mittimus, before referred to, without date or signature, and said that Judge Birch told him never to carry us to Boone County, and never to show the mittimus; 'and' said he, 'I shall take a good drink of grog and go to bed; and you may do as you have a mind to.' Three others of the guard drank pretty freely of

whisky, sweetened with honey; they also went to bed, and were soon asleep, and the other guard went along with us and helped to saddle the horses. Two of us mounted the horses, and the other three started on foot, and we took our change of venue for the State of Illinois, and in the course of nine or ten days arrived safely at Quincy, Adams County, where we found our families in a state of poverty, although in good health; they having been driven out of the State previously, by the murderous militia, under the exterminating order of the Executive of Missouri; and now, the people of that State, a portion of them, would be glad to make the people of this State believe that my brother Joseph has committed treason, for the purpose of keeping up their murderous and hellish persecution; and they seem to be unrelenting, and thirsting for the blood of innocence, for I do know most positively that my brother Joseph has not committed treason, nor violated one solitary item of law or rule in the State of Missouri.

"But I do know that the Mormon people *en masse* were driven out of that State, after being robbed of all they had, and they barely escaped with their lives, as well as my brother Joseph, who barely escaped with his life; his family also was robbed of all they had, and barely escaped with the skin of their teeth; and all of this in consequence of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, the same being confirmed by the legislature of that State. And I do know—so does this court, and every rational man who is acquainted with the circumstances, and every man who shall hereafter become acquainted with the particulars thereof will know—that Governor Boggs and Generals Clark, Lucas, Wilson, and Gillium, also Austin A. King, have committed treason upon the citizens of Missouri, and did violate the Constitution of the United States, and also the constitution and laws of the State of Missouri; and did exile and expel, at the point of the bayonet, some twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants from the State, and did murder some three or four hundreds of men, women, and children, in cold blood, and in the most horrid and cruel manner possible. . . .

"But notwithstanding the Mormon people had purchased

upwards of *two hundred thousand dollars worth of land*, most of which was entered and paid for at the land office of the United States in the State of Missouri—and although the President of the United States has been made acquainted with these facts, and the particulars of our persecutions and oppressions, by petition to him, and to Congress, yet they have not even attempted to restore the Mormons to their rights, or given any assurance that we may hereafter expect redress from them. And I do also know, most positively and assuredly, that my brother, Joseph Smith, Sr., has not been in the State of Missouri since the spring of the year 1839. And further this deponent saith not.

"HYRUM SMITH."

Parley P. Pratt was the next witness. He was an eye witness to much related by Hyrum Smith. He related in detail the difficulties leading up to the attack on Far West, their imprisonment and mock trial. On all important points his testimony was strongly corroborative of Hyrum Smith's.

"George W. Pitkin sworn. Says that he concurs with the preceding witnesses, H. Smith and P. P. Pratt, in all the facts with which he is acquainted; that in the summer of 1838 he was elected sheriff of the county of Caldwell and State of Missouri; that in the fall of the same year, while the county was threatened and infested with mobs, he received an order from Judge Higbee, the presiding judge of said county, to call out the militia, and he executed the same. The said order was presented by Joseph Smith, Sr., who showed the witness a letter from General Atchison giving such advice as was necessary for the protection of the citizens of said county. Reports of the mobs destroying property were daily received. Has no knowledge that Joseph Smith was concerned in organizing or commanding said militia in any capacity whatever. About this time he received information that about forty or fifty 'Yauger rifles' and a quantity of ammunition were being conveyed through Caldwell to Daviess County for the use of the mob; upon which he deputized William Allred to go with a company of men and to intercept them if possible. He did so, and

brought the said arms and ammunition into Far West, which were afterwards delivered up to the order of Austin A. King, judge of the fifth circuit in Missouri. . . .

"He further says that whilst in office as sheriff he was forcibly and illegally compelled by Lieutenant Cook, the son-in-law or brother-in-law of Bogart, the Methodist priest, to start for Richmond; and when he demanded of him by what authority he acted, he was shown a bowie knife and a brace of pistols; and when he asked what they wanted of him, he said they would let him know when he got to Richmond. Many of the citizens of Caldwell County were taken in the same manner without any legal process whatever and thrust into prison.

"GEORGE W. PITKIN."

Brigham Young was the next witness. He testified to a long and intimate acquaintance with Joseph Smith, and of his good character, and moral teachings. He related the events at Far West substantially as given by Hyrum Smith, and as set forth in this history.

Lyman Wight was the next witness. He related in detail the difficulties in Jackson County, corroborated the testimony of Hyrum Smith and others, and gave some other particulars, from which we make the following extracts:—

"This so exasperated the saints that they mutually agreed with the citizens of Clay County that they would purchase an entire new county north of Ray and cornering on Clay; there being not more than forty or fifty inhabitants in this new county, who frankly sold out their possessions to the saints, who immediately set in to enter the entire county from the general government. The county having been settled, the Governor issued an order for the organization of the county into a regiment of militia; and an election being called for a colonel of said regiment, I was elected unanimously, receiving two hundred and thirty-six votes, in August, 1837. Then organized with subaltern officers, according to the Statutes of the State, and received legal and lawful commissions from Governor Boggs for the same.

"I think sometime in the latter part of the winter said Joseph Smith moved to the district of country the saints had

purchased, and he settled down like other citizens of a new county, and was appointed the first elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, holding no office in the county either civil or military. I declare that I never knew said Joseph Smith to dictate by his influence or otherwise any of the officers, either civil or military, he himself being exempt from military duty from the amputation from his leg of a part of the bone on account of a fever sore.

"I removed from Caldwell to Daviess County, purchased a preëmption right, for which I gave seven hundred and fifty dollars, gained another by the side thereof, put in a large crop, and became acquainted with the citizens of Daviess, who appeared very friendly. In the month of June or July there was a town laid off, partly on my preëmption, and partly on lands belonging to government. The emigration commenced flowing to this newly laid off town very rapidly. This excited a prejudice in the minds of some of the old citizens, who were an ignorant set, and not very far advanced before the aborigines of the country in civilization or cultivated minds, fearing lest this rapid tide of emigration should deprive them of office, of which they were dear lovers. This was more plainly exhibited at the August election in the year 1838. The old settlers then swore that not one Mormon should vote at that election; accordingly they commenced operations by fist and skull. This terminated in the loss of some teeth, some flesh, and some blood. The combat being very strongly contested on both sides, many Mormons were deprived of their votes, and I was followed to the polls by three ruffians with stones in their hands, swearing they would kill me if I voted.

"A false rumor was immediately sent to Far West, such as two or three Mormons were killed and were not suffered to be buried. The next day a considerable number of the saints came out to my house; said Joseph Smith came with them. He inquired of me concerning the difficulty. The answer was, political difficulties. He then asked if there was anything serious. The answer was, 'No, I think not.' We then all mounted our horses and rode up into the prairie a short distance from my house to a cool spring near the

house of Esq. Black where the greater number stopped for refreshment, whilst a few waited on Esq. Black. He was interrogated to know whether he justified the course of conduct at the late election or not. He said he did not, and was willing to give his protest in writing, which he did, and also desired that there should be a public meeting called, which I think was done on the next day. Said Joseph Smith was not addressed on the subject, but I was, who, in behalf of the saints, entered into an agreement with the other citizens of the county that we would live in peace, enjoying those blessings fought for by our forefathers; but while some of their leading men were entering into this contract, others were raising mobs, and in a short time the mob increased to two hundred and five, rank and file, and they encamped within six miles of Ondiahman.

"In the meantime Joseph Smith and those who came with him from Far West returned to their homes in peace, suspecting nothing; but I, seeing the rage of the mob and their full determination to drive the church from Daviess County, sent to General Atchison, Major-General of the division in which we lived. He immediately sent Brigadier-General Doniphan, with between two hundred and three hundred men. General Doniphan moved his troops near the mob force, and came up and conversed with me on the subject. After conversing some time on the subject, Major Hughes came and informed General Doniphan that his men were mutinizing, and the mob were determined to fall on the saints in Ondiahman. I having a colonel's commission under Doniphan, was commanded to call out my troops forthwith, and to use Doniphan's own language 'kill every . . mobocrat or make them prisoners, and if they come upon you give them hell.' He then returned to his troops and gave them an address, stating the interview he had with me; and he also said to the mob that if they were so disposed they could go on with their measures—that he considered that Colonel Wight with the militia under his command all-sufficient to quell every . . . mobocrat in the county, and if they did not feel disposed so to do, to go home or . . he would kill every one of them. The mob then dispersed.

"During these movements Joseph Smith nor any of those of Far West or any other place were not at Ondiahman, only those who were settlers and legal citizens of the place. The mob again assembled and went to De Witt, Carroll County, there being a small branch of the church at that place; but of the transactions at this place I have no personal knowledge. They succeeded in driving the church from that place, some to the east and some to the west, etc. This increased their ardor, and with redoubled forces from several counties of the State they returned to Daviess County to renew the attack. Many wanton attacks and violations of the rights of citizens took place at this time from the hands of this hellish band. I, believing forbearance no longer to be a virtue, again sent to the Major-General for military aid, who ordered out Brigadier-General Parks. Parks came part of the way, but fearing his men would mutinize and join the mob, he came on ahead and conversed with me a considerable time. The night previous to his arrival the wife of Don Carlos Smith was driven from her house by this ruthless mob, and came into Ondiahman, a distance of three miles, carrying two children on her hips, one of which was then rising of two years old, the other six or eight months old; the snow being over shoemouth deep, and she having to wade Grand River, which was at this time waist deep, and the mob burnt the house and everything they had in it; and General Parks, passing the ruins thereof, seemed fired with indignation at their hellish conduct, and said he had hitherto thought it imprudent to call upon the militia under my command in consequence of popular opinion, but he now considered it no more than justice that I should have command of my own troops, and said to me, 'I therefore command you forthwith to raise your companies immediately and take such course as you may deem best in order to disperse the mob from this county.' I then called out sixty men and placed them under the command of Captain David W. Patten, and I also took about the same number. Captain Patten was ordered to Gallatin, where a party of the mob were located, and I to Millport, where another party was located. I and Captain

Patten formed the troops under our command, and General Parks addressed them as follows: . . . [Here follows the speech of General Parks as found in this volume, page 115.]

"Captain Patten then went to Gallatin, when coming in sight of Gallatin, he discovered about one hundred of the mob holding some of the saints in bondage, and tantalizing others in the most scandalous manner. At the sight of Captain Patten and company the mob took fright, and such was their hurry to get away, some cut their bridle reins, and some pulled the bridles from their horses' heads and went off with all speed, nothing to prevent the speed of their horses.

"I went to Millport and on my way discovered that the inhabitants had become enraged at the orders of the Generals Doniphan and Parks, and that they had sworn vengeance, not only against the church, but also against the two Generals, together with General Atchison, and to carry out their plans they entered into one of the most diabolical schemes ever entered into by man, and these hellish schemes were injuriously carried out: Firstly, by loading their families and goods in covered wagons, setting fire to their houses, moving into the midst of the mob and crying out, 'The Mormons had driven us and burnt our houses.'

"In this situation I found the country between my house and Millport, and also found Millport evacuated and burned. Rumors were immediately sent to the Governor, with the news that the Mormons were killing and burning everything before them, and that great fears were entertained that they would reach Jefferson City before the runners could bring the news. This was not known by the Church of Latter Day Saints, until twenty-two hundred of the militia had arrived within half a mile of Far West, and they then supposed the militia to be a mob. I was sent for from Ondiahman to Far West; reached there the sun about one hour high in the morning of the 29th of October, 1838; called upon Joseph Smith, inquired the cause of the great uproar. He declared he did not know, but feared the mob had increased their numbers and was endeavoring to destroy us. I inquired of him if he had had any conversation with anyone concerning

the matter. He said he had not, as he was only a private citizen of the county; that he did not interfere with any such matters. I think that he told me there had been an order from General Atchison or Doniphan, one to the sheriff to call out the militia in order to quell the riots, and to go to him; he could give me any information on this subject. On inquiring for him I found him not. That between three and four o'clock p. m., George M. Hinkle, colonel of the militia in that place, called on me in company with Joseph Smith, and said Hinkle said he had been in the camp in order to learn the intention of the same, he said they greatly desired to see Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Sidney Rigdon, P. P. Pratt, and George W. Robinson. Joseph Smith first inquired why they should desire to see him, as he held no office, either civil or military. I next inquired why it was they should desire to see a man out of his own county. Colonel Hinkle here observed, 'There is no time for controversy; if you are not into the camp immediately they are determined to come upon Far West before the setting of the sun;' and said they did not consider us as military bodies, but religious bodies. . ." [His testimony of scenes following agrees with what is elsewhere related in this work.]

Sidney Rigdon was the next witness. He agreed with statements made by other witnesses, and gave a detailed account of the disturbances at De Witt and Far West.

He also gave the following account of the causes for calling out the militia of Caldwell, and an exposition of the laws governing in the case:—

"General Doniphan came to Far West, and while there recommended to the authorities of Caldwell to have the militia of said county called out as a necessary measure of defense; assuring us that Gillium had a large mob on the Grindstone, and his object was to make a descent upon Far West, burn the town and kill or disperse the inhabitants; and that it was very necessary that an effective force should be ready to oppose him, or he would accomplish his object.

"The militia was accordingly called out. He also said that there had better be a strong force sent to Daviess County to guard the citizens there. He recommended that

to avoid any difficulties which might arise they had better go in very small parties, without arms, so that no legal advantage could be taken of them. I will here give a short account of the courts and internal affairs of Missouri, for the information of those who are not acquainted with the same

"Missouri has three courts of law peculiar to that State: the supreme court, the circuit court, and the county court. The two former, about the same as in many other States of the Union. The county court is composed of three judges, elected by the people of the respective counties. This court is in some respects like the court of probate in Illinois, or the surrogate's court of New York; but the powers of this court are more extensive than the courts of Illinois or New York. The judges, or any one of them, of the county court of Missouri, has the power of issuing *habeas corpus* in all cases where arrests are made within the county where they preside. They have also all the power of justices of the peace in civil as well as criminal cases; for instance, a warrant may be obtained from one of these judges, by affidavit, and a person arrested under such warrant. From another of these judges a *habeas corpus* may issue, and the person arrested be ordered before him, and the character of the arrest be inquired into; and if in the opinion of the judge the person ought not to be holden by virtue of said process, he has power to discharge him.

"In the internal regulation of the affairs of Missouri the counties in some respects are nearly as independent of each other as the several States of the Union. No considerable number of men armed can pass out of one county into or through another county, without first obtaining the permission of the judges of the county court, or some one of them, otherwise they are liable to be arrested by the order of said judges; and if in their judgment they ought not thus to pass, they are ordered back from whence they came; and in case of refusal, are subject to be arrested or even shot down in case of resistance. The judges of the county court or any one of them, have the power to call out the militia of said county upon affidavit being made to them for that purpose, by any of the citizens of said county; showing it just, in the

judgment of such judge or judges, why said militia should be called out to defend any portion of the citizens of said county. The following is the course of procedure: Affidavit is made before one or any number of the judges, setting forth that the citizens of said county, or any particular portion of them, is either invaded or threatened with invasion by some unlawful assembly whereby their liberties, lives, or property may be unlawfully taken. When such affidavit is made to any one of the judges or all of them, it is the duty of him or them before whom such affidavit is made, to issue an order to the sheriff of the county to make requisition upon the commanding officer of the militia of said county to have immediately put under military order such a portion of the militia under his command as may be necessary for the defense of the citizens of said county.

"In this way the militia of any county may be called out at any time deemed necessary by the county judges, independently of any other civil authority of the State.

"In case that the militia of the county is insufficient to quell the rioters, and secure the citizens against the invaders, then recourse can be had to the judge of the circuit court, who has the same power over the militia of his judicial district as the county judges have over the militia of the county. And in case of insufficiency in the militia of the judicial district of the circuit judge, recourse can be had to the Governor of the State, and all the militia of the State called out; and if this should fail, then the Governor can call on the President of the United States, and all the forces of the nation be put under arms.

"I have given this expose of the internal regulations of the affairs of Missouri, in order that the court may clearly understand what I have before said on this subject, and what I may hereafter say on it.

"It was in view of this order of things that General Doniphan, who is a lawyer of some celebrity in Missouri, gave the recommendation he did at Far West, when passing into Daviess County with his troops, for the defense of the citizens of said county. It was in consequence of this that he said that those of Caldwell County which went into Daviess

County should go in small parties, and unarmed, in which condition they were not subject to any arrest from any authority whatever.

"In obedience to these recommendations the militia of Caldwell County was called out; affidavit having been made to one of the judges of the county, setting forth the danger which it was believed the citizens were in from a large marauding party assembled under the command of one Cornelius Gillium, on a stream called Grindstone. When affidavit was made to this effect, the judge issued his order to the sheriff of the county, and the sheriff to the commanding officer, who was Col. G. M. Hinkle, and thus were the militia of the county of Caldwell put under military orders. . . ."

Elder Rigdon then gives the account of causes leading to the attack on Far West, the surrender, the travels, and trial of the prisoners, substantially as given by others, and concludes with following account of his own discharge from custody and escape to Illinois:—

"The trial at last ended, and Lyman Wight, Joseph Smith, Sr., Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin, Alexander McRae, and myself were sent to jail in the village of Liberty, Clay County, Missouri.

"We were kept there from three to four months, after which time we were brought out on *habeas corpus* before one of the county judges. During the hearing under the *habeas corpus*, I had for the first time an opportunity of hearing the evidence, as it was all written and read before the court.

"It appeared from the evidence that they attempted to prove us guilty of treason in consequence of the militia of Caldwell County being under arms at the time that General Lucas' army came to Far West. This calling out of the militia, was what they founded the charge of treason upon, an account of which I have given above. The charge of murder was founded on the fact that a man of their number, they said, had been killed in the Bogart battle.

"The other charges were founded on things which took place in Daviess. As I was not in Daviess County at that time, I cannot testify anything about them.

"A few words about this written testimony.

"I do not now recollect of one single point about which testimony was given, with which I was acquainted, but was misrepresented, nor one solitary witness whose testimony was there written that did not swear falsely; and in many instances I cannot see how it could avoid being intentional on the part of those who testified; for all of them did swear things that I am satisfied they knew to be false at the time, and it would be hard to persuade me to the contrary.

"There were things there said so utterly without foundation in truth, so much so, that the persons swearing must at the time of swearing have known it. The best construction I can ever put on it is, that they swore things to be true which they did not know to be so; and this, to me, is willful perjury.

"The trial lasted for a long time, the result of which was that I was ordered to be discharged from prison and the rest remanded back; but I was told by those who professed to be my friends that it would not do for me to go out of jail at that time, as the mob were watching and would most certainly take my life; and when I got out that I must leave the State, for the mob, availing themselves of the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, would, if I were found in the State, surely take my life; that I had no way to escape them but to flee with all speed from the State. It was some ten days after this before I dare leave the jail. At last the evening came in which I was to leave the jail. Every preparation was made that could be made for my escape. There was a carriage ready to take me in and carry me off with all speed. A pilot was ready—one who was well acquainted with the country—to pilot me through the country so that I might not go on any of the public roads. My wife came to the jail to accompany me, of whose society I had been deprived for four months. Just at dark the sheriff and jailer came to the jail with our supper. I sat down and ate. There were a number watching. After I had supped, I whispered to the jailer to blow out all the candles but one, and step away from the door with that one. All this was done. The sheriff then took me by the arm and an appar-

ent scuffle ensued, so much so that those who were watching did not know who it was the sheriff was scuffling with. The sheriff kept pushing me towards the door, and I apparently resisting, until we reached the door, which was quickly opened and we both reached the street. He took me by the hand and bade me farewell, telling me to make my escape, which I did with all possible speed. The night was dark. After I had gone probably one hundred rods, I heard some person coming after me in haste. The thought struck me in a moment that the mob was after me. I drew a pistol and cocked it, determined not to be taken alive. When the person approaching me spoke I knew his voice, and he speedily came to me. In a few minutes I heard a horse coming. I again sprung my pistol cock. Again a voice saluted my ears that I was acquainted with. The man came speedily up and said he had come to pilot me through the country. I now recollected I had left my wife in the jail. I mentioned it to them, and one of them returned, and the other and myself pursued our journey as swiftly as we could. After I had gone about three miles, my wife overtook me in a carriage, into which I got, and we rode all night. It was an open carriage, and in the month of February, 1839. We got to the house of an acquaintance just as day appeared. There I put up until the next morning, when I started again and reached a place called Tenny's Grove; and to my great surprise, I here found my family, and was again united with them, after an absence of four months, under the most painful circumstances. From thence I made my way to Illinois, where I now am. My wife, after I left her, went directly to Far West and got the family under way, and all unexpectedly met at Tenny's Grove.

"SIDNEY RIGDON.

"After hearing the foregoing evidence in support of said petition, it is ordered and considered by the court that the said Joseph Smith, Sr., be discharged from the said arrest and imprisonment complained of in said petition, and that the said Smith be discharged for want of substance in the warrant, upon which he was arrested, as well as upon the merits of said case, and that he go henceforth without day.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court, at the city of [L. S.] Nauvoo, this 2d day of July, 1843.

"JAMES SLOAN, Clerk."

The foregoing account of the trial of Joseph Smith is taken from the *Times and Seasons*, volume 4, pages 242-278.

Kindness to Reynolds and Wilson.

During the stay of Reynolds and Wilson in Nauvoo they were treated with the utmost kindness. The prophet himself took them to his own house and gave them the places of honor as his guests at his table. His wife waited upon them with her own hands. This was in marked contrast to their brutal conduct when they apprehended him near Dixon and dragged him ruthlessly from her presence.

After Joseph's release by the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, Governor Reynolds of Missouri requested Governor Ford of Illinois to call out the State militia to assist in rearresting him. This Governor Ford declined to do, and gave his reasons as follows:—

"Executive Department, SPRINGFIELD,
"Illinois, July 26, 1843.

"*To His Excellency, Thomas Reynolds, Governor of Missouri; Sir:*—The demand of Joseph H. Reynolds, Esq., the agent appointed by you to receive Joseph Smith, Jr., for a detachment of militia to assist in retaking said Smith, has been duly considered by me, and I now, at the earliest moment, after coming to a conclusion on the subject, proceed to lay before you the result of my deliberations.

"The request for a military force is declined. The reasons which have influenced me in coming to the determination will be furnished to you at large, as soon as I can obtain leisure to do so. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"THOMAS FORD.

"Executive Department, SPRINGFIELD,
"Illinois, August 14, 1843.

"*To His Excellency, Thomas Reynolds, Governor of the State of Missouri; Sir:*—On the 26th day of July last I had the honor to inform you by letter that after full consideration I

had come to the conclusion to decline ordering out a detachment of militia to assist in retaking Joseph Smith, Jr., who was said to have escaped from the custody of the Missouri agent; and in that letter I engaged to furnish you with my reasons at large for coming to that determination.

"It appears that an indictment was found at a special term of the Daviess Circuit Court, Missouri, held on the 5th day of June last, against Smith, for treason. Upon this indictment the Governor of Missouri issued a requisition to the Governor of this State, demanding the arrest and delivery of Smith. A writ was thereupon duly issued by me for the apprehension and delivery of Smith as demanded. This writ was put into the hands of an officer of this State to be executed. The officer to whom it was directed immediately arrested Smith, and delivered him to Joseph H. Reynolds, the agent of Missouri, appointed to receive him. The writ has been returned to me as having been fully executed.

"After Smith was delivered into the hands of Mr. Joseph H. Reynolds, it is alleged that he was rescued from his custody by the Municipal Court of the city of Nauvoo.

"Affidavits on both sides of the question have been filed before me, and I also have additional information on the subject contained in a report of M. Brayman, Esq., a special agent appointed by myself to investigate and collect facts in relation to the whole matter.

"The undisputed facts of the case are that Smith was arrested near Dixon, in Lee County; he was immediately delivered over to Mr. Reynolds; Smith immediately brought an action against Mr. Reynolds for false imprisonment, and held him to bail in the sum of four hundred dollars. Mr. Reynolds being in a strange country, and unable to give bail, was taken into custody by the sheriff of Lee County, and held as a prisoner; whilst Reynolds held Smith as his prisoner. The parties finally concluded to get out writs of *habeas corpus*, and try the legality of the imprisonment in each case. The writs were accordingly issued, returnable before the nearest judicial tribunal in the circuit in which Quincy is situated, and thereupon all parties proceeded in the direction of Quincy; Smith being in the custody of Reynolds, and Rey-

nolds himself in the custody of the sheriff of Lee County. On the road during their progress they were met by parties of the citizens of Nauvoo; some or most of whom are said to have been members of the Nauvoo Legion; though there is no evidence that they appeared in a military capacity. There was no exhibition of arms of any description, nor was there any military or warlike array; nor was there any actual force used; though Mr. Reynolds testifies that he felt under constraint, and that Smith, soon after meeting the first parties of Mormons, enlarged himself from his custody. Mr. Reynolds also testifies (and there can be no doubt of the fact) that he was taken to Nauvoo against his will. But whether he was taken there by the command of Smith and his friends, or by the voluntary act of the sheriff of Lee County, who had him in custody, does not appear by any testimony furnished by Mr. Reynolds. The affidavit of the sheriff has not been obtained; though there is evidence on the other side to show that the sheriff of Lee County voluntarily carried Mr. Reynolds to the city of Nauvoo, without any coercion on the part of anyone.

"After arriving at Nauvoo a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the Municipal Court of that city, and Mr. Reynolds was compelled by the authority of the court to produce Mr. Smith before that tribunal. After hearing the case, the court discharged Smith from arrest.

"There is much other evidence submitted; but the foregoing is the material part of it to be considered on the present occasion.

"Now, sir, I might safely rest my refusal to order a detachment of militia to assist in retaking Smith upon the ground that the laws of this State have been fully exercised in the matter. A writ has been issued for his apprehension; Smith was apprehended; and was duly delivered by the officer of this State, to the agent of the State of Missouri, appointed to receive him. No process, officer, or authority of this State has been resisted or interfered with. I have fully executed the duty which the laws impose on me, and have not been resisted either in the writ issued for the arrest of Smith, or in the person of the officer appointed to appre-

hend him. If there has been any resistance to anyone, it has been to the officer of Missouri, after Smith came to his custody; and everything had been done on my part which the law warranted me in doing.

"Another objection to ordering a detachment of militia, arises out of the militia laws of this State; the forty-third section of which is as follows: 'Whenever it may be necessary to call into actual service any part of the militia of this State on a requisition of the Executive of the United States, on an actual or threatened invasion of this State, or any of the neighboring States or Territories of the United States, the commander in chief shall forthwith demand from each division a detachment in proportion to the strength thereof, except as hereinafter excepted; which order shall be delivered by a special messenger to the several commandants of divisions, specifying the number demanded from each division; the time and place of rendezvous, if ordered to march; and if the same be detached under any particular act of the United States to indorse the same on such order: Provided, that whenever the safety of any of the frontier settlements in this State shall, in the opinion of the Governor, require it, he may exempt the militia in such settlements from being called into service, and make such further provision for the defense as the necessity of the case may require; which exemption shall be expressed in his orders to commandants of the divisions; who, together with the commandants of brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies, shall govern themselves accordingly. And provided also, that such militiamen may be required to serve as spies on their own frontiers; and that on actual invasion *or any extreme emergency*, the commander in chief, commandants of divisions, brigades, battalions, and companies may call on the whole or any part of the militia under their respective commands, as the nature of the case may require, who shall continue in service, if necessary, until the militia can be regularly called out.'

"The Governor has no other authority in calling out the militia than that which is contained in this section; by which it appears that there must be either a requisition from

the President, an actual or threatened invasion, or some extreme emergency to warrant the Governor in exercising this power. No one of these contingencies has arisen. There has been no requisition from the President, there has been no actual or threatened invasion of the State, nor is this such an extreme emergency as is contemplated by the law. If we allow that force was exhibited and threatened to compel your agent to carry his prisoner before the Municipal Court of Nauvoo; that the court there took cognizance of the cause without jurisdiction, and against the consent of your agent, it would amount at most to a riot; and to a resistance of authority in a single case, and that too under color of law and legal process. To constitute an extreme emergency, so as to justify a call for the militia, there ought, in my opinion, to be something more than a mere illegal act—something more than a design to resist the law in a single instance. The design ought to be general as in treason, rebellion, or insurrection; in which cases an universality of design is essential to constitute the offense.

"If a person resists a constable or sheriff, or other officer charged with the execution of process, with an intention to resist the law in that particular instance; such an act is a misdemeanor at most,—is indictable as such, and may be met by the *posse comitatus*. But something more than a mere misdemeanor must have been contemplated by the law. It would seem to me that it could never have been intended that the Governor should call out the militia in every case where a constable or sheriff may be resisted; and even in a case of a riotous resistance, it would not be an extreme emergency without some military array, some warlike show, or some threatened resistance to the government itself.

"In this case there has been no warlike array in the proceedings of Smith and his friends; no exhibition of arms, and no actual force of an illegal character. Mr. Reynolds was not subjected to illegal imprisonment. He was arrested on lawful process; and although that process may have been wrongfully obtained, yet his arrest was not riotous or unlawful, but according to the forms of law. Mr. Reynolds continued in the custody of the sheriff by virtue of that pro-

cess until he was taken to Nauvoo; and although he was taken to that city against his will, and was by that means compelled to take his prisoner there, yet was he taken by lawful process; by an authorized officer who acted, so far as I have any evidence, freely and voluntarily in so doing. In no one aspect of the case can I consider the present an extreme emergency, warranting a call for the militia according to the provisions of law in this State.

"Thus, sir, I have stated to you the principal reasons which have influenced me in refusing to order a call of the militia. To my mind they are entirely satisfactory; and I hope they will meet with approval of your Excellency, and the citizens of Missouri.

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"THOMAS FORD."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 4, pp. 292–294.

Brayman's letter.

On July 29, 1843, Mr. M. Brayman, Esq., the special agent referred to in the above document, wrote a private and confidential letter to Joseph Smith, which gives expression to convictions highly creditable to Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo.[4]

Ford agrees.

Governor Ford in his history of Illinois agrees with this account in regard to his refusal to call out the militia. (See Ford's History of Illinois, p. 317.)

[4] On my return from Nauvoo I found Governor Ford absent on public business at Rock Island, from whence he did not return for a week after I arrived. I presented him a detailed report of my investigations, in which the fact is fully established that neither you nor your people were guilty of any violence or disorderly or unlawful conduct whatever; but that throughout the whole of the unpleasant scene connected with your arrest, and the ill treatment which you received, your and their conduct was that of peaceful, law-abiding, and good citizens. He is perfectly satisfied on that point. . . .

As to the other points, I can assure you, with perfect confidence, that with the evidence now before him, he will issue *no more writs*—that he will be perfectly satisfied that the demand of Missouri is not only *unjust*, (as he before believed it to be,) but so palpably illegal and contrary to the meaning of the Constitution as to release him forever from all obligation to give you up, and enable him to justify himself before the world in refusing to do so. (From original in our possession.)

CHAPTER 31.

1843-1844.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CANDIDATES—WRITES TO VAN BUREN AND CASS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH CALHOUN—WITH CLAY—JOSEPH SMITH FOR PRESIDENT—HIS VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT—TIMES AND SEASONS DECLARES FOR HIM—APOSTLES ENTER THE CANVASS—THE PURPOSE.

THE church had so often appealed in vain for redress and so often been repulsed or neglected, that they thought to enter upon a correspondence with some of the leading aspirants for the office of President of the United States, before the presidential election of 1844, and learn their views on the question of redressing the wrongs of the saints; also to learn their attitude on the mooted doctrine of State sovereignty, upon which their case largely depended.

Correspondence with candidates.

Joseph Smith wrote to Martin Van Buren and Lewis Cass, among others; but if they ever replied their replies were not made public. We suppose that the letters written them were similar to those written to John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, which will be noticed in these pages.

Writes to Van Buren and Cass.

Near the close of the year Joseph Smith wrote to John C. Calhoun, then an aspirant for the office of President of the United States, relative to his attitude towards the rights of the saints who had been robbed and driven from Missouri. The correspondence is valuable as expressing the situation, the views of the men on the issues, and for the remarkable prediction contained in the letter of Joseph Smith, to which we invite careful attention, and comparison with subsequent events. Because of the peculiar importance of this correspondence we reproduce Joseph Smith's letter of inquiry, Calhoun's reply, and extracts from Joseph Smith's rejoinder:—

Correspondence with Calhoun.

"CORRESPONDENCE OF GENERAL JOSEPH SMITH AND HON. J. C. CALHOUN.

"NAUVOO, Illinois, November 4, 1843.

"*Honorable John C. Calhoun; Dear Sir:*—As we understand you are a candidate for the presidency at the next election; and as the Latter Day Saints (sometimes called Mormons, who now constitute a numerous class in the school politic of this vast republic) have been robbed of an immense amount of property, and endured nameless sufferings by the State of Missouri, and from her borders have been driven by force of arms, contrary to our national covenants; and as in vain we have sought redress by all constitutional, legal, and honorable means, in her courts, her executive councils, and her legislative halls; and as we have petitioned Congress to take cognizance of our sufferings without effect; we have judged it wisdom to address you this communication, and solicit an immediate, specific, and candid reply to *What will be your rule of action, relative to us as a people*, should fortune favor your ascension to the chief magistracy?

"Most respectfully, sir, your friend, and the friend of peace, good order, and constitutional rights,

"JOSEPH SMITH,

"In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

"Honorable John C. Calhoun, Fort Hill, South Carolina.

"(HON. J. C. CALHOUN'S REPLY.)

"FORT HILL, 2d December, 1843.

"*Sir:*—You ask me what would be my rule of action relative to the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, should I be elected President, to which I answer; that if I should be elected, I would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the Union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds, I should make none. As far as it depends on the executive department, all should have the full benefit of both, and none should be exempt from their operation.

"But, as you refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me to repeat, what I said to you at Washington; that according to my views the case does not come within the jurisdic-

tion of the federal government, which is one of limited and specific powers.

"With respect I am, etc., etc.,

"J. C. CALHOUN.

"Mr. Joseph Smith.

"NAUVOO, Illinois, January 2, 1844.

"*Sir:*—Your reply to my letter of last November, concerning your rule of action towards the Latter Day Saints, if elected President, is at hand; and, that you and your friends of the same opinion relative to the matter in question may not be disappointed as to me or my mind upon so grave a subject, permit me as a law-abiding man, as a well-wisher to the perpetuity of constitutional rights and liberty, and as a friend to the free worship of Almighty God, by all, according to the dictates of every person's conscience, to say *I am surprised* that a man, or men, in the highest stations of public life should have made up such a fragile view of a case, than which there is not one on the face of the globe fraught with so much consequence to the happiness of men in this world, or the world to come. . .

"So, then, a State can at any time expel any portion of her citizens with impunity, and in the language of Mr. Van Buren, frosted over with your gracious 'views of the case,' 'though the cause is ever so just, government can do nothing for them, because it has no power.' . . .

"If the general government has no power to reinstate expelled citizens to their rights, there is a monstrous hypocrite fed and fostered from the hard earnings of the people! a real 'bull beggar' upheld by sycophants; and, although you may wink to the priests to stigmatize, wheedle the drunkards to swear, and raise the hue and cry of *impostor, false prophet,* . yet remember, if the Latter Day Saints are not restored to all their rights, and paid for all their losses, according to the known rules of justice and judgment, reciprocation, and common honesty among men, that God will come out of his hiding place and vex this nation with a sore vexation; yea, the consuming wrath of an offended God shall smoke through the nation with as much

distress and woe as independence has blazed through with pleasure and delight. Where is the strength of government? Where is the patriotism of a Washington, a Warren, and Adams? And where is a spark from the watchfire of '76, by which one candle might be lit, that would glimmer upon the confines of democracy? Well may it be said that one man is not a State, nor one State the nation. In the days of General Jackson, when France refused the first installment for spoliations, there was power, force, and honor enough to resent injustice and insult, and the money came; and shall Missouri, filled with Negro drivers, and white men-stealers, go 'unwhipped of justice,' for tenfold greater sins than France? No! verily no! While I have powers of body and mind; while water runs and grass grows; while virtue is lovely, and vice hateful; and while a stone points out a sacred spot where a fragment of American liberty once was, —I or my posterity will plead the cause of injured innocence, until Missouri makes atonement for all her sins, or sinks disgraced, degraded, and damned to hell, 'where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.'

"Why, sir, the power not delegated to the United States, and the States, belongs to the people, and Congress sent to do the people's business have all power; and shall fifteen thousand citizens groan in exile? . . .

"And let me say, that all men who say that Congress has no power to restore and defend the rights of her citizens, have not the love of the truth abiding in them. Congress has power to protect the nation against foreign invasion and internal broil; and whenever that body passes an act to maintain right with any power, or to restore right to any portion of her citizens, IT IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND; and should a State refuse submission, that State is guilty of *insurrection or rebellion*, and the President has as much power to repel it as Washington had to march against the 'whisky boys of Pittsburg,' or General Jackson had to send an armed force to suppress the rebellion of South Carolina!

"To close, I would admonish you . . . to read in the eighth section and first article of the Constitution of the

United States, the *first*, *fourteenth*, and *seventeenth* 'specific' and not very 'limited powers' of the federal government, what can be done to protect the lives, property, and rights of a virtuous people, when the administrators of the law, and lawmakers, are unbought by bribes, uncorrupted by patronage, untempted by gold, unawed by fear, and uncontaminated by tangling alliances—even like Cæsar's wife, not *only unspotted but unsuspected!* And God, who cooled the heat of a Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, or shut the mouths of lions for the honor of a Daniel, will raise your mind above the narrow notion that the general government has no power, to the sublime idea that Congress, with the President as executor, is as almighty in its sphere as Jehovah is in his.

"With great respect I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"Hon. ('Mr.'!) J. C. Calhoun, Fort Hill, S. C."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 393-396.

He also wrote Henry Clay on the same date and in the same words. (See page 709.)

To this Mr. Clay responded promptly as follows:—

"ASHLAND, November 15, 1843.

"*Dear Sir:*—I have received your letter in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, stating that you understand that I am a candidate for the Presidency, and inquiring what would be my rule of action relative to you, as a people, should I be elected.

"I am profoundly grateful for the numerous and strong expressions of the people in my behalf, as a candidate for President of the United States; but I do not so consider myself. That much depends upon future events, and upon my sense of duty.

"Should I be a candidate, I can enter into no engagements, make no promises, give no pledges, to any particular portion of the people of the United States. If I ever enter into that high office, I must go into it free and unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from my whole life, character, and conduct.

"It is not inconsistent with this declaration to say, that I have viewed with a lively interest, the progress of the Latter Day Saints; that I have sympathized in their sufferings under injustice, as it appeared to me, which has been inflicted upon them; and that I think, in common with all other religious communities, they ought to enjoy the security and the protection of the Constitution and the laws.

"I am, with great respect, your friend and obedient servant,

"H. CLAY.

"Joseph Smith, Esq."

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 544.

This appears to us a frank and manly letter and all that should have been expected of a man situated as Mr. Clay was.

Joseph, however, being of aggressive and decisive nature, and always ready himself to give an opinion on questions at issue, was not pleased with Mr. Clay's conservative answer.

He took the letter under consideration for nearly six months, and finally, on May 13, 1844, made a lengthy reply, in which his views were forcibly expressed. (See *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 544–548.)

Joseph Smith for President.

On January 29, 1844, a political meeting was held in Nauvoo to take into consideration the proper course to pursue in the approaching presidential campaign.

The trust of the saints had so often been betrayed by political leaders that confidence in them was almost entirely gone. They could not with confidence support either of the political parties.

Upon motion of Willard Richards the meeting resolved to put out an independent ticket, and that Joseph Smith should be their candidate for President.

His views on government

Joseph, soon after, published a paper expressive of his views on the "government and policy of these United States":—

"GENERAL SMITH'S VIEWS ON THE GOVERNMENT AND POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Born in a land of liberty, and breathing an air uncorrupted with the sirocco of barbarous climes, I ever feel a

double anxiety for the happiness of all men, both in time and in eternity. My cogitations, like Daniel's, have for a long time troubled me, when I viewed the condition of men throughout the world, and more especially in this boasted realm, where the Declaration of Independence 'holds these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' but at the same time, some two or three millions of people are held as slaves for life, because the spirit in them is covered with a darker skin than ours; and hundreds of our own kindred, for an infraction, or supposed infraction, of some overwise statute, have to be incarcerated in dungeon glooms, or suffer the more moral penitentiary gravitation of mercy in a nutshell, while the duellist, the debauchee, and the defaulter for millions, and other criminals, take the uppermost rooms at feasts, or, like the bird of passage, find a more congenial clime by flight.

"The wisdom which ought to characterize the freest, wisest, and most noble nation of the nineteenth century, should, like the sun in his meridian splendor, warm every object beneath its rays; and the main efforts of her officers, who are nothing more or less than the servants of the people, ought to be directed to ameliorate the condition of all, black or white, bond or free; for the best of books says, 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.'

"Our common country presents to all men the same advantages, the same facilities, the same prospects, the same honors, and the same rewards; and without hypocrisy, the Constitution when it says, 'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America,' meant just what it said, without reference to color or condition; *ad infinitum.* The aspirations and expectations of a virtuous people, environed with so wise, so liberal, so deep,

so broad, and so high a charter of *equal rights*, as appears in said Constitution, ought to be treated by those to whom the administration of the laws are intrusted, with as much sanctity as the prayers of the saints are treated in heaven, that love, confidence, and union, like the sun, moon, and stars, should bear witness,

"Forever singing as they shine,
'The hand that made us is divine!'

"Unity is power, and when I reflect on the importance of it to the stability of all governments, I am astounded at the silly moves of persons and parties, to foment discord in order to ride into power on the current of popular excitement; nor am I less surprised at the stretches of power, or restrictions of right, which too often appear as acts of legislators, to pave the way to some favorite political schemes as destitute of intrinsic merit as a wolf's heart is of the milk of human kindness. A Frenchman would say, *'Prosque tout aimer richessess et pouvoir.'* (Almost all men like wealth and power.)

"I must dwell on this subject longer than others, for nearly one hundred years ago that golden patriot, Benjamin Franklin, drew up a plan of union for the then colonies of Great Britain that *now* are such an independent nation, which among many wise provisions for obedient children under their father's more rugged hand, thus: 'they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imports, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.' Great Britain surely lacked the laudable humanity and fostering clemency to grant such a just plan of union; but the sentiment remains like the land that honored its birth as a pattern for wise men *to study the convenience of the people more than the comfort of the cabinet.*

"And one of the most noble fathers of our freedom and country's glory, great in war, great in peace, great in the estimation of the world, and great in the hearts of his coun-

trymen,—the illustrious Washington,—said in his first inaugural address to Congress: 'I hold the surest pledges that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interest, so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the preëminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.' Verily, here shines the virtue and wisdom of a statesman in such lucid rays, that had every succeeding Congress followed the rich instruction, in all their deliberations and enactments, for the benefits and convenience of the whole community and the communities of which it is composed, no sound of a rebellion in South Carolinia; no rupture in Rhode Island; no mob in Missouri, expelling her citizens by executive authority; corruption in the ballot boxes; a border warfare between Ohio and Michigan; hard times and distress; outbreak upon outbreak in the principal cities; murder, robbery, and defalcations, scarcity of money, and a thousand other difficulties, would have torn asunder the bonds of the union; destroyed the confidence of man; and left the great body of the people to mourn over misfortunes in poverty, brought on by corrupt legislation in an hour of proud vanity, for self-aggrandizement. The great Washington, soon after the foregoing faithful admonition for the common welfare of his nation, further advised Congress that 'among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.' As the Italian would say: *Buono aviso*, (Good advice.)

"The elder Adams in his inaugural address gives national pride such a grand turn of justification, that every honest citizen must look back upon the infancy of the United States with an approving smile and rejoice, that patriotism in the rulers, virtue in the people, and prosperity in the

Union, once crowned the expectations of hope, unveiled the sophistry of the hypocrite, and silenced the folly of foes. Mr. Adams said: 'If national pride is ever justifiable, or excusable, it is when it springs not from *power* or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence.' There is no doubt such was actually the case with our young realm at the close of the last century; peace, prosperity, and union filled the country with religious toleration, temporal enjoyment, and virtuous enterprise; and gradually, too, when the deadly winter of the 'Stamp Act,' the 'Tea Act,' and other *close communion* acts of royalty had choked the growth of freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty of conscience, did light, liberty, and loyalty flourish like the cedars of God.

"The respected and venerable Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address made more than forty years ago, shows what a beautiful prospect an innocent, virtuous nation presents to the sage's eye, where there is space for enterprise, hands for industry, heads for heroes, and hearts for moral greatness. He said: 'A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye,—when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking.' Such a prospect was truly soul-stirring to a good man; but 'since the fathers have fallen asleep,' wicked and designing men have unrobed the government of its glory, and the people, if not in dust and ashes, or in sackcloth, have to lament in poverty, her departed greatness; while demagogues build fires in the north and south, east and west, to keep up their spirits *till it is better times.* But year after year has left the people to *hope* till the very name of *Congress* or State legislature, is as horrible to the sensitive friend of his country, as the house of 'Blue Beard' is to children, or 'Crockett's' Hell of London, to meek men.

When the people are secure and their rights properly respected, then the four main pillars of prosperity; viz., agriculture, manufactures, navigation, and commerce need the fostering care of government: and in so goodly a country as ours, where the soil, the climate, the rivers, the lakes, and the seacoast; the productions, the timber, the minerals; and the inhabitants are so diversified, that a pleasing variety accommodates all tastes, trades, and calculations;—it certainly is the highest point of subversion to protect the whole northern and southern, eastern and western, center and circumference of the realm, by a judicious tariff. It is an old saying and a true one, 'If you wish to be respected, respect yourselves.'

"I will adopt in part the language of Mr. Madison's inaugural address: 'To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer in all cases amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own, too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down upon them in others; to hold the union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness; to support the Constitution, which is the cement of the Union, as in its limitations as in its authorities; to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and to the people, as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system; to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction; to preserve, in their full energy, the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press;'—as far as intention aids in the fulfillment of duty, are consummations too big with benefits not to captivate the energies of all honest men to achieve them, when they can be brought to pass by reciprocation, friendly alliances, wise legislation, and honorable treaties.

"The government has once flourished under the guidance of trusty servants; and the Hon. Mr. Monroe in his day, while speaking of the Constitution, says: 'Our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the States; new States have been admitted into our union; our territory has been enlarged by fair and honorable treaty, and with great advantages to the original States; the States respectively protected by the national government, under a mild paternal system against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity which are the best proofs of wholesome law well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit? Who has been deprived of any right of person and property? who restrained from offering his vows in the mode he prefers, to the divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed to their fullest extent: and I add, with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on anyone for the crime of high treason.' What a delightful picture of power, policy, and prosperity! Truly the wise proverb is just: 'Sedaukauh teromain goy, veh-ka-sade le-u-meem khahmaut:' Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.

"But this is not all. The same honorable statesman, after having had about forty years' experience in the government, under the full tide of successful experiment, gives the following commendatory assurance of the efficiency of the *magna charta* to answer its great end and aim: *to protect the people in their rights.* 'Such, then, is the happy government under which we live; a government adequate to every purpose for which the social compact is formed; a government elective in all its branches, under which every citizen may, by his merit, obtain the highest trust recognized by the Constitution; which contains within it no cause for discord; none to put at variance one portion of the community with another; a government which protects every citizen in

the full enjoyment of his rights, and is able to protect the nation against injustice from foreign powers.'

"Again, the younger Adams in the silver age of our country's advancement to fame, in his inaugural address (1825) thus candidly declares the majesty of the youthful republic, in its increasing greatness: 'The year of jubilee since the first formation of our Union has just elapsed—that of the Declaration of Independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this Constitution. Since that period a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New States have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first Confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, the inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings. The forest has fallen by the ax of our woodmen; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers; our commerce has whitened every ocean. The dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists. Liberty and law have walked hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditures of other nations in a single year.

"In continuation of such noble sentiments, General Jackson, upon his ascension to the great chair of the chief magistracy, said: 'As long as our government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and property, liberty of conscience, and of the press, it will be worth defending; and so long as it is worth defending, a patriotic militia will cover it with an impenetrable *ægis*.'

"General Jackson's administration may be denominated the acme of American glory, liberty, and prosperity; for the national debt, which in 1815, on account of the late war, was

$125,000,000, and lessened gradually, was paid up in his golden day; and preparations were made to distribute the surplus revenue among the several States: and that august patriot, to use his own words in his farewell address, retired leaving 'a great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, honored and respected by every nation of the world.'

"At the age, then, of sixty years, our blooming republic began to decline under the withering touch of Martin Van Buren! Disappointed ambition; thirst for power, pride, corruption, party spirit, faction, patronage, perquisites, fame, tangling alliances; priestcraft and spiritual wickedness in high places; struck hands, and revelled in midnight splendor. Trouble, vexation, perplexity, and contention, mingled with hope, fear, and murmuring, rumbled through the Union and agitated the whole nation as would an earthquake at the center of the earth the world, heaving the sea beyond its bounds, and shaking the everlasting hills. So, in hopes of better times, while jealousy, hypocritical pretensions, and pompous ambition were luxuriating on the ill-gotten spoils of the people, they rose in their majesty like a tornado, and swept through the land, till General Harrison appeared, as a star among the storm clouds, for better weather.

"The calm came; and the language of that venerable patriot, in his inaugural address, while descanting upon the merits of the Constitution and its framers, thus expressed himself: 'There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple representative democracy or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when executed by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the government would terminate in virtual monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realized. But as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction,—it is, I conceive, strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given, of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency if it

really exists, and restore the government to its pristine health and vigor.' . . .

"Now, O, people! turn unto the Lord and live; and reform this nation. Frustrate the designs of wicked men. Reduce Congress at least one half. Two senators from a State and two members to a million of population, will do more business than the army that now occupy the halls of the National Legislature. Pay them two dollars and their board *per diem* (except Sundays); that is more than the farmer gets, and he lives honestly. Curtail the offices of government in pay, number, and power, for the Philistine lords have shorn our nation of its goodly locks in the lap of Delilah.

"Petition your State legislature to pardon every convict in their several penitentiaries: blessing them as they go, and saying to them in the name of the Lord, *Go thy way and sin no more.* Advise your legislators when they make laws for larceny, burglary, or any felony, to make the penalty applicable to work upon the roads, public works, or any place where the culprit can be taught more wisdom and more virtue, and become more enlightened. Rigor and seclusion will never do as much to reform the propensities of man, as reason and friendship. Murder only can claim confinement or death. Let the penitentiaries be turned into seminaries of learning, where intelligence, like the angels of heaven, would banish such fragments of barbarism: Imprisonment for debt is a meaner practice than the savage tolerates with all his ferocity; '*Amor vincit omnia:*' Love conquers all.

"Petition also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave States, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame. Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands, and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress. Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire them to labor like other human beings; for 'an hour of virtuous liberty on earth, is worth a whole eternity of bondage!' Abolish the practice in the

army and navy of trying men by court-martial for desertion; if a soldier or marine runs away, send him his wages, with this instruction, that *his country will never trust him again, he has forfeited his honor.* Make HONOR the standard with all men: be sure that good is rendered for evil in all cases; and the whole nation, like a kingdom of kings and priests, will rise up with righteousness, and be respected as wise and worthy on earth; and as just and holy for heaven; by Jehovah the author of perfection. More economy in the national and State governments would make less taxes among the people; more equality through the cities, towns, and country would make less distinction among the people; and more honesty and familiarity in societies would make less hypocrisy and flattery in all branches of community; and open, frank, candid, decorum to all men, in this boasted land of liberty, would beget esteem, confidence, union, and love; and the neighbor from any State, or from any country, of whatever color, clime, or tongue, could rejoice when he put his foot on the sacred soil of freedom, and exclaim: The very name of '*American*' is fraught with *friendship!* O, then, create confidence! restore freedom! break down slavery! banish imprisonment for debt, and be in love, fellowship, and peace with all the world! Remember that honesty is not subject to law: the law was made for transgressors; wherefore a Dutchman might exclaim: *Ein ehrlicher name ist besser als Reichthum:* A good name is better than riches.

'For the accommodation of the people in every State and Territory, let Congress show their wisdom by granting a national bank, with branches in each State and Territory, where the capital stock shall be held by the nation for the mother bank, and by the States and Territories, for the branches; and whose officers and directors shall be elected yearly by the people with wages at the rate of two dollars per day for services; which several banks shall never issue any more bills than the amount of capital stock in her vaults and the interest. The net gain of the mother bank shall be applied to the national revenue, and that of the branches to the States' and Territories' revenues. And the bills shall be par throughout the nation, which will mercifully cure

that fatal disorder known in cities, as *brokerage*; and leave the people's money in their own pockets.

"Give every man his constitutional freedom, and the President full power to send an army to suppress mobs; and the States authority to repeal and impugn that relic of folly, which makes it necessary for the governor of a State to make the demand of the President for troops, in cases of invasion or rebellion. The governor himself may be a mobber, and instead of being punished, as he should be for murder and treason, he may destroy the very lives, rights, and property he should protect. Like the good Samaritan, send every lawyer as soon as he repents and obeys the ordinances of heaven, to preach the gospel to the destitute, without purse or scrip, pouring in the oil and the wine;—a learned priesthood is certainly more honorable than '*a hireling clergy.*'

"As to the contiguous territories to the United States, wisdom would direct no tangling alliance: Oregon belongs to this government honorably, and when we have the red man's consent, let the Union spread from the east to the west sea; and if Texas petitions Congress to be adopted among the sons of liberty, give her the right hand of fellowship; and refuse not the same friendly grip to Canada and Mexico; and when the right arm of freemen is stretched out in the character of a navy, for the protection of rights, commerce, and honor, let the iron eyes of power watch from Maine to Mexico, and from California to Columbia; thus may union be strengthened, and foreign speculation prevented from opposing broadside to broadside.

"Seventy years have done much for this goodly land: they have burst the chains of oppression and monarchy, and multiplied its inhabitants from two to twenty millions, with a proportionate share of knowledge keen enough to circumnavigate the globe, draw the lightning from the clouds, and cope with all the crowned heads of the world. . . .

"The southern people are hospitable and noble: they will help to rid so *free* a country of every vestige of slavery, whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property. The country will be full of money and confidence,

when a national bank of twenty millions, and a State bank in every State, with a million or more, give a tone to monetary matters, and make a circulating medium as valuable in the purses of a whole community as in the coffers of a speculating banker or broker.

"The people may have faults, but they never should be trifled with. . . .

"In the United States the people are the government; and their united voice is the only sovereign that should rule, the only power that should be obeyed, and the only gentlemen that should be honored, at home and abroad, on the land and on the sea; wherefore, were I the President of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people, I would honor the old paths of the venerated fathers of freedom: I would walk in the tracks of the illustrious patriots, who carried the ark of the government upon their shoulders with an eye single to the glory of the people; and when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave States, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted, and give liberty to the captive, by giving the southern gentleman a reasonable equivalent for his property, that the whole nation might be free indeed! When the people petitioned for a national bank, I would use my best endeavors to have their prayers answered, and establish one on national principles to save taxes, and make them the controllers of its ways and means; and when the people petitioned to possess the territory of Oregon or any other contiguous territory; I would lend the influence of a chief magistrate to grant so reasonable a request, that they might extend the mighty efforts and enterprise of a free people from the east to the west sea; and make the wilderness blossom as the rose; and when a neighboring realm petitioned to join the Union of the sons of liberty, my voice would be, *Come:* yea, come Texas; come Mexico; come Canada; and come all the world—let us be brethren: let us be one great family; and let there be universal peace. Abolish the cruel customs of prisons (except certain cases), penitentiaries, and court martials for desertion; and let reason and friendship reign over the ruins of ignorance and barbarity; yea I would, as the universal friend of man, open

the prisons; open the eyes; open the ears and open the hearts of all people, to behold and enjoy freedom, unadulterated freedom. And God, who once cleansed the violence of the earth with a flood, whose Son laid down his life for the salvation of all his Father gave him out of the world, and who has promised that he will come and purify the world again with fire in the last days, should be supplicated by me for the good of all people.

"With the highest esteem, I am a friend of virtue and of the people,

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"NAUVOO, Illinois, February 7, 1844."

— *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 528–533.

Times and Seasons declares for him.

As early as March 1, 1844, the *Times and Seasons* placed at the head of its editorial column, "For President, General Joseph Smith, of Nauvoo, Illinois."

The same issue of the paper contained an editorial in defense of the movement in nominating Mr. Smith.

On May 17, 1844, a State convention was held in Nauvoo. At that time, Joseph Smith, of Illinois, was formally nominated for President of the United States, and Sidney Rigdon, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President.

Apostles enter the canvass.

The Twelve Apostles and many others entered upon a canvass of the States to present this ticket to the people. Thus was the ticket placed prominently before the public for their consideration; and of course the propriety of the move thus became a legitimate subject of inquiry.

The purpose.

We have the undoubted right yet to discuss the wisdom and propriety of the move. We cannot entertain the thought that the instigators of the movement had the remotest idea of electing their ticket; some other motive must be ascribed to them. It is probable that they chose to cast an honest vote in the face of certain defeat, rather than support successfully what they esteemed to be fraudulent and corrupt. They had the further purpose to get before the public through this canvass certain political reforms which they believed to be sorely needed.

Whether these ends justified the means is doubtful; yet we must not forget that this subject, like all others, has two sides.

From one standpoint it seems a thing incongruous that a high church official—a prophet of God should aspire to political honors, and seek to fill such a position. It savors too much of the doctrine of church and state to be acceptable in a republic. On the other hand, when the church in a body had been deprived of citizenship in a sovereign State, their lives imperiled, at the mercy of a lawless mob sustained by an inhuman Executive, and they robbed of thousands of dollars, where no redress could be obtained because of the false application of a political doctrine, it seems at least a plausible excuse for a leading church official to enter the political arena and contend for the suppression of that particular fallacy.

Such was the situation at the time, and that the doctrine of State sovereignty was largely responsible, none can deny. If not responsible for the overt and unlawful acts in the first place, it was responsible for preventing redress of wrongs inflicted. Opposition to the doctrine of State sovereignty was the keynote of Joseph's political doctrine. Had his recommendations been adopted then and that doctrine suppressed, this nation might have been spared the horrors of a bloody civil conflict from the effect of which we have not yet recovered.

Politically, Joseph Smith was comparatively unknown, and his candidacy from a political standpoint was a hopeless one, yet we should not forget that when sixteen years later this same doctrine of "State sovereignty" had plunged our nation into the throes of civil war, there arose, from this same State of Illinois, an obscure backwoodsman, who saved the nation by his determined opposition to this political fallacy.

Which would have been the better for the nation, to have accepted the political views of Joseph Smith in 1844, and by heroic measures to have settled this question peaceably, or having waited sixteen years, to be forced, as it was, to settle it by the arbitrament of the sword?

We do not intend by these reflections to commit ourselves to the indorsement of the political policy pursued by the church in 1844. They are intended simply as suggestive to the wise, that before they rashly condemn, they carefully consider.

CHAPTER 32.

1844.

POLITICAL SITUATION—JOSEPH DID NOT DICTATE POLYGAMY FALSE AND CORRUPT — HYRUM SMITH DENOUNCES IT — JOHN TAYLOR AGAINST SPIRITUAL WIFE SYSTEM — WILLIAM MARKS ON POLYGAMY—OLD MAN OF ISRAEL REPUDIATES IT — JOHN TAYLOR INDORSES THE OLD MAN — TAYLOR RESENTS THE CHARGE OF POLYGAMY—PRATT THINKS IT BARRED BY LAW—FALSEHOODS HAVE BEEN TOLD — GENERAL CONFERENCE — KING FOLLETT SERMON—MISSIONARY APPOINTMENTS—LAW AND OTHERS DISAFFECTED—CRIME NOT PROVEN—TROUBLESOME TIMES—F. M. HIGBEE VERSUS JOSEPH SMITH—MUNICIPAL COURT—CONSPIRACY DISCLOSED — THE EXPOSITOR — THE PUBLIC EXCITED — POLITICAL SUPPORT WITHDRAWN—GOV. FORD ON THE SITUATION—AVOID ARREST.

THE year 1844 opened with public feeling running high on the "Mormon" question. So numerous had the saints become that their favor was eagerly sought by both political parties; and while each party was ready to favor and praise them if by so doing their patronage could be secured, they were each equally ready to abuse, slander, and if possible expel them, if their support was not given; so that in any event they were sure to have pronounced and bitter enemies.

Political situation.

This had just been illustrated in the campaign of 1843, when Cyrus Walker, Whig candidate for Congress, was defeated by his Democratic opponent, Mr. Hoge; and it was determined by the returns that if the votes of Nauvoo, a large majority of which were cast for Hoge, had been cast for Walker, he would have been successful. The rage of the Whigs knew no bounds.

Governor Ford relates the circumstances truthfully, no doubt. He writes:—

"The next day Mr. Hoge received about three thousand votes in Nauvoo, and was elected to Congress by six or eight hundred majority. The result of the election struck the

Whigs with perfect amazement. Whilst they fancied themselves secure of getting the Mormon vote for Mr. Walker, the Whig newspapers had entirely ceased their accustomed abuse of the Mormons. They now renewed their crusade against them; every paper was loaded with accounts of the wickedness, corruptions, and enormities of Nauvoo. The Whig orators groaned with complaints and denunciations of the Democrats, who would consent to receive Mormon support, and the Democratic officers of the State were violently charged and assaulted with using the influence of their offices to govern the Mormons. From this time forth the Whigs generally, and a part of the Democrats, determined upon driving the Mormons out of the State; and everything connected with the Mormons became political, and was considered almost entirely with reference to party. To this circumstance in part, is to be attributed the extreme difficulty ever afterwards of doing anything effectually in relation to the Mormon or anti-Mormon parties, by the executive government."—Ford's History of Illinois, p. 319.

From this we can easily see that it was largely the spirit of partisan politics that caused the agitation which finally culminated in the tragic and horrible assassination at Carthage and the expulsion of the church from Nauvoo.

Nor can we truthfully suppose that it would have been different had the Democrats been defeated. It was not the Whig party, as such, that caused the mischief; it was the partisan spirit that ruled in politics, affecting all parties. It has in this instance, at least, proven to be a curse to the church. It is a menace to the prosperity of the nation, and always detrimental, even to the interest of the party it seeks to serve.

As will be seen by Mr. Ford's statement, the two parties were so nearly equal in that congressional district that the saints held the balance of power; and it was charged that the Mormon leaders controlled the votes of the church, and hence were in a position to absolutely dictate the election.

Joseph did not dictate.

While all men do have, or should have, some influence; yet so far as Joseph Smith dictating the vote of Nauvoo is concerned. the charge seems to be ground-

less, as Mr. Ford himself states. While the vote was largely for Mr. Hoge, and he received the support of Hyrum Smith, Joseph voted for Mr. Walker, and stated, "that he would not, if he could, influence any voter in giving his vote; that he considered it a mean business for him or any other man to attempt to dictate to the people whom they should support in elections."

Such, in brief, were the facts regarding political dictation, of which so much has been said.

Polygamy false and corrupt.

The *Times and Seasons* for February 1, 1844, contains an item that, taken in connection with subsequent issues, is of peculiar importance to history. It is a published notice over the signatures of Joseph and Hyrum Smith wherein they declare polygamy a false and corrupt doctrine, and give notice of the expulsion of an Elder Brown for teaching that "and other false and corrupt doctrines."[1]

Hyrum Smith denounces it.

In keeping with this is the statement of Hyrum Smith, in a letter written to the members of the church on China Creek, Hancock County, Illinois, on March 15, 1844.[2]

[1] NOTICE.

As we have lately been credibly informed that an elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by the name of Hiram Brown, has been preaching polygamy, and other false and corrupt doctrines, in the county of Lapeer, State of Michigan;—

This is to notify him and the church in general, that he has been cut off from the church for his iniquity; and he is further notified to appear at the special conference, on the 6th of April next, to make answer to these charges.

JOSEPH SMITH, } Presidents of said Church.
HYRUM SMITH, }

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 423.

[2] The following is an extract from the above-mentioned letter:—

NAUVOO, March 15, 1844.

To the Brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, living on China Creek, in Hancock County, Greeting:—Whereas Brother Richard Hewitt has called on me to-day, to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place, and states to me that some of your elders say, that a man *having a certain priesthood*, may have as many wives as he pleases, and that doctrine is taught here: I say unto you that that man teaches *false doctrine*, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practiced here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine, is culpable, and will stand a chance to be brought before the High Council,

In the issue for April 1, 1844, the editor of the *Times and Seasons*, John Taylor, of the Twelve Apostles, states:—

"We very frequently receive letters from elders and individuals abroad, inquiring of us whether certain statements that they hear, and have written to them, are true: some pertaining to John C. Bennett's spiritual wife system; others in regard to immoral conduct, practiced by individuals, and sanctioned by the church; and as it is impossible for us to answer all of them, we take this opportunity of answering them all, once for all."—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 490.

John Taylor against spiritual wife system.

In his reply to these questions he expresses his surprise that anyone acquainted with Nauvoo would ask such questions, and closes with a strong disapproval of any man who will teach what is not found in the standard books of the church, denounces him as an impostor, and advises that he be disfellowshipped.[3]

and lose his license and membership also: therefore he had better beware what he is about.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 474.

In connection with this the following extract from a private letter to J. J. Strang, written by Mr. Hewitt, of Bastrop, Texas, June 14, 1849, (the original of which is now before us,) is significant:—

I want to know what your mind is about men having the priesthood, having more wives than one. The principle is taught amongst all that I have been with. Some have from two to ten, or twenty, and some have none. If it is consistent I want you to let me know when you write to me, and I want you to write as soon as you get this, so Brother Miller [Bishop George Miller] and myself may know what to do. You must excuse me for asking so much, but you must bear with me, as I confess I am ignorant. Bro. Miller says their whoring will send them all to hell. You can see Bro. Hyrum's epistle to me on that subject, in the *Times and Seasons*, 15th March, 1844, if I don't mistake. I don't find such things in the Book of Covenants, nor in the Book of Mormon, nor in the writings of the apostles: and I don't want to be deceived, nor flattered any more, etc.

[3] If any man writes to you, or preaches to you, doctrines contrary to the Bible, the Book of Mormon, or the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, set him down as an impostor. You need not write to us to know what you are to do with such men; you have the authority with you. Try them by the principles contained in the acknowledged word of God; if they preach, or teach, or practice contrary to that, disfellowship them; cut them off from among you as useless and dangerous branches, and if they are belonging to any of the quorums in the church, report them to the president of the quorum to which they belong; and if you cannot find that out, if they are members of an official standing, belonging to Nauvoo, report them to us.

Follow after purity, virtue, holiness, integrity, godliness, and every-

Wm. Marks on polygamy.

The testimony of William Marks, then President of the Nauvoo Stake, indicates that Joseph Smith continued in his opposition to polygamy up to a few days before his death, though some members of the church were guilty of the crime. It shows further that Joseph realized that to save the church from destruction such parties must be expelled from the church.[4]

thing that has a tendency to exalt and ennoble the human mind; and shun every man who teaches any other principles.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 490, 491.

[4] OPPOSITION TO POLYGAMY BY THE PROPHET JOSEPH.

Brother Sheen:—I feel desirous to communicate through your periodical a few suggestions made manifest to me by the Spirit of God, in relation to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. About the first of June, 1844, (situated as I was at that time, being Presiding Elder of the Stake at Nauvoo, and by appointment the presiding officer of the High Council,) I had a very good opportunity to know the affairs of the church; and my convictions at that time were, that the church in a great measure had departed from the pure principles and doctrines of Jesus Christ. I felt much troubled in mind about the condition of the church. I prayed earnestly to my heavenly Father to show me something in regard to it, when I was wrapped in vision, and it was shown me by the Spirit that the top or branches had overcome the root, in sin and wickedness, and the only way to cleanse and purify it was to disorganize it, and in due time the Lord would reorganize it again. There were many other things suggested to my mind, but the lapse of time has erased them from my memory.

A few days after this occurrence I met with Brother Joseph. He said that he wanted to converse with me on the affairs of the church, and we retired by ourselves. I will give his words *verbatim*, for they are indelibly stamped upon my mind. He said he had desired for a long time to have a talk with me on the subject of polygamy. He said it eventually would prove the overthrow of the church, and we should soon be obliged to leave the United States, unless it could be speedily put down. He was satisfied that it was a cursed doctrine, and that there must be every exertion made to put it down. He said that he would go before the congregation and proclaim against it, and I must go into the High Council, and he would prefer charges against those in transgression, and I must sever them from the church, unless they made ample satisfaction. There was much more said, but this was the substance. The mob commenced to gather about Carthage in a few days after, therefore there was nothing done concerning it.

After the Prophet's death, I made mention of this conversation to several, hoping and believing that it would have a good effect; but to my great disappointment, it was soon rumored about that Brother Marks was about to apostatize, and that all that he said about the conversation with the Prophet was a tissue of lies. From that time I was satisfied that the church would be disorganized, and the death of the Prophet and Patriarch tended to confirm me in that opinion. From that time I was looking for a reorganization of the church and kingdom of God. I feel thankful that I have lived to again behold the day, when the basis of the church is the revelations of Jesus Christ, which is the only sure foun-

"Old man of Israel" repudiates it.

For some time after the death of Joseph the leading men of the church occupied the same attitude towards polygamy. In the *Times and Seasons* for November, 1844, a communication signed "An old man of Israel," condemns the doctrine in unqualified terms.[5]

John Taylor indorses the "old man."

This, perhaps, could not be considered official if it stood alone, but as it received editorial indorsement in the same issue of the paper when John Taylor, one of the Twelve apostles, was editor and proprietor, it must be considered authoritative.[6]

Taylor resents the charge of polygamy.

This same Apostle Taylor resented the accusation of polygamy made against the church, in a discussion held by himself at Boulogne-sur-Mer, France, in July, 1850, and read from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants to disprove the allegation.[7]

dation to build upon. I feel to invite all my brethren to become identified with us, for the Lord is truly in our midst.

WILLIAM MARKS.

SHABBONA, DeKalb County, Illinois, Oct. 23, 1859.

—*Saints' Herald*, vol. 1, pp. 22, 23.

[5] The saints of the last days have witnessed the outgoings and the incomings of so many apostates that nothing but truth has any effect upon them. In the present instance, after the *sham* quotations of Sidney and his clique, from the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants, to skulk off, under the "dreadful splendor" of "spiritual wifery," which is brought into the account as graciously as if the law of the land allowed a man a plurality of wives, is fiendish, and like the rest of Sidney's revelation, just because he wanted "to go to Pittsburg and live." Woe to the man or men who will thus willfully lie to injure an innocent people! The law of the land and the rules of the church do not allow one man to have more than one wife alive at once, but if any man's wife die, he has a right to marry another, and to be sealed to both for eternity; to the living and the dead! there is no law of God or man against it! This is all the spiritual wife system that ever was tolerated in the church, and they know it.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 715.

[6] ☞ For the communication of an "old man of Israel," and the letter of Elder Addison Pratt from the islands of the Pacific Ocean, we bespeak a hearty welcome. They are genuine.—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 711.

[7] We are accused here of polygamy, and actions the most indelicate, obscene, and disgusting, such that none but a corrupt and depraved heart could have contrived. These things are too outrageous to admit of belief; therefore leaving the sisters of the "White Veil," the "Black Veil," and all the other veils, with those gentlemen to dispose of, together with their authors, as they think best, I shall content myself by reading our views of chastity and marriage, from a work published by us, containing some of the articles of our faith.—"Doctrine and Covenants," page 330. [Liverpool edition.] [He here read article on mar-

Parley P. Pratt, also one of the Twelve Apostles, and at the time editor of the *Millennial Star*, *editorially* disclaims polygamy, in August, 1842, and reasons that it could never become a tenet of the church because of its opposition to the text-books of the church.[8]

Pratt thinks it barred by law.

Taking these facts in connection with subsequent developments, it is evident that there has been some contemptible lying on this subject.

Falsehoods.

If Joseph and Hyrum Smith, or either of them, were implicated in the practice of polygamy or in telling falsehoods regarding it, we have no disposition to shield them; but in justice to them we insist that neither of these crimes shall be fastened upon them without competent evidence; and we further contend that neither those who have perjured themselves by giving conflicting testimony on the subject, nor those who justify such procedure, are competent or reliable witnesses.

A special conference was held at Nauvoo, convening on April 6, 1844. The business done was not of special historical importance, being principally devoted to instruction.

General Conference.

It was at this conference that Joseph Smith preached the funeral sermon of King Follett. A synopsis of this sermon was published in the *Times and Seasons* in August, 1844. We do not feel justified in presenting this synopsis as containing the teachings of Joseph Smith, for several reasons. First: The sermon was said to be a very long one, while this extract covers less than five pages of the *Times and Seasons*, and can leisurely be read in about twenty-five minutes. One cannot get the true sense

King Follett sermon.

riage as given on pp. 596 and 597 this volume.]—Orson Pratt's Works, Public Discussion between Reverends C. W. Cleeve, James Robertson, and Philip Cater, and Elder John Taylor, p. 8.

[8] But, for the information of those who may be assailed by those foolish tales about the two wives, we would say that no such principle ever existed among the Latter Day Saints, and never will; this is well known to all who are acquainted with our books and actions, the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants; and also all our periodicals are very strict and explicit on that subject, indeed far more so than the Bible.—*Millennial Star*, vol. 3, p. 74.

of a discourse from so meager an extract. Second: It was not found in print until after Joseph's death, and hence was not subjected to his inspection as published. Third: Its style and diction, as well as its doctrinal teachings, differ so widely from the productions of Joseph Smith as found elsewhere that it suggests suspicion as to its genuineness. Fourth: We have no evidence that a *verbatim* report was made when delivered, and hence it must have been written from memory, or at best from notes. So without indorsing or condemning we decline to present it as historically correct.

At this conference there was quite a large force of missionaries sent out.

About this time disaffection, in which the Laws, Doctor Foster, and the Higbees figured prominently, culminated, and under date of April 18, 1844, the Church Recorder published notice that several had been expelled for "unchristianlike conduct." *

Law and o'hers disaffected.

We have never been able to determine fully the cause of this trouble. Crime and immoral conduct were charged on both sides and many conflicting stories told and published. The more we have read and heard on the subject the less prepared are we to state just what the status of the case was. We are unwilling to state our opinion in the absence of verified facts upon which to base that opinion.

Crime not proven.

We, however, have carefully examined all that has come under our observation, and found no conclusive evidence of immorality or dishonesty against Joseph Smith or others who remained in association with him.

This agitation within the church, however, connected with the religious and political influence used against the church

* NAUVOO, April 18, 1844.

Robert D. Foster, Wilson Law, William Law, and Jane Law, of Nauvoo, and Howard Smith, of Scott County, Illinois, for unchristianlike conduct, were cut off from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by the authorities of said church, and ordered to be published in the *Times and Seasons*.

W. RICHARDS, Church Recorder.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, p. 511.

from without, produced troublesome times in and around Nauvoo, and public feeling ran so high that the lives of the Prophet and others of the leading men were in constant danger, and conditions were ripening for the bloody and cruel consummation at Carthage.

Troublesome times.

On May 6, 1844, Joseph was arrested by officer John D. Parker on a warrant issued by the clerk of the Circuit Court at Carthage, issued on complaint of Francis M. Higbee, one of the dissenters mentioned above. It appears that Higbee claimed five thousand dollars damage, but his complaint did not specify upon what his claim was based; nor was there any crime charged whatever.

F. M. Higbee versus Joseph Smith.

Joseph obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* and brought the case before the Municipal Court at Nauvoo. Before this court he had an investigation on the 8th and was duly discharged. The complainant did not appear, either in person or by counsel.

Municipal Court.

On the request of the defendant the court allowed the case to proceed, and the evidence disclosed that a conspiracy existed between Francis M. Higbee and others to take the life of Joseph Smith.

Conspiracy disclosed.

Immediately after this a "prospectus" was issued and distributed for a paper to be called the Nauvoo *Expositor*.

The Expositor.

On May 18, 1844, F. M. Higbee and others were expelled from the church for apostasy.

June 7, 1844, the *Expositor* made its appearance. It contained much that was of a slanderous character, and also affidavits against the character of the Prophet and others.

June 10, 1844, the City Council declared the *Expositor* a nuisance, and ordered the mayor (Joseph Smith) to have the establishment and paper removed without delay in such manner as he should elect. The mayor issued an order to the marshal, John P. Green, who with a posse proceeded to the office of the *Expositor* and removed the press, type, paper, and fixtures into the street, and destroyed them.

F. M. Higbee went before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, at Carthage, Illinois, and obtained a writ for the

arrest of Joseph Smith, Samuel Bennett, John Taylor, William W. Phelps, Hyrum Smith, John P. Green, Stephen Perry, D. B. Huntington, Jonathan Dunham, Stephen Markham, William Edwards, Jonathan Harmon, J. P. Harmon, John Lytle, J. W. Coolidge, H. D. Redfield, Porter Rockwell, and Levi Richards, on a charge of riot.

Joseph Smith sued out a writ of *habeas corpus* in the Municipal Court of Nauvoo and was, after due investigation, discharged by that tribunal. Subsequently all the others named in the writ took the same course and were also acquitted.

On the 14th the mayor made a detailed report of the *Expositor* case to Governor Ford, and stated that if the Governor had any doubts about the legality of the proceedings, he had only to signify it and all who were implicated would go before any legal tribunal at the State capital and submit to an investigation; that he need not go to the trouble or expense to issue a writ, as they would respond upon the receipt of his expressed wish.

Upon the advice of Judge Jesse B. Thomas, those named in the warrant for riot, again submitted to arrest. They were rearrested by Constable Joel S. Miles on a writ issued upon the complaint of W. G. Ware, by Daniel H. Wells, justice of the peace.

They had a lengthy examination before Esquire Wells, who was not then a member of the church, and they were again acquitted.

During all this time mobs were collecting in different parts of the county; inflammatory speeches were being made from pulpit and rostrum. The press, especially the Warsaw *Signal*, were opening their columns to the most slanderous reports that could be invented. So with traitors within and foes without times were very perilous in Nauvoo.

The public excited.

What favor they had secured from the Democratic party by their support of Mr. Hoge in the election of 1843, was now withdrawn, because of their action in putting out an independent ticket for the ensuing election. This action served notice to both parties that the

Political support withdrawn.

"Mormons" could not be depended upon to assist either of them in carrying the State in the presidential election, and hence, though there was no party action taken as such, yet men of different political beliefs were equally clamorous to expel the saints from the State.

Gov. Ford on the situation.

Governor Ford in his message to the legislature in December, 1844, admits that the accusations made against the citizens of Nauvoo were false, and were originated for the purpose of exciting public prejudice against them.[10]

[10] These also were the active men in blowing up the fury of the people; in hopes that a popular movement might be set on foot, which would result in the expulsion or extermination of the Mormon voters. For this purpose public meetings had been called; inflammatory speeches had been made; exaggerated and unfounded reports had been extensively circulated; committees had been appointed, and rode night and day to spread the reports, and solicit the aid of the neighboring counties. And at a public meeting at Warsaw resolutions were passed to expel or exterminate the Mormon population. This was not, however, a movement which was unanimously concurred in. The county contained a goodly number of inhabitants in favor of peace, or who at least desired to be neutral in such a contest. These were stigmatized by the name of "Jack Mormons," and there were not a few of the more furious exciters of the people, who openly expressed their intention to involve them in the common expulsion or extermination.

A system of excitement and agitation was artfully planned and executed with tact. It was planned and executed very much upon the principle adopted by the Jacobins in revolutionary France. It consisted in spreading reports and rumors of the most fearful character. As examples: On the morning before my arrival at Carthage I was awakened at an early hour, by the frightful report, which was asserted with confidence and apparent consternation, that the Mormons had already commenced the work of burning, destruction, and murder; and that every man capable of bearing arms was instantly wanted at Carthage for the protection of the country. We lost no time in starting; but when we arrived at Carthage we could hear no more concerning this story. Again, during the few days that the militia were encamped at Carthage, frequent applications were made to me, to send a force here, and a force there, and a force all about the country, to prevent murders, robberies, and larcenies, which it was said were threatened by the Mormons. No such forces were sent; nor were any such offenses committed at that time, except the stealing of some provisions; and there was never the least proof that this was done by a Mormon. Again, on my late visit to Hancock County I was informed by some of their violent enemies that the larcenies of the Mormons had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told

Amidst this tumult the writ for riot in destroying the Nauvoo *Expositor* was renewed, and placed in the hands of Constable Bettisworth. Joseph and Hyrum Smith, though willing to submit to legal investigation when protected, feared the violence of the mob, and hence concluded to avoid arrest. They left their homes and crossed the Mississippi River into Iowa, where for the time they were secure.

Avoid arrest.

of the Hancock story, again changed the venue, to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams.—Message of Governor Ford, December 23, 1844, pp. 7, 8.

CHAPTER 33.

1844.

GOVERNOR ASSURES PROTECTION—ADMITTED TO BAIL—CHARGED WITH TREASON—HISTORY OF THE TRAGEDY—STATEMENT OF ATTORNEY REID—PACIFIC STATEMENT—WRITS FOR WILLIAMS AND OTHERS—INDICTMENTS—GOVERNOR FORD'S ACCOUNT—FORD'S OPINION—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS—JOSEPH UNDECIDED WHERE TO GO—JOSEPH'S LOYALTY—EMPLOYS BROWNING—FUNERAL OBSEQUIES—REFLECTIONS—JOSEPH'S FAMILY—HYRUM'S FAMILY.

Governor assures protection.

UPON receiving the assurance of Governor Ford that they would receive the protection of the militia, Joseph and Hyrum Smith returned from their retirement, went to Carthage, and delivered themselves up to Constable Bettisworth.

Admitted to bail.

They then appeared before Justice R. F. Smith, of Carthage, Illinois, and captain of the Carthage Greys, and "voluntarily entered into recognizance in the sum of five hundred dollars each, with unexceptionable security, for their appearance at the next term of the Circuit Court."

Charged with treason.

On the same day they were arrested on a charge of "treason against the State of Illinois." On this charge and against the protest of their counsel, they were committed to jail, without examination; where they met their tragic death.

History of the tragedy.

The history of this affair, together with facts in the case, written by their counsel and others, were published in the *Times and Seasons* for July 1, 1844. These accounts will tell the story better than we can tell it, and we reproduce them for the reader's examination:—

"AWFUL ASSASSINATION OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH!

THE PLEDGED FAITH OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

STAINED WITH INNOCENT BLOOD BY A MOB!

"On Monday the 24th inst., after Governor Ford had sent word that those eighteen persons demanded on a warrant,

among whom were Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith, *should be protected* by the militia of the State, they in company with some ten or twelve others started for Carthage. Four miles from that place they were met by Captain Dunn with a company of cavalry, who had an order from the Governor for the '*State arms.*' General Smith indorsed his acceptance of the same, and both parties returned to Nauvoo to obtain said arms. After the arms were obtained, both parties took up the line of march for Carthage, where they arrived about five minutes before twelve o'clock at night. Captain Dunn nobly acquitting himself, landed us safely at Hamilton's Hotel.

"In the morning we saw the Governor, and he *pledged the faith of the State* that we should be protected. General Smith and his brother Hyrum were arrested by a warrant founded upon the oaths of H. O. Norton and Augustine Spencer, for *treason.* Knowing the threats from several persons, that the two Smiths should never leave Carthage *alive*, we all began to be alarmed for their personal safety. The Governor and General Deming conducted them before the McDonough troops and introduced them as *General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith.* This maneuver came near raising a mutiny among the 'Carthage Greys,' but the Governor quelled it.

"In the afternoon, after great exertions on the part of our counsel, we dispensed with an investigation, and voluntarily gave bail for our appearance to the Circuit Court, to answer in the case of abating the Nauvoo *Expositor* as a nuisance.

"At evening the justice made out a mittimus, without an investigation, and committed the two Generals Smith to prison *until discharged by due course of law*, and they were safely guarded to jail. In the morning the Governor went to the jail and had an interview with these men, and to every appearance all things were explained on both sides.

"The constable then went to take these men from the jail, before the justice for examination, but the jailer refused to let them go, as they were under his direction '*till discharged by due course of law;*' but the Governor's troops, to the amount of one or two hundred, took them to the courthouse, when

the hearing was continued till Saturday the 29th, and they were remanded to jail. Several of our citizens had permits from the Governor to lodge with them, and visit them in jail.

"It now began to be rumored by several men, whose names will be forthcoming in time, *that there was nothing against these men; the law could not reach them, but powder and ball would!* The Governor was made acquainted with these facts, but on the morning of the 27th he disbanded the McDonough troops and sent them home, took Captain Dunn's company of cavalry and proceeded to Nauvoo, leaving these two men and three or four friends to be guarded by *eight men* at the jail; and a company in town of sixty men, eighty or one hundred rods from the jail as a corps in reserve.

"About six o'clock in the afternoon the guard was surprised by an armed mob of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty, painted red, black, and yellow, which surrounded the jail, forced in—poured a shower of bullets into the room where these unfortunate men were held, 'in durance vile,' to answer to the laws of Illinois; under the solemn pledge of the faith of the State, by Governor Ford, *that they should be protected!* but the mob ruled!! They fell as martyrs amid this tornado of lead, each receiving four bullets! John Taylor was wounded by four bullets in his limbs, but not seriously. Thus perishes the hope of law; thus vanishes the plighted faith of the State; thus the blood of innocence stains the constituted authorities of the United States; and thus have two among the most noble martyrs since the slaughter of Abel sealed the truth of their divine mission, *by being shot by a mob for their religion!*

"Messengers were dispatched to Nauvoo, but did not reach there till morning. The following was one of the letters:—

"Twelve o'clock at night, 27th June,
"CARTHAGE, Hamilton's Tavern.

"*To Mrs. Emma Smith, and Major-General Dunham, etc.:*—The Governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken.

"I say to all the citizens of Nauvoo, my brethren, Be still, and know that *God reigns. Don't rush out of the city*—don't rush to Carthage; stay at home, and be prepared for an at-

attack from Missouri mobbers. The Governor will render every assistance possible—has sent out orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, but not by the Carthage people; the guards were true as I believe.

"We will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

"The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the Mormons will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the Mormons will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part. And say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, Be still; be patient; only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed and not serious; I am sound.

"WILLARD RICHARDS.
"JOHN TAYLOR.
"SAMUEL H. SMITH.

"Defend yourselves until protection can be furnished necessary. June 27, 1844.

"THOMAS FORD,
"Governor and Commander in Chief.

"*Mr. Orson Spencer; Dear Sir:*—Please deliberate on this matter; prudence may obviate material destruction. I was at my residence when this horrible crime was committed. It will be condemned by three fourths of the citizens of the county. Be quiet or you will be attacked from Missouri.

"M. R. DEMING.

"The Governor, as well as the citizens of Carthage, was thunderstruck! and fled.

"The legion in Nauvoo was called out at ten a. m. and addressed by Judge Phelps, Colonel Buckmaster, of Alton, the Governor's aid, and others; and all excitement and fury allayed, and preparations were made to receive the bodies of the noble martyrs. About three o'clock they were met by a great assemblage of people, east of the temple on Mulholland Street, under the direction of the city marshal, followed by Samuel H. Smith, the brother of the deceased, Doctor Richards, and Mr. Hamilton, of Carthage. The wagons were guarded by eight men. The procession that followed in Nauvoo, was the City Council, the Lieutenant-General's staff, the Major-General and staff, the Brigadier-General and staff, com-

manders and officers of the legion, and citizens generally, which numbered several thousands, amid the most solemn lamentations and wailings that ever ascended into the ears of the Lord of Hosts to be avenged of our enemies!

"When the procession arrived the bodies were both taken into the 'Nauvoo Mansion'; the scene at the mansion cannot be described: the audience was addressed by Doctor Richards, Judge Phelps, Woods and Reid, Esqs., of Iowa, and Colonel Markham. It was a vast assemblage of some eight or ten thousand persons, and with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a high-handed assassination, and when that failed, to call upon God to avenge us of our wrongs! Oh, widows and orphans! Oh, Americans! weep, for the glory of freedom has departed!

"STATEMENT OF FACTS!

"At the request of many persons who wish that the truth may go forth to the world in relation to the late murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, by a band of lawless assassins, I have consented to make a statement of the facts so far as they have come to my knowledge, in an authentic shape, as one of the attorneys employed to defend the said Smiths against the charges brought against them and other persons at Carthage, in the State of Illinois.

Statement of Attorney Reid.

"On Monday the 24th inst., at the request of General Joseph Smith I left Fort Madison, in the Territory of Iowa, and arrived at Carthage, where I expected to meet the General, his brother Hyrum, and the other persons implicated with them; they arrived at Carthage late at night, and next morning voluntarily surrendered themselves to the constable, Mr. Bettisworth, who held the writ against them on a charge of riot for destroying the press, type, and fixtures of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, the property of William and Wilson Law, and other dissenters, charged to have been destroyed on the 10th inst.

"Great excitement prevailed in the county of Hancock, and had extended to many of the surrounding counties. A large number of the militia of several counties were under arms at Carthage, the headquarters of the commanding General Deming; and many other troops were under arms at

Warsaw and other places in the neighborhood. The Governor was at headquarters in person, for the purpose of seeing that the laws of the land were executed, and had pledged his own faith and the faith of the State of Illinois, that the Smiths and the other persons concerned with them should be protected from personal violence, if they would surrender themselves to be dealt with according to law. During the two succeeding days his Excellency repeatedly expressed to the legal counselors of the Smiths his determination to protect the prisoners, and to see that they should have a fair and impartial examination, so far as depended on the Executive of the State. On Tuesday morning, soon after the surrender of the prisoners on the charge of riot, General Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were both arrested on a charge of treason against the State of Illinois. The affidavits upon which the writs issued were made by Henry O. Norton and Augustine Spencer.

"On Tuesday afternoon the two Smiths and other persons on the charge of riot appeared before R. F. Smith, a justice of the peace residing at Carthage; and by advice of counsel, in order to prevent if possible any increase of excitement, voluntarily entered into recognizance in the sum of five hundred dollars each with unexceptionable security, for their appearance at the next term of the Circuit Court for said county. The whole number of persons recognized is fifteen, most if not all of them leading men in the Mormon Church.

"Making out the bonds and justifying bail necessarily consumed considerable time, and when this was done it was near night, and the justice adjourned his court over without calling on the Smiths to answer to the charge of treason, or even intimating to their counsel or the prisoners that they were expected to enter into the examination that night. In less than an hour after the adjournment of the court, Constable Bettisworth, who had arrested the prisoners in the morning, appeared at Hamilton's Hotel, at the lodgings of the prisoners and their counsel, and insisted that the Smiths should go to jail. Mr. Woods, of Burlington, Iowa, and myself, as counsel for the prisoners, insisted that they were entitled to be brought before the justice for examination

before they could be sent to jail. The constable to our surprise thereupon exhibited a mittimus from said justice as follows:—

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
Hancock County. }

"*The people of the State of Illinois, to the keeper of the jail of the said county; Greeting:—*

"Whereas Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith of the county aforesaid have been arrested upon the oath of Augustine Spencer and Henry O. Norton, for the crime of treason, and has been brought before me as a justice of the peace in and for said county, for trial at the seat of justice thereof, which trial has been necessarily postponed by reason of the absence of material witnesses; to wit: Francis M. Higbee and others; therefore I command you in the name of the people to receive the said Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith into your custody in the jail of the county aforesaid, there to remain until discharged by due course of law.

"Given under my hand and seal this 25th day of June, A. D. 1844. (Signed,)

"R. F. SMITH, J. P. [L. S.]

"His Excellency did not think it within the sphere of his duty to interfere, and the prisoners were removed from their lodgings to jail. The recitals of the mittimus so far as they relate to the prisoners having been brought before the justice for trial, and it there appearing that the necessary witnesses of the prosecution were absent, is wholly untrue, unless the prisoners could have appeared before the justice without being present in person or by counsel; nor is there any law of Illinois within my knowledge which permits a justice to commit persons charged with crimes, to jail without examination as to the probability of their guilt.

"On Wednesday forenoon the Governor in company with one of his friends visited the prisoners at the jail, and again assured them that they should be protected from violence, and told them that if the troops marched the next morning to Nauvoo as his Excellency then expected, they should be taken along in order to insure their personal safety.

"On the same morning some one or more of the counsel

for the prosecution expressed their wish to me that the prisoners should be brought out of jail for examination. They were answered that the prisoners had already been committed, and that the justice and constable had no further control of the prisoners; and that if the prosecutors wished the prisoners brought out of jail, they should bring them out on a writ of *habeas corpus* or some other due course of law. The constable after this conversation went to the jail with the following order to the jailer:—

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
Hancock County. }

"*To David Bettisworth, constable of said county:*—

"You are commanded to bring the bodies of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith from the jail of said county, forthwith, before me at my office, for an examination on the charge of treason, they having been committed for safe keeping until trial could be had on such examination and the State now being ready for such examination.

"Given under my hand and seal this 26th day of June, 1844.

"(Signed,) R. F. SMITH, J. P. [L. S.]

And demanded the prisoners, but as the jailer could find no law authorizing a justice of the peace to demand prisoners committed to his charge, he refused to give them up until discharged from his custody by due course of law. Upon the refusal to give up the prisoners, the company of Carthage Greys marched to the jail, by whose orders I know not, and compelled the jailer against his will and conviction of duty to deliver the prisoners to the constable, who forthwith took them before Justice Smith, the captain of the Carthage Greys. The counsel for prisoners then appeared and asked for subpœnas for witnesses on the part of the prisoners, and expressed their wish to go into the examination, as the witnesses could be brought from Nauvoo to Carthage. The justice thereupon fixed the examination for twelve o'clock on Thursday the 27th inst.; whereupon the prisoners were remanded to prison.

"Soon after a council of the military officers was called by the Governor, and it was determined to march on the next morning, the 27th inst, to Nauvoo, with all the troops.

except one company which was to be selected by the Governor from the troops whose fidelity was more to be relied on to guard the prisoners whom it was determined should be left at Carthage.

"On Thursday morning another consultation of officers took place, and the former orders for marching to Nauvoo with the whole army were countermanded. One company were ordered to accompany the Governor to Nauvoo; the Carthage Greys, who had but two days before been under arrest for insulting the commanding General, and whose conduct had been more hostile to the prisoners than that of any other company, were selected to guard the prisoners, and the other troops, including those rendezvoused at Golden's Point, from Warsaw, and who had been promised that they should be marched to Nauvoo, were disbanded. A guard of only eight men was stationed at the jail, whilst the rest of the Greys were in camp at a quarter of a mile's distance, and whilst his Excellency was haranguing the peaceable citizens of Nauvoo, and asking them to give up all their *own* arms, the assassins were murdering the prisoners in jail, whom the Governor had pledged himself and the faith of the State to protect.

"H. T. Reid."

Mr. Reid's associate attorney, James W. Woods, of Burlington, Iowa, also made a statement, in harmony with the foregoing; which was also published in the *Times and Seasons*, following that of Mr. Reid's.

"*To the People of the State of Illinois:—*

"I desire to make a brief but true statement of the recent disgraceful affair at Carthage, in regard to the Smiths, so far as circumstances have come to my knowledge. The Smiths, Joseph and Hyrum, have been assassinated in jail, by whom it is not known, but will be ascertained. I pledged myself for their safety, and upon the assurance of that pledge they surrendered as prisoners. The Mormons surrendered the public arms in their possession, and the Nauvoo Legion submitted to the command of Captain Singleton, of Brown County, deputed for that purpose by me. All these things were required to satisfy the old citizens of

Hancock that the Mormons were peaceably disposed, and to allay jealousy and excitement in their minds. It appears however that the compliance of the Mormons with every requisition made upon them failed of that purpose. The pledge of security to the Smiths was not given upon my individual responsibility. Before I gave it I obtained a pledge of honor, by an unanimous vote from the officers and men under my command to sustain me in performing it. If the assassination of the Smiths was committed by any portion of these, they have added treachery to murder, and have done all they could to disgrace the State and sully the public honor.

"On the morning of the day the deed was committed, we had proposed to march the army under my command into Nauvoo. I had, however, discovered on the evening before, that nothing but utter destruction of the city would satisfy a portion of the troops; and that if we marched into the city, pretexts would not be wanting for commencing hostilities. The Mormons had done everything required or which ought to have been required of them. Offensive operations on our part would have been as unjust and disgraceful as they would have been impolitic, in the present critical season of the year, the harvest, and the crops. For these reasons I decided, in a council of officers, to disband the army, except three companies, two of which were reserved as a guard for the jail. With the other company I marched into Nauvoo, to address the inhabitants there, and tell them what they might expect in case they designedly or imprudently provoked a war. I performed this duty, as I think plainly and emphatically, and then set out to return to Carthage. When I had marched about three miles a messenger informed me of the occurrences at Carthage. I hastened on to that place. The guard, it is said, did their duty, but were overpowered. Many of the inhabitants of Carthage had fled with their families. Others were preparing to go. I apprehended danger to the settlements from the sudden fury and passion of the Mormons, and sanctioned their movements in this respect.

"General Deming volunteered to remain with a few troops,

to observe the progress of events, to defend property against small numbers, and with orders to retreat if menaced by a superior force. I decided to proceed immediately to Quincy, to prepare a force sufficient to suppress disorders, in case it should ensue from the foregoing transactions or from any other cause. I have hopes that the Mormons will make no further difficulties. In this I may be mistaken. The other party may not be satisfied. They may recommence aggression. I am determined to preserve the peace against all breakers of the same, at all hazards. I think present circumstances warrant the precaution of having competent force at my disposal in readiness to march at a moment's warning. My position at Quincy will enable me to get the earliest intelligence, and to communicate orders with greater celerity.

"I have decided to issue the following general orders:—

"Headquarters, QUINCY, June 29, 1844.

"It is ordered that the commandants of regiments in the counties of Adams, Marquette, Pike, Brown, Schuyler, Morgan, Scott, Cass, Fulton, and McDonough, and the regiments composing General Stapp's brigade, will call their respective regiments and battallions together immediately upon the receipt of this order, and proceed by voluntary enlistment to enroll as many men as can be armed in their respective regiments. They will make arrangements for a campaign of twelve days, and will provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and provisions accordingly, and hold themselves in readiness immediately to march upon the receipt of further orders.

"The independent companies of riflemen, infantry, cavalry, and artillery in the above-named counties and in the county of Sangamon will hold themselves in readiness in like manner.

"THOMAS FORD,
"Governor and Commander in Chief.

"SIGNS OF PEACE!

"Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas are requested to proceed by the first boat to Nauvoo and ascertain what is the

feeling, disposition, and determination of the people there, in reference to the late disturbances; ascertain whether any of them propose in any manner to revenge themselves, whether any threats have been used, and what is proposed generally to be done by them. They are also requested to return to Warsaw and make similar inquiries there; ascertain how far false rumors have been put afloat for the purpose of raising forces; what is the purpose of the militia assembled, whether any attack is intended on Nauvoo. Ascertain also whether any persons from Missouri or Iowa intend to take part in the matter, and in my name forbid any such interference, without my request, on pain of being demanded for punishment.

"(Signed) THOMAS FORD.

"June 30, 1844.

"NAUVOO, July 1, 1844.

"TO THE CITY COUNCIL OF NAUVOO;

"*Gentlemen:*—With this you will receive a copy of instructions, from Governor Ford to us. You will understand from them what we desire from you in action on your part, —as the only authorities of your city now known to the country, of such a character as will pacify the public mind, and satisfy the Governor of your determination to sustain the supremacy of the laws, will, we are sure, be gratifying to him, and as much so to

"Yours respectfully,

"HART FELLOWS.
"A. JONAS.

"At a meeting of the City Council, held in the council room in the city of Nauvoo, on the first day of July, 1844, having received instructions from Governor Ford, through the agency of A. Jonas, Esq., and Colonel Fellows, it was unanimously

"Resolved, for the purpose of insuring peace and promoting the welfare of the county of Hancock and surrounding country, that we will rigidly sustain the laws, and the Governor of the State, so long as they and he sustain us in all our constitutional rights.

"Resolved, secondly, that to carry the foregoing resolutions into complete effect, that inasmuch as the Governor has taken from us the public arms, that we solicit of him to do the same with all the rest of the public arms of the State.

"Resolved, thirdly, to further secure the peace, friendship, and happiness of the people, and allay the excitement that now exists, we will reprobate private revenge on the assassinators of General Joseph Smith, and General Hyrum Smith, by any of the Latter Day Saints. That instead of 'an appeal to arms,' we appeal to the majesty of the law, and will be content with whatever judgment it shall award; and should the law fail, we leave the matter with God.

"Resolved, unanimously, that this City Council, pledge themselves for the city of Nauvoo, that no aggressions by the citizens of said city shall be made on the citizens of the surrounding country, but we invite them, as friends and neighbors to use the Savior's golden rule, and 'do unto others as they would have others do unto them,' and we will do likewise.

"Resolved, lastly, that we highly approve of the present public pacific course of the Governor to allay excitement and restore peace among the citizens of the country, and while he does so, and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law, until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage or any other place for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him and the law by all honorable means.

"GEORGE W. HARRIS, President pro tem.

"WILLARD RICHARDS, Recorder.

"*A. Jonas, Esq., and Col. Fellows:*—

"*Messrs:*—In reply to your communication to the City Council of the city of Nauvoo, on behalf of his Excellency Governor Ford, I have been instructed by the council to communicate the foregoing resolutions, for which I respectfully solicit your consideration, and at the same time would inform you that a public meeting of our citizens will take

place at the stand east of the temple, at four p. m., and solicit your attendance.

"Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. RICHARDS.

"PUBLIC MEETING.

"At a meeting of a large portion of citizens of Nauvoo, convened at the stand, in the afternoon of July 1, 1844, after hearing the above instructions and resolutions of the City Council read, and being addressed by A. Jonas, Esq., and others, the meeting responded to the same with a hearty amen! The citizens then passed a vote of thanks to the Governor's agents for their kindly interference in favor of peace among the citizens of Hancock County and elsewhere around us. They also passed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Wood and Reid, the counsel for the Generals Smith for their great exertions to have evenhanded justice meted to the Latter Day Saints: and they also passed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Chambers and Field, the former one of the editors of the Missouri *Republican*, and the latter one of the editors of the *Reveille* of St. Louis, for their honorable course of coming to Nauvoo for facts, instead of spreading rumors, concerning the Latter Day Saints. Mr. Chambers made a very appropriate speech containing innuendoes for the benefit of our citizens, that appeared as the wise man said: 'Like apples of gold in pictures of silver.' They also passed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Wood and Conyers, mayor and ex-mayor of Quincy, for their friendly disposition in establishing peace in this region, and we are happy to say that all appears to be peace at Nauvoo.

"Headquarters, QUINCY, June 30, 1844.

"*Sir:*—It is my present opinion that the Mormons will not commit any further outbreak, and that no further alarm need be apprehended. I regret to learn that the party in Hancock who are in favor of violent measures have circulated a thousand false rumors of danger, for the purpose of getting men together without my authority, hoping that when assembled they may be ready to join in their violent

councils; this is a fraud upon the country and must not be endured.

"I am afraid the people of Hancock are fast depriving themselves of the sympathy of their fellow citizens, and of the world. I strictly order and enjoin on you that you permit no attack on Nauvoo, or any of the people without my authority. I think it would be best to disband your forces, unless it should be necessary to retain them to suppress violence on either side, of this you must be the judge at present.

"I direct that you immediately order all persons from Missouri and Iowa to leave the camp and return to their respective houses without delay.

"I direct also that you cause all mutinous persons and all persons who advise tumultuous proceedings to be arrested; and that you take energetic measures to stop the practice of spreading false reports put in circulation to inflame the public mind.

"(Signed) THOMAS FORD, Commander in Chief.

"To Brigadier-General Deming, Carthage, Illinois."

The foregoing quotations, beginning with the account headed, "Awful Assassination," etc., are taken from the *Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 560-567.

Pacific statement.

In the editorial column of the same issue of that paper a pacific and commendable statement was published over the signatures of W W. Phelps, W. Richards, and John Taylor.[1]

TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS.

Deeply impressed for the welfare of all, while mourning the great loss of President *Joseph Smith*, our "prophet and seer," and President *Hyrum Smith*, our "patriarch," we have considered the occasion demanded of us a word of consolation. As has been the case in all ages, these saints have fallen martyrs for the truth's sake, and their escape from the persecution of a wicked world, in blood to bliss, only strengthens our faith, and confirms our religion, as pure and holy. We, therefore, as servants of the Most High God, having the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, together with thousands of witnesses for Jesus Christ, would beseech the Latter Day Saints in Nauvoo, and elsewhere, to hold fast to the faith that has been delivered to them in the last days, abiding in the perfect law of the gospel. Be peaceable, quiet citizens, doing the works of righteousness, and as soon as the "Twelve" and other authorities can assemble, or a majority of them, the onward course to the great gathering of Israel, and the final consummation of the dis-

In September or October, 1844, at the instance of the Governor, Murray McConnell, a noted attorney of Jacksonville, Illinois, was sent into Hancock County to investigate. The result of this inquiry was that writs were issued by Aaron Johnson, a justice of the peace at Nauvoo, for the arrest of Levi Williams, Thomas C. Sharp, Joseph H. Jackson, William Law, Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster, and Charles A. Foster. The writs were duly served on all of them, except Williams. Those served refused to go to Nauvoo for a hearing, and no attempt was made to take them there.

Writs for Williams and others.

At the October term of the Hancock Circuit Court the grand jury brought in two bills of indictment against *nine* persons, one for the murder of Joseph Smith, and one for the murder of Hyrum Smith. The names of those indicted were Levi Williams, Jacob C. Davis, Mark Aldrich, Thomas C. Sharp, William Voras, John Wills, William N. Grover, —— Gallaher, and —— Allen.

Indictments.

The trial of these cases occurred before Hon. Richard M. Young, judge, and lasted from May 9, 1845, to May 30, when a verdict of "not guilty," was returned in each case. There is but little doubt of the guilt of each one of these parties. The above account is extracted from "The Prophet of Palmyra," by Gregg.[2]

pensation of the fullness of times, will be pointed out; so that the murder of Abel, the assassination of hundreds, the righteous blood of all the holy prophets, from Abel to Joseph, sprinkled with the best blood of the Son of God, as the crimson sign of remission, only carries conviction to the business and bosoms of all flesh, that the cause is just and will continue; and blessed are they that hold out faithful to the end, while apostates, consenting to the shedding of innocent blood, have no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come. Union is peace, brethren, and eternal life is the greatest gift of God. Rejoice then, that you are found worthy to live and die for God: men may kill the body, but they *cannot* hurt the soul, and wisdom shall be justified of her children: Amen.

W. W. PHELPS.
W. RICHARDS.
JOHN TAYLOR.

July 1, 1844.

[2] An extract from Judge Young's charge to the jury is significant:—

"That, when the evidence is circumstantial, admiting all to be proven which the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any supposition consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to adopt that supposition, and find the defendants not guilty.

It is but fair to Governor Ford to give his account of these events. His account also contains some items of historical value.

Governor Ford's account.

It is as follows:—

"On the 23d or 24th day of June, Joseph Smith, the Mayor of Nauvoo, together with his brother Hyrum, and all the members of the council, and all others demanded, came into Carthage and surrendered themselves prisoners to the constable, on the charge of riot. They all voluntarily entered into a recognizance before the justice of the peace for their appearance at court to answer the charge. And all of them were discharged from custody, except Joseph and Hyrum Smith, against whom the magistrate had issued a new writ, on a complaint for treason. They were immediately arrested by the constable, on this new charge, and retained in his custody, to answer it.

"The overt act of treason charged against them consisted in the alleged levying of war against the State by declaring martial law in Nauvoo, and in ordering out the legion to resist the *posse comitatus*. Their actual guiltiness of the charge would depend upon circumstances. If their opponents had been seeking to put the law in force in good faith, and nothing more, then an array of a military force in open resistance to the *posse comitatus* and the militia of the State, most probably would have amounted to treason. But if those opponents merely intended to use the process of the law, the militia of the State, and the *posse comitatus*, as cats-paws to compass the possession of their persons for the purpose of murdering them afterwards, as the sequel demonstrated the fact to be, it might well be doubted whether they were guilty of treason.

"Soon after the surrender of the Smiths, at their request

"That, in making up their verdict, they will exclude from their consideration all that was testified by Daniels, Brackenbury, and Miss Graham (witnesses).

"That, whenever the probability is of a definite and limited nature, whether in the proportion of one hundred to one, or of one thousand to one, or any ratio, is immaterial, it cannot be safely made the ground of conviction; for to act upon it in any case, would be to decide that for the sake of convicting many criminals the life of an innocent man might be sacrificed. (Starkie, 508.)"—Gregg, pp. 300, 301.

I dispatched Captain Singleton with his company from Brown County, to Nauvoo, to guard the town; and I authorized him to take command of the legion. He reported to me afterwards that he called out the legion for inspection, and that upon two hours' notice two thousand of them assembled, all of them armed; and this after the public arms had been taken away from them. So it appears that they have a sufficiency of private arms for any reasonable purpose.

"After the Smiths had been arrested on the new charge of treason, the justice of the peace postponed the examination, because neither of the parties were prepared with their witnesses for trial. In the meantime he committed them to the jail of the county, for greater security.

"In all this matter the justice of the peace and constable, though humble in office, were acting in a high and independent capacity, far beyond any legal power in me to control. I considered that the executive power could only be called in to assist, and not to dictate or control their action; that in the humble sphere of their duties they were as independent, and clothed with as high authority by the law, as the Executive department; and that my province was, simply, to aid them with the force of the State. It is true, that so far as I could prevail on them by advice, I endeavored to do so. The prisoners were not in military custody, or prisoners of war; and I could no more legally control these officers than I could the superior courts of justice.

"Some persons have supposed that I ought to have had them sent to some more distant and friendly part of the State for confinement and trial, and that I ought to have searched them for concealed arms; but these surmises and suppositions are readily disposed of by the fact that they were not my prisoners, but were the prisoners of the constable and jailor, under the direction of the justice of the peace.

"The jail in which they were confined is a considerable stone building; containing a residence for the jailer, cells for the close and secure confinement of prisoners, and one larger room, not so strong, but more airy and comfortable than the cells. They were put into the cells by the jailer;

but upon their remonstrance and request, and by my advice, they were transferred to the larger room; and there they remained until the final catastrophe. Neither they nor I seriously apprehended an attack on the jail through the guard stationed to protect it. Nor did I apprehend the least danger on their part to escape; for I was very sure that any such an attempt would have been the signal of their immediate death. Indeed if they had escaped, it would have been fortunate for the purposes of those who were anxious for the expulsion of the Mormon population; for the great body of that people would most assuredly have followed their prophet and principal leaders, as they did in their flight from Missouri. Since their death, no one has arisen of influence enough to lead them in a similar manner.

"The force assembled at Carthage amounted to about twelve or thirteen hundred men; and it was calculated that four or five hundred more were assembled at Warsaw. Nearly all that portion resident in Hancock were anxious to be marched into Nauvoo. This measure was supposed to be necessary, to search for counterfeit money, and the apparatus to make it; and also to strike a salutary terror into the Mormon people, by an exhibition of the force of the State; and thereby prevent future outrages, murders, robberies, burnings and the like, apprehended as the effect of Mormon vengeance, on those who had taken a part against them. On my part, at one time this arrangement was agreed to. The morning of the 27th day of June was appointed for the march; and Golden's point, near the Mississippi River, and about equidistant from Nauvoo and Warsaw, was selected as the place of rendezvous. I had determined to prevail on the justice to bring out his prisoners, and take them along. A council of officers, however, determined that this would be highly inexpedient and dangerous; and offered such substantial reasons for their opinions as induced me to change my resolution.

"Two or three days' preparations had been made for this expedition. I observed that some of the people became more and more excited and inflammatory, the further the preparations were advanced. Occasional threats came to

my ears, of destroying the city and murdering or expelling the inhabitants.

"I had no objection to ease the terrors of the people by such a display of force; and was most anxious also to search for the alleged apparatus for making counterfeit money; and in fact to inquire into all the charges against that people, if I could have been assured of my command against mutiny and insubordination. But I gradually learned to my entire satisfaction that there was a plan to get the troops into Nauvoo, and then to begin the war, probably by some of our own party, or some of the seceding Mormons, taking advantage of the night, to fire on our own force, and then laying it on the Mormons. I was satisfied that there were those amongst us fully capable of such an act; hoping that in the alarm, bustle, and confusion of a militia camp, the truth could not be discovered, and that it might lead to the desired collision.

"I had many objections to be made the dupe of any such or similar artifice. I was openly and boldly opposed to any attack on the city, unless it should become necessary, to arrest prisoners legally charged and demanded. Indeed if anyone will reflect upon the number of women, inoffensive young persons, and innocent children, which must be contained in such a city, of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants, it would seem to me his heart would relent and rebel against such violent resolutions. Nothing but the most blinded and obdurate fury could incite a person, even if he had the power, to the willingness of driving such persons, bare and houseless, onto the prairies, to starve, suffer, and even steal, as they must have done for subsistence. No one who has children of his own, could think of it for a moment.

"Besides this, if we had been ever so much disposed to commit such an act of wickedness, we evidently had not the power to do it. I was well assured that the Mormons, at a short notice, could muster as many as two or three thousand well-armed men. We had not more than seventeen hundred; with three pieces of cannon and about twelve hundred stand of small arms. We had provisions for two days only; and would be compelled to disband at the end of that time. To

think of beginning a war under such circumstances, was a plain absurdity. If the Mormons had succeeded in repulsing our attack, as most likely would have been the case, the country must necessarily be given up to their ravages until a new force could be assembled, and provisions made for its subsistence. Or if we should have succeeded in driving them from their city, they would have scattered over the country; and being justly incensed at our barbarity, and suffering with privation and hunger, would have spread desolation all over the country, without any possibility on our part, with the force we then had, of preventing it. Again, they would have had the advantage of being able to subsist their force in the field, by plundering their enemies.

"All these considerations were duly urged by me upon the attention of a council of officers convened on the morning of the 27th of June. I also urged upon the council that such wanton and unprovoked barbarity on their part would turn the sympathy of the people in the surrounding counties in favor of the Mormons; and thereafter, it would be impossible to raise a volunteer militia force, to protect such a people against them. Many of the officers admitted that there might be danger of collision. But such was the blind fury prevailing at the time, though not showing itself by much visible excitement, that a small majority of the council adhered to the first resolution of marching into Nauvoo; most of the officers of the Schuyler and McDonough militia, voting against it, and most of those of the county of Hancock voting in its favor.

"A very responsible duty now devolved upon me, to determine whether I would, as Commander in Chief, be governed by the advice of this majority. I had no hesitation in deciding that I would not; but on the contrary, I ordered the troops to be disbanded, both at Carthage and Warsaw, with the exception of three companies, two of which were retained as a guard to the jail, and the other was retained to accompany me to Nauvoo.

"The officers insisted much in council upon the necessity of marching to that place to search for apparatus to make counterfeit money, and more particularly to terrify the Mor-

mons from attempting any open or secret measures of vengeance against the citizens of the county who had taken a part against them or their leaders. To ease their terrors on this head I proposed to them that I would myself proceed to the city, accompanied by a small force, make the proposed search, and deliver an address to the Mormons, and tell them plainly what degree of excitement and hatred prevailed against them in the minds of the whole people; and that if any open or secret violence should be committed on the persons or property of those who had taken part against them, that no one would doubt but that it had been perpetrated by them; and that it would be the sure and certain means of the destruction of their city and the extermination of their people.

"I ordered two companies under the command of Captain R. F. Smith, of the Carthage Greys, to guard the jail. In selecting these companies, and particularly the company of the Carthage Greys, for this service, I have been subjected to some censure. It has been said that this company had already been guilty of mutiny and had been ordered to be arrested, whilst in the encampment at Carthage; and that they and their officers were the deadly enemies of the prisoners. Indeed it would have been difficult to find friends of the prisoners, under my command, unless I had called in the Mormons as a guard; and this, I was satisfied, would have led to the immediate war and the sure death of the prisoners.

"It is true that this company had behaved badly towards the Brigadier-General in command, on the occasion when the prisoners were shown along the line of the McDonough militia. This company had been ordered as a guard. They were under the belief that the prisoners who were arrested for a capital offense were shown to the troops in a kind of triumph, and that they had been called on as a triumphal escort to grace the procession. They also entertained a very bad feeling towards the Brigadier-General who commanded their service on the occasion. The truth is, however, that this company was never ordered to be arrested; that the Smiths were not shown to the McDonough troops as a mark of honor and triumph, but were shown to them at the urgent request of the troops themselves, to gratify their curiosi y

in beholding persons who had made themselves so notorious in the country.

"When the Carthage Greys ascertained what was the true motive in showing the prisoners to the troops they were perfectly satisfied. All due atonement was made on their part for their conduct to the Brigadier-General, and they cheerfully returned to their duty.

"Although I knew that this company were the enemies of the Smiths, yet I had confidence in their loyalty and integrity, because their captain was universally spoken of as a most respectable citizen and honorable man. The company itself was an old independent company, well armed, uniformed, and drilled; and the members of it were the *elite* of the militia of the country. I relied upon this company especially, because it was an independent company, for a long time instructed and practiced in military discipline and subordination. I also had their word and honor, officers and men, to do their duty according to law. Besides all this the officers and most of the men resided in Carthage, in the near vicinity of Nauvoo; and, as I thought, must know that they would make themselves and their property convenient and conspicuous marks of Mormon vengeance in case they were guilty of treachery.

"I had at first intended to select a guard from the county of McDonough; but the militia of that county were very much dissatisfied to remain; their crops were suffering at home; they were in a perfect fever to be discharged; and I was destitute of provisions to supply them for more than a few days. They were far from home, where they could not supply themselves; whilst the Carthage company could board at their own houses and would be put to little inconvenience in comparison.

"What gave me greater confidence in the selection of this company as a prudent measure was that the selection was first suggested and urged by the Brigadier-General in command, who was well known to be utterly hostile to all mobocracy and violence towards the prisoners, and who was openly charged by the violent party with being on the side of the Mormons. At any rate. I knew that the jail would

have to be guarded as long as the prisoners were confined; that an imprisonment for treason might last the whole summer and the greater part of the autumn, before a trial could be had in the Circuit Court; that it would be utterly impossible in the circumstances of the country to keep a force there from a foreign county for so long a time; and that a time must surely come when the duty of guarding the jail would necessarily devolve on the citizens of the county.

"It is true, also, that at this time I had not believed or suspected that any attack was to be made upon the prisoners in jail. It is true that I was aware that a great deal of hatred existed against them, and that there were those who would do them an injury if they could. I had heard of some threats being made, but none of an attack upon the prisoners whilst in jail. These threats seemed to be made by individuals, not acting in concert. They were no more than the bluster which might have been expected, and furnished no indication of numbers combining for this or any other purpose.

"I must here be permitted to say also that frequent appeals had been made to me to make a clean and thorough work of the matter by exterminating the Mormons or expelling them from the State. An opinion seemed generally to prevail that the sanction of Executive authority would legalize the act; and all persons of any influence, authority, or note who conversed with me on the subject frequently and repeatedly stated their total unwillingness to act without my direction, or in any mode except according to law.

"This was a circumstance well calculated to conceal from me the secret machinations on foot. I had constantly contended against violent measures, and so had the Brigadier-General in command; and I am convinced that unusual pains were taken to conceal from both of us the secret measures resolved upon. It has been said, however, that some person named Williams, in a public speech at Carthage, called for volunteers to murder the Smiths, and that I ought to have had him arrested. Whether such a speech was really made or not, is yet unknown to me. I have heard the report of it for the first time within the last few weeks.

"Having ordered the guard, and discharged the residue of the militia, I immediately departed for Nauvoo, eighteen miles distant, accompanied by Colonel Buckmaster, Quartermaster-General, and Captain Dunn's company of dragoons.

"After we had proceeded four miles Colonel Buckmaster intimated to me a suspicion that an attack would be made on the jail. He stated the matter as a mere suspicion, arising from having seen two persons converse together at Carthage with some air of mystery. I myself entertained no suspicion of such an attack; at any rate none before the next day, in the afternoon, because it was notorious that we had departed from Carthage with the declared intention of being absent at least two days. I could not believe that any person would attack the jail whilst we were in Nauvoo, and thereby expose my life and the lives of my companions to the sudden vengeance of the Mormons, upon hearing of the death of their leaders. Nevertheless, acting upon the principle of providing against mere possibilities, I sent back one of the company, with a special order to Captain Smith to guard the jail strictly and at the peril of his life, until my return.

"We proceeded on our journey four miles further. By this time I had convinced myself that no attack would be made on the jail that day or night. I supposed that a regard for my safety and the safety of my companions would prevent an attack until those to be engaged in it could be assured of our departure from Nauvoo. I still think that this ought to have appeared to me to be a reasonable supposition.

"I therefore determined at this point to omit making the search for counterfeit money in Nauvoo, and defer an examination of all the other abominations charged on that people, in order to return to Carthage that same night, that I might be on the ground in person, in time to prevent an attack on the jail, if any had been meditated. To this end we called a halt; the baggage wagons were ordered to remain where they were until towards evening, and then return to Carthage.

"Having made these arrangements, we proceeded on our march and arrived at Nauvoo about four o'clock of the after-

noon of the 27th day of June. As soon as notice could be given a crowd of the citizens assembled to hear an address which I proposed to deliver them. The number present has been variously estimated from one to five thousand.

"In this address I stated to them how and in what their functionaries had violated the laws; also the many scandalous reports in circulation against them, and that these reports, whether true or false, were generally believed by the people. I distinctly stated to them the amount of hatred and prejudice which prevailed everywhere against them, and the causes of it, at length.

"I also told them plainly and emphatically that if any vengeance should be attempted openly or secretly against the persons or property of the citizens who had taken part against their leaders, that the public hatred and excitement was such that thousands would assemble for the total destruction of their city and the extermination of their people; and that no power in the State would be able to prevent it. During this address some impatience and resentment were manifested by the Mormons at the recital of the various reports enumerated concerning them, which they strenuously and indignantly denied to be true. They claimed to be law-abiding people, and insisted that as they looked to the law alone for their protection, so were they careful themselves to observe its provisions. Upon the conclusion of this address I proposed to take a vote on the question, whether they would strictly observe the laws, even in opposition to their prophet and leaders. The vote was unanimous in favor of this proposition.

"A short time before sundown we departed on our return to Carthage. When we had proceeded two miles we met two individuals, one of them a Mormon, who informed us that the Smiths had been assassinated in jail about five or six o'clock of that day. The intelligence seemed to strike everyone with a kind of dumbness. As to myself, it was perfectly astounding, and I anticipated the very worst consequences from it. The Mormons had been represented to me as a lawless, infatuated, and fanatical people, not governed by the ordinary motives which influence the majority of mankind.

If so, most likely an exterminating war would ensue, and the whole land would be covered with desolation.

"Acting upon this supposition it was my duty to provide as well as I could for the event. I therefore ordered the two messengers into custody, and to be returned with us to Carthage. This was done to get time to make such arrangement as could be made, and to prevent any sudden explosion of Mormon excitement before they could be written to, by their friends at Carthage. I also dispatched messengers to Warsaw to advise the citizens of the event. But the people there knew all about the matter before my messengers arrived. They, like myself, anticipated a general attack all over the country. The women and children were removed across the river and a committee was dispatched that night to Quincy for assistance. The next morning by daylight the ringing of all the bells in the city announced a public meeting. The people assembled in great numbers at an early hour. The Warsaw committee stated to the meeting that a party of Mormons had attempted to rescue the Smiths out of jail; that a party of Missourians and others had killed the prisoners to prevent their escape; that the Governor and his party were at Nauvoo at the time when intelligence of the fact was brought there; that they had been attacked by the Nauvoo Legion, and had retreated to a house, where they were then closely besieged; that the Governor had sent out word that he could maintain his position for two days, and would be certain to be massacred if assistance did not arrive by the end of that time. It is unnecessary to say that this entire story was a fabrication. It was of a piece with the other reports put into circulation by the Anti-Mormon party, to influence the public mind, and call the people to their assistance. The effect of it, however, was that by ten o'clock on the 28th of June, between two and three hundred men from Quincy, under the command of Major Flood, embarked on board of a steamboat for Nauvoo, to assist in raising the siege, as they honestly believed."—Governor Ford's Message of December 23, 1844.

By the foregoing it will be seen that according to Governor Ford's opinion the Smiths were not guilty of treason.

Of subsequent events connected with this trouble, Governor Ford in this same message wrote as follows:—

Subsequent events.

"I omit to say anything of the manner of the murder of the Smiths; or of the persons by whom the murder was committed, because several persons are under indictment for their supposed share in the act; and it is not proper that I should say anything which might possibly prejudice a fair and impartial trial.

"It has always appeared to me, however, that the persons who committed the deed ought to be made to answer for their crime. The honor of the State and the supremacy of the laws seemed to be compromitted; a trial ought to be insisted on, exactly as in other cases; and if the accused have all the matters of defense and justification on their side, which they claim, they will be able to show them to the court.

"During the latter part of August and first of September last I observed that the anti-Mormon paper, in Hancock County, renewed its attacks on the Mormons; every number of which groaned with charges of larcenies and robberies and meditated outrages. By this fact, connected with my previous information, I was certain that the time was approaching when a new attempt was to be made to expel the Mormons. In a short time afterwards I ascertained that the officers of the militia in Hancock County had appointed a grand military parade at Warsaw to come off on the 26th day of October. Circulars were printed, signed by these officers, and extensively circulated in Iowa Territory, in the State of Missouri, and in the neighboring counties, inviting the militia in all those parts to attend the parade, and to come prepared for a six days' encampment.

"It was also extensively given out that there was to be a grand wolf hunt; and that the Mormons and Jack-Mormons, were the wolves to be hunted. A large number engaged in getting up this movement openly stated that the object of it was to make war on the Mormons.

"I could not hesitate as to what duty required. The State had already been in danger of disgrace by a treacherous and cowardly murder. The Mormons had been peaceable, submissive, and quiet ever since the death of the

Smiths; and contrary to general expectation, instead of attempting to avenge themselves, either openly or secretly, had quietly and patiently submitted to the slow operation of the laws to redress their grievances.

"They were human beings, and citizens of the State. They had not been disfranchised by law, and were constitutionally entitled to protection.

"From respect to the prejudices of my fellow citizens I declined to authorize the legion to be called out, to suppress disturbances; but immediately issued a call for volunteers from the State militia.

"The call was answered by four or five hundred men. I requested General Hardin to take the command. He did so with alacrity, thereby exhibiting a patriotic devotion in maintaining the supremacy of the law, even against the advice of many of his personal and political friends.

"We marched with as much alacrity as possible and arrived in Hancock County on the 25th day of October. The malcontents abandoned their design, and I believe all the leaders of it fled to Missouri. The Carthage Greys fled almost in a body; and every one fled who, from his previous conduct, supposed himself obnoxious as a leader.

"During our presence in the county writs were taken out against three persons charged with the murder of the Smiths. They also fled to Missouri. As for myself, although I was determined from the first, for the honor of the State, that this murder should be fully inquired into, and some of the guilty brought to trial, yet I was never anxious to proceed with the full rigor of the law. I always insisted that the prosecutions should be limited to a few individuals, and I was utterly opposed to all such unnecessary harshness as would excite sympathy in their favor.

"For this reason I consented to advise the prosecuting attorney to admit them to bail and to agree to a continuance of the cause, if desired by the defendants. Upon this arrangement being made, to which I was also advised by General Hardin and Colonel Baker, the persons accused surrendered themselves to the sheriff.

"The militia were disbanded next morning and returned

home, after a campaign of about thirteen days."—Governor Ford's Message of December 23, 1844, pp. 19, 20.

By the above it will be seen that the officers of militia were aiders and abettors of the mob; that the murderers found an asylum in Missouri, and that the Carthage Greys betrayed their guilt by fleeing at the approach of the militia.

Of the trial Governor Ford states:—

"During the progress of these trials the judge was compelled to permit the courthouse to be filled and surrounded by armed bands, who attended court to browbeat and overawe the administration of justice. The judge himself was in a duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time. The consequence was that the crowd had everything their own way; the lawyers for the defense defended their clients by a long and elaborate attack on the Governor; the armed mob stamped with their feet and yelled their approbation at every sarcastic and smart thing that was said; and the judge was not only forced to hear it, but to lend it a kind of approval. Josiah Lambourn was attorney for the prosecution, and O. H. Browning, O. C. Skinner, Calvin A. Warren, and William A. Richardson were for the defense."—Ford's History of Illinois, p. 368.

Joseph undecided where to go.

On June 23, 1844, four days before his death, Joseph Smith wrote a letter to his wife, which is of historical importance, as it shows he had not then decided where he should go, and hence had not decided to go west, though some have since reported that he had.[3]

[3] Safety, June 23.

Emma Smith:—Brother Lewis has some money of mine. H. C. Kimball has $1,000 in his hands of mine. Bro. Neff, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, $400. You may sell the Quincy property or any property that belongs to me you can find anything about, for your support and children and Mother. Do not despair. If God ever opens a door that is possible for me I will see you again. I do not know where I shall go or what I shall do, but shall if possible endeavor to get to the city of Washington.

May God Almighty bless you, and the children, and Mother, and all my friends. My heart bleeds. No more at present. If you conclude to go to Kirtland, Cincinnati, or any other place, I wish you would contrive to inform me this evening. JOSEPH SMITH.

P. S.—If in your power I want you should help Dr. Richards' family

This letter is in our possession in his own handwriting.

Again he wrote her on the 27th, the very day of his death. The letter contains instruction which shows he was in favor of being submissive to the authorities of the State.[4]

Joseph's loyalty.

On June 27, he wrote Lawyer Browning, of Quincy, requesting his service on the 29th.[5]

On the 28th the bodies of the murdered men were brought to Nauvoo, where the funeral services were held, and they were buried from the Mansion House.

Funeral obsequies.

[4] CARTHAGE JAIL, June 27, 1844, 20 past 8 a. m.

Dear Emma:—The Governor continues his courtesies and permits us to see our friends. We hear this morning that the Governor will not go down with his troops to-day (to Nauvoo) as was anticipated last evening; but if he does come down with his troops you will be protected; and I want you to tell Bro. Dunham to instruct the people to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups or gathering together, unless by permission of the Governor they are called together to receive communications from the Governor, which would please our people. But let the Governor direct. Bro. Dunham, of course, will obey the orders of the government officers and render them the assistance they require. There is no danger of any "exterminating order." Should there be a mutiny among the troops, (which we do not anticipate —excitement is abating,) a part will remain loyal and stand for the defense of the State and our rights. There is one principle which is eternal—it is the duty of all men to protect their lives and the lives of their households whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it, should the last extreme arrive;—but *I anticipate no such extreme.* But caution is the parent of safety.

JOSEPH SMITH.

P. S.—*Dear Emma:*—I am very much resigned to my lot, knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be done. Give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brower and all who inquire after me; and as for treason, I know that I have not committed any, and they cannot prove one appearance of anything of the kind, so you need not have any fears that any harm can happen to us on that score. May God bless you all. Amen.

JOSEPH SMITH.

P. S.—Twenty minutes to ten.—I just learn that the Governor is about to disband his troops,—all but a guard to protect us and the peace,—and come himself to Nauvoo and deliver a speech to the people. This is right, as I suppose.

This letter we have. The signature and first postscript in Joseph's handwriting.

[5] CARTHAGE JAIL, June 27, 1844.

Lawyer Browning; Sir:—Myself and brother Hyrum are in jail on charge of treason, to come up for examination on Saturday morning, 29th inst., and we request your professional services at that time on our defense, without fail.

Most respectfully, your servant,

JOSEPH SMITH.

N. B.—There is no cause of action, for we have not been guilty of any crime, neither is there any just cause of suspicion against us; but certain circumstances make your attendance very necessary. J. S.

Of this sad event we will allow their mother to speak:—

"Their bodies were attended home by only two persons, save those that went from this place. These were Brother Willard Richards and a Mr. Hamilton; Brother John Taylor having been shot in prison, and nearly killed, he could not be moved until some time afterwards.

"After the corpses were washed and dressed in their burial clothes, we were allowed to see them. I had for a long time braced every nerve, roused every energy of my soul, and called upon God to strengthen me; but when I entered the room, and saw my murdered sons extended both at once before my eyes, and heard the sobs and groans of my family, and the cries of 'Father! Husband! Brothers!' from the lips of their wives, children, brothers, and sisters, it was too much. I sank back, crying to the Lord, in the agony of my soul, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken this family!'

"A voice replied, 'I have taken them to myself, that they might have rest.'

"Emma was carried back to her room almost in a state of insensibility.

"Her oldest son approached the corpse, and dropped upon his knees, and laying his cheek against his father's, and kissing him, exclaimed, 'Oh, my father, my father!'

"As for myself, I was swallowed up in the depth of my afflictions; and though my soul was filled with horror past imagination, yet I was dumb, until I arose again to contemplate the spectacle before me. Oh! at that moment how my mind flew through every scene of sorrow and distress which we had passed together, in which they had shown the innocence and sympathy which filled their guileless hearts!

"As I looked upon their peaceful, smiling countenances, I seemed almost to hear them say,—'Mother, weep not for us, we have overcome the world by love; we carried to them the gospel, that their souls might be saved; they slew us for our testimony, and thus placed us beyond their power; their ascendancy is for a moment, ours is an eternal triumph.' . . .

"I left the scene and returned to my room, to ponder upon the calamities of my family. Soon after this, Samuel said,

'Mother, I have had a dreadful distress in my side ever since I was chased by the mob, and I think I have received some injury which is going to make me sick.'

"And indeed he was then not able to sit up, as he had been broken of his rest, besides being dreadfully fatigued in the chase, which, joined to the shock occasioned by the death of his brothers, brought on a disease that never was removed.

"On the following day the funeral rites of the murdered ones were attended to, in the midst of terror and alarm, for the mob had made their arrangements to burn the city that night, but by the diligence of the brethren, they were kept at bay until they became discouraged, and returned to their homes.

"In a short time Samuel, who continued unwell, was confined to his bed and, lingering till the 30th of July, his spirit forsook its earthly tabernacle and went to join his brothers and the ancient martyrs, in the Paradise of God."—Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors, pp. 298, 299.

Sad as this is of itself, the enormity of it is intensified when we consider that Governor Ford had pledged his own honor, and the faith of the State of Illinois, that they should be protected, and that then in a weak and vacillating way he sacrificed his own honor, and betrayed the faith of the people he represented; and that all concerned in this disgraceful crime went unwhipped of justice. Thus the spirit of murder and anarchy was fostered and encouraged. This spirit has since borne bitter fruit, not only in Illinois, but in the nation, where two of our noblest and most honored Presidents have fallen victims to it.

Reflections.

Thus died Joseph Smith, the Prophet, one of the most remarkable men of his time, and Hyrum Smith, the Patriarch, a great and good man. Joseph's family was left surrounded by a hostile foe; and in consequence of their resistance to usurpation and corruption, their former friends became their most bitter enemies. They had to fly from their home, but afterward returned, and made Nauvoo their permanent abode.

Joseph's family.

On December 27, 1847, his widow became the wife of Major

Lewis C. Bidamon, with whom she lived until her death, which occurred at Nauvoo, April 30, 1879.

Joseph's children were as follows:—

1. A son born at Harmony, Pennsylvania, in July, 1828, who died at birth.

2 and 3. A pair of twins born early in 1831, at Kirtland, Ohio, who also died at birth. In place of these they adopted the motherless twins of Elder John Murdock. One of these died from exposure, as related on page 243, volume 1, of this history. The other (Julia) lived to womanhood. She was first married to Mr. Elisha Dixon, who was killed in a steamboat explosion on Red River, Texas. She subsequently marrried Mr. John Middleton. She died near Nauvoo in 1880.

4. Joseph; born November 6, 1832, at Kirtland, Ohio; who is now President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

5. Frederick G. W.; born at Kirtland, Ohio, June 20, 1836, and died at Nauvoo, Illinois, April 13, 1862.

6. Alexander H.; born at Far West, Missouri, June 2, 1838; who is now Patriarch of the church and Counselor of the President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

7. Don Carlos; born June 13, 1840, at Nauvoo, Illinois, and died at the same place, August 15, 1841.

8. David H.; born after his father's death, November 18, 1844, at Nauvoo, Illinois; was for a time Counselor to the President of the church, but on account of disability is now inactive.

Hyrum's family. Hyrum's family accompanied the Utah faction, and some of his sons have been and are prominently connected with that body.

Wight's tribute to his character. As a fitting close to this chapter we quote the testimony of Lyman Wight, who was intimately acquainted with Joseph Smith from January, 1831, to the time of his death. Elder Wight knew the Prophet well, in his private and public life, in his official and social relations, and was his companion in bonds when incarcerated in Missouri's dungeon for the gospel's sake. In an address written

December 17, 1851, the manuscript of which is now before us, he writes of Joseph Smith as follows:—

"He was greatly beloved and revered by the members of different churches, as also by all his acquaintances with the exception of the various denominations. His soundness in the belief of the doctrine to which he gave heed; his firm, sound, candid mind, and unshaken disposition to do the will of heaven as he was instructed, caused him to have many enemies among the denominations of the day, as also many in his own society. The greatest difficulty originated from his not giving up his own faith and believing in that of others. As many, very many, have grossly mistaken his character, I, having been acquainted with him for at least fourteen years previous to his death, take the liberty to say: That no man can draw any inference of his religion or character from Salt Lake or Beaver Island. Any person or persons drawing inference of his true charcter, or of the tenets of his doctrine, from these two histories, would do him great injustice, and do a great injury to themselves. . . .

"Joseph Smith, the 'author and proprietor' of the Book of Mormon, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, was six feet two inches high, of a form and figure difficult to surpass among the human family. He was a man possessed of a great share of good humor. As great a lover of his country as could be found among men. Often spoke of the government as being the most admirable on earth. Wept over the mob of Missouri and Philadelphia[6] alike. He often wept that mobs should arise under the glorious institutions of the United States. Always spoke highly of our chief magistrates and those who administered the laws."

[6] Referring doubtless to the uprising in 1838 against the anti-slavery societies, when Pennsylvania Hall was burned by a mob: or to riots in 1844, when there existed hostilities between Roman Catholics, and "Native Americans," resulting in the burning of two Catholic churches.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER 34.

Hyrum Smith—William Law.

HYRUM SMITH.

Hyrum Smith was the second son of Patriarch Joseph Smith, and elder brother of the Prophet. He was born February 9, 1800, at Tunbridge, Vermont.

The events of his early life were so closely associated with those of his father and brother that they require no repetition here.

He was baptized in Seneca Lake, New York, in June, 1829, and was one of the "eight witnesses" to the Book of Mormon.

He was married November 2, 1826, to Miss Jerusha Barden, by whom he had six children,—two sons and four daughters:—

Lovina; born September 16, 1827.
Mary; " June 27, 1829.
John; " September 22, 1832.
Hyrum; " April 27, 1834.
Jerusha; " January 13, 1836.
Sarah; " October 2, 1837.

On October 13, 1837, while he was absent in Missouri, his wife died, leaving five small children.

On November 7, 1837, at a conference held at Far West, Missouri, when Frederick G. Williams was rejected as Second Counselor to the President of the Church, Hyrum Smith was chosen to succeed him.

In the same year he was married to Miss Mary Fielding, by whom he had two children; namely:—

Joseph F.; born November 13, 1838.
Martha; born May 14, 1841.

He passed through the Missouri trials with unflinching courage, and was the companion of his brother Joseph and others during their imprisonment, related in this work.

In 1841 he was called by revelation to succeed his father as Presiding Patriarch of the church; and William Law was chosen to succeed him in the First Presidency.

In this same revelation it is said of him, "Blessed is my servant Hyrum Smith, for I, the Lord, loveth him, because of the integrity of his heart, and because he loveth that which is right before me, saith the Lord."

Though by this call he was removed from the presiding quorum of the church, he practically continued what he had ever been—the constant companion and counselor of his brother Joseph. He was devotedly attached to his brother, never leaving him for more than six months at one time during his life.

In the cruel assassination at Carthage he shared his brother's fate, and was murdered by a mob, on June 27, 1844.

WILLIAM LAW.

Of William Law, who in 1841 was chosen to succeed Hyrum Smith, we know but little, either of his early history or of his career after leaving the church. He figured prominently in church circles for a few years in Nauvoo; then was involved in difficulties, and was expelled from the church. He was one of the dissenters in 1844, whose agitations contributed to bringing about the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

From Nauvoo he removed to Rock Island, Illinois.

CHAPTER 35.

JOHN TAYLOR—JOHN E. PAGE—WILFORD WOODRUFF—WILLARD RICHARDS—GEORGE A. SMITH—LYMAN WIGHT.

IN chapter 25, volume 1, we gave brief sketches of those who constituted the first quorum of Twelve organized in this dispensation. To the time of the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith there were six changes. Five were expelled from the quorum; namely: Luke E. Johnson, Lyman S. Johnson, John F. Boynton, William E. McLellin, and Thomas B. Marsh, and five were selected to fill their places; namely: John Taylor, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, and George A. Smith. One had been killed; namely: David W. Patten; and Lyman Wight was chosen in his place. We give short accounts of their lives and labors, in the order of their choice.

JOHN TAYLOR.

John Taylor, son of James and Agnes Taylor, was born at Milnthorpe, Westmoreland County, England, November 1, 1808. He was brought up in the Church of England, until he was fifteen years old, when he became identified with the Methodist Church, and soon after became a local preacher.

In 1828 or 1829, he emigrated to America, and resided for a short time in each of the following places: New York, Brooklyn, and Albany. He then located at Toronto, Canada, where he married Miss Leonora Cannon, daughter of Captain Cannon, of the Isle of Man.

In 1836 Parley P. Pratt visited Toronto, and John Taylor and his wife received him cordially, investigated his claims, and were baptized by him. Soon after he was ordained an elder by Elder Pratt.

When Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Thomas B.

Marsh visited Canada in 1837, Elder Taylor was by them ordained a high priest.

On July 8, 1838, he, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, and Willard Richards, were designated by revelation to fill the places of the two Johnsons, McLellin, and Boynton in the Quorum of Twelve. He soon after removed to Kirtland, thence to Missouri.

December 19, 1838, he was ordained an apostle, by Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

He shared in the troubles of the saints in Missouri, and took an active part in petitioning for redress. In 1839 and 1840 he accompanied his quorum in prosecuting a mission in England. His labors extended to Scotland and the Isle of Man.

He returned to America in 1841, and at the October conference of that year was appointed one of a committee to petition Congress for a redress of wrongs. In November, 1842, he became the editor of the *Times and Seasons*, and continued to act in that capacity until the paper was discontinued in February, 1846.

He was voluntarily in Carthage jail when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were assassinated, June 27, 1844, and was severely wounded by four balls, from which he subsequently recovered.

He was among the members of his quorum who sustained the measures of Brigham Young in 1844, and shared the fortunes of the people who followed him in their western exodus. Having remained in Utah after the pioneers left there in 1847, he was not present at the reorganization under Brigham Young which took place at Council Bluffs in December, 1847.

In October, 1880, he was chosen by the Utah people as President of their organization, to succeed Brigham Young, who died August 29, 1877. In this capacity he served the remainder of his life. He died July 25, 1887, presumably at Kaysville, Utah. He was at the time in hiding to escape arrest at the hands of United States officers, as he had some time before been indicted for polygamy or unlawful cohabitation.

JOHN E. PAGE.

John E. Page was born February 25, 1799, in Trenton, Oneida County, New York. When at the age of eighteen he united with the Methodist Church. He was married July 1, 1831, to Mrs. Betsy Thomson.

He was baptized in Ohio, August 18, 1833, by Emer Harris, brother of Martin Harris; was ordained an elder by Nelson Higgins in September of the same year. His wife died October 1, 1833, leaving one small child, who died May 1, 1835. He married Lorain Stevens December 26, 1833, by whom he had four sons; viz., Jonathan, Manasseh, Ephraim, and George.

In the fall of 1835 he removed to Kirtland, Ohio.

In 1836 went on a mission to Canada, and was gone about seven months, when he returned to Kirtland for his family, and again began missionary work in Canada.

In 1838 he left Canada for Missouri with a company of saints.

During his two years service in Canada he baptized over six hundred persons.

With his company he arrived at De Witt, Carroll County, Missouri, in October, 1838. At the time the place was attacked by the mob he shared in the expulsion from that place and the sufferings incident thereto. As a result of suffering and privations he lost his wife sometime this year. He sought refuge in Far West, Missouri, only to share in the suffering which soon followed in that place.

He had previously, on July 8, 1838, been called to the apostleship, and on December 19 he was ordained an apostle at Far West, by Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

On December 26, 1838, he was married to Mary Judd, who still lives and resides at Independence, Missouri. She is now Mrs. Eaton. By her he had eight children; viz.: Excenia, Celestia Eliza, Orson Eli, Justice Enoch, Celina Ermina, Mary Emiline, Justin Ether, and Jerome E.

Early in 1839 he started with his family for Illinois, but on the way he met some members of his quorum returning to Far West to hold a meeting on the Temple Lot on April

26. He returned with them and participated in the meeting, then proceeded to Illinois, and located at Warsaw, Hancock County.

In April, 1840, he was appointed to accompany Elder Orson Hyde to Jerusalem, and started to do so; but for some reason he did not leave America. He and Elder Hyde had some misunderstanding. Just what the nature of it was we are not informed.

Because he failed to go confidence in him was to some extent impaired, and he was not considered in full fellowship. At the April conference of 1842 Elder Page made a detailed explanation and was restored to full fellowship. He afterwards did considerable missionary work in the Eastern States, and his labors were well received, especially in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

In 1844, after the death of President Smith, Elder Page was one of the three members of his quorum who protested against the action of the majority of the Twelve and refused to countenance their proceedings. Of this and the subsequent events of his life his widow, now Mrs. William Eaton, writes under date of September 25, 1896, as follows:—

"In 1845 the Twelve called him from Pittsburg to Nauvoo, Illinois. He went to work for them, built the Tithing House across the Mississippi River, on the Iowa side. By this time he had seen and heard their erroneous teachings and practice. Publicly to a large crowd, he standing on the temple steps, proclaimed that he would not stay with them, and proved by divine books their works were evil.

"In 1846 J. Strang's claims in pamphlet were spread among the people; he accepted them—started for Wisconsin to find Strang, who made him one of his apostles. When he had been there about two years he ascertained Strang had adopted as his own the evil teachings of the Twelve in the old church and was practicing them. He [Strang] also had a secret covenant combination in his church. He in a large congregation renounced Strang and all his vile teaching and practice. He did not profess to know Strang was a prophet, but supposed he was appointed in Joseph's stead, . . . but found him an arch deceiver, self-appointed. He then worked

two years to sustain his family, and earn money enough to get away from Voree, Strang's town.

"In 1851 he lived in De Kalb, Illinois, preaching the gospel on Sunday, laboring with his hands for life's necessities through the week. He staid there seventeen years.

"In 1863 Granville Hedrick came to see him; . . . he went [to Bloomington], staid four months. He had the asthma when he went to Bloomington, but Hedrick's papers state he preached for him [Hedrick] and ordained him a prophet. Elder Page came home afflicted with a terrible asthma which had grown worse, and he continued to fail until he died in his own house, eight miles north of Sycamore, De Kalb County, Illinois, October 14, 1867. . . .

"Seven days before his death he selected his place of burial under a big ash tree on a beautiful hill on the north bank of the Kishwaukee River, which ran through his farm. His name was with the Hedrickites as an apostle. He said of them in his last sickness: 'I am disappointed. The Hedrickites are not doing as I expected when I joined them.'

"I always read the *Saints' Herald* to him. He said [to] get Elder John Landers [of the Reorganization] to preach his funeral sermon, which was done. His knowledge of the truth of the gospel never failed. He died believing in the gathering of Israel, the restitution of all things spoken of by the prophets, and that he should come forth in the first resurrection.

"MRS. MARY PAGE EATON,
"77 years old; Independence, Jackson County, Missouri."

WILFORD WOODRUFF.

He was the son of Aphek Woodruff. He was born at Farmington (now Avon), Hartford County, Connecticut, March 1, 1807. He assisted his father in the milling business in his youth, and at the age of twenty took charge of a flouring mill belonging to his aunt; this mill he operated for five years.

In 1832 he went with his eldest brother, Azmon, to Richland, Oswego County, New York, where they purchased a farm and sawmill and entered into business.

On December 31, 1833, he was baptized by Elder Zera

Pulsipher. On January 2, 1834, he was ordained a teacher, by Elder Pulsipher. In the spring of 1834 he went to Kirtland, and accompanied Zion's camp to Missouri.

In the fall of the same year he was ordained a priest in Clay County, Missouri, and sent on a mission to Arkansas and Tennessee in company with an elder. In 1835 while on this mission he was joined by Elder Warren Parrish, who ordained Mr. Woodruff an elder, and left him in charge of the churches. He continued in that mission laboring mostly in Tennessee, having for companions D. W. Patten, Warren Parrish, A. O. Smoot, and others; and on May 31, 1836, he was ordained a seventy by Elders Patten and Parrish. In the fall of the same year he returned to Ohio.

April 13, 1837, he was married to Miss Phœbe Whitmore Carter, daughter of Ezra Carter. Soon after he departed on a mission to the East, especially to Fox Island, where he accomplished a good work. He continued in this mission, preaching sometimes on the island and sometimes on the mainland, until October, 1838, when on the 9th he started for Missouri with a company of saints numbering fifty-three. Hearing of the unsettled condition of affairs in Missouri he stopped for the winter at Rochester, Illinois.

In the spring of 1839 he removed his family to Quincy, Illinois, and from there accompanied the Twelve to Far West, to hold the memorable meeting of April 26, 1839. At this meeting he was ordained an apostle, to which office he had been called on July 8, 1838. Returning to Illinois he removed his family to Montrose, Iowa, where he left them and accompanied his quorum on their mission to England. From this mission he returned to Nauvoo in October, 1841. In February, 1842, he took charge of the business department of the *Times and Seasons*.

Elder Woodruff was an active man, and was busily engaged in church interests the remainder of the Prophet's life. In 1844 he supported the action of the majority of the Twelve. He was present at the reorganization under Brigham Young, at Council Bluffs, in December, 1847, and was an active participant. Since then he has shared the fortunes of the Utah people.

On April 7, 1889, he was chosen to succeed Elder John Taylor as president of the Utah organization, in which capacity he still serves at the advanced age of ninety years. He is the only man now living who held the office of apostle in the Quorum of the Twelve at the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

WILLARD RICHARDS.

Willard Richards was the son of Joseph and Rhoda Richards. He was born at Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, June 24, 1804. When at the age of ten years he moved with his parents to Richmond, in the same State. Later he was engaged in the practice of medicine near Boston, and there he became acquainted with the Book of Mormon, and subsequently went to Kirtland, Ohio, in company with his brother, Dr. Levi Richards.

On December 31, 1836, he was baptized at Kirtland, Ohio, by Brigham Young; and on March 6, 1837, he was ordained an elder, by Alva Beeman. He filled a short mission to the Eastern States.

June 13, 1837, he started in company with Elders Kimball and Hyde, of the Twelve, for England, where he did faithful labor for the church, and cared for the interests of the work in England when the authorities in America could give it but little attention on account of troubles at home. April 1, 1838, he was ordained a high priest, and appointed counselor to Joseph Fielding, then president of the mission. On September 24, 1838, he was married to Miss Jennetta Richards, daughter of the Rev. John Richards.

When the Twelve arrived in England he was ordained on April 14, 1840, to the office of Apostle, to which he had been called July 8, 1838.

In 1841 he returned to America, arriving at Nauvoo, August 16. At this time and for some time after he was the secretary of the Quorum of the Twelve. He was voluntarily in jail at Carthage at the time of the cruel assassination, June 27, 1844, but escaped uninjured. Of this thrilling event he wrote an account entitled "Two Minutes in Jail." [1]

[1] TWO MINUTES IN JAIL.

Possibly the following events occupied near three minutes, but I think

In 1844 he sustained the action of the majority of his quorum, and at the reorganization of 1847 under Brigham

only about two, and have penned them for the gratification of many friends.

CARTHAGE, June 27, 1844.

A shower of musket balls were thrown up the stairway against the door of the prison in the second story, followed by many rapid footsteps; while Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Mr. Taylor, and myself, who were in the front chamber, closed the door of our room against the entry at the head of the stairs, and placed ourselves against it, there being no lock on the door and no ketch that was usable. The door is a common panel, and as soon as we heard the feet at the stairs' head, a ball was sent through the door, which passed between us, and showed that our enemies were desperadoes, and we must change our position.

General Joseph Smith, Mr. Taylor, and myself sprang back to the front part of the room, and General Hyrum Smith retreated two thirds across the chamber directly in front of and facing the door. A ball was sent through the door, which hit Hyrum on the side of his nose, when he fell backwards extended at length without moving his feet. From the holes in his vest (the day was warm and no one had their coats on but myself), pantaloons, drawers, and shirt, it appears evident that a ball must have been thrown from without, through the window, which entered his back, on the right side, and passing through, lodged against his watch, which was in his right vest pocket, completely pulverizing the crystal and face, tearing off the hands and mashing the whole body of the watch, at the same instant the ball from the door entered his nose. As he struck the floor he exclaimed emphatically, "*I'm a dead man.*" Joseph looked towards him, and responded, "O dear! *Brother Hyrum!*" and opening the door two or three inches with his left hand, discharged one barrel of a six shooter (pistol) at random in the entry from whence a ball grazed Hyrum's breast, and entering his throat, passed into his head, while other muskets were aimed at him, and some balls hit him. Joseph continued snapping his revolver, round the casing of the door into the space as before, three barrels of which missed fire, while Mr. Taylor with a walking stick stood by his side, and knocked down the bayonets and muskets, which were constantly discharging through the doorway, while I stood by him, ready to lend any assistance, with another stick, but could not come within striking distance, without going directly before the muzzle of the guns. When the revolver failed, we had no more firearms, and expecting an immediate rush of the mob, and the doorway full of muskets—half way in the room, and no hope but instant death from within, Mr. Taylor rushed into the window, which is some fifteen or twenty feet from the ground. When his body was nearly on a balance, a ball from the door within entered his leg, and a ball from without struck his watch, a patent lever, in his vest pocket, near the left breast, and smashed it in "pie," leaving the hands standing at five o'clock, sixteen minutes, and twenty-six seconds—the force of which ball threw him back on the floor, and he rolled under the bed which stood by his side, where he lay motionless; the mob from the door continuing to fire upon him, cutting away a piece of flesh from his left hip as large as a man's hand, and were hindered only by my knocking down their muzzles with a stick; while they continued to reach their guns into the room, probably left-handed, and aimed their discharge so far around as almost to reach us in the corner of the room to where we retreated and dodged, and then I recommenced the attack with my stick again.

Joseph attempted, as the last resort, to leap the same window from

Young he was chosen second counselor to Brigham Young. This position he retained until his death, which occurred in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1854.

GEORGE A. SMITH.

George A. Smith was a son of John Smith (brother of Patriarch Joseph Smith), and Clarissa (Lyman) Smith. He was born June 26, 1817, in Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, New York. After some years of investigation he was baptized September 10, 1832, by Joseph H. Wakefield. In May, 1833, he moved with his parents to Kirtland, Ohio. In 1834 he went with Zion's Camp to Missouri, and returned to Kirtland the same year. On March 1, 1835, he was ordained a seventy, and soon after entered into the missionary field. In 1838 with his father's family he emigrated to Daviess County, Missouri. On June 28, 1838, he was chosen and ordained a member of the High Council at Adam-ondi-ahman.

In the fall of the same year he was sent in company with his cousin, Don C. Smith, on a mission to raise means among their brethren to buy out the mob in Daviess County,

whence Mr. Taylor fell, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward, exclaiming, "*O Lord my God!*" As his feet went out of the window my head went in, the balls whistling all around. He fell on his left side a dead man. At this instant the cry was raised, "He's leaped the window!" and the mob on the stairs and in the entry ran out. I withdrew from the window, thinking it of no use to leap out on a hundred bayonets, then around General Smith's body. Not satisfied with this I again reached my head out of the window and watched some seconds, to see if there were any signs of life, regardless of my own, determined to see the end of him I loved.

Being fully satisfied that he was dead, with a hundred men near the body and more coming round the corner of the jail, and expecting a return to our room, I rushed towards the prison door, at the head of the stairs, and through the entry from whence the firing had proceeded, to learn if the doors into the prison were open. When near the entry, Mr. Taylor called out, "Take me." I pressed my way till I found all doors unbarred, returning instantly caught Mr. Taylor under my arm, and rushed by the stairs into the dungeon, or inner prison, stretched him on the floor and covered him with a bed in such a manner as not likely to be perceived, expecting an immediate return of the mob. I said to Mr. Taylor, "This is a hard case to lay you on the floor, but if your wounds are not fatal I want you to live to tell the story." I expected to be shot the next moment, and stood before the door awaiting the onset.

WILLARD RICHARDS.

—*Times and Seasons*, vol. 5, pp. 598, 599.

according to contract; but the mob began hostilities before they returned, and though they succeeded in raising considerable means, the contract was not closed. Soon after his return he removed his father's family to Illinois.

In the spring of 1839 he returned to Far West with the Twelve; where on April 26, 1839, he was ordained an apostle by them, and at once assumed his place in the Quorum of Twelve. With the quorum he went on the mission to England, where he labored about one year, returning to Nauvoo, July 5, 1841.

On the 25th of the same month he was married to Miss Bathsheba W. Bigler. In 1844 he was in harmony with Brigham Young and his measures, and shared in the exodus. In 1847 he accompanied the pioneers to Salt Lake, but returned, and was a participant in the reorganization of December, 1847, under Brigham Young, at Council Bluffs. He emigrated westward in 1849, and the remainder of his life was associated with the Utah people. He died September 1, 1875.

LYMAN WIGHT.

He was the sixth son of Levi and Sarah (Corbon) Wight. He was born May 9, 1796, at Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York. When sixteen years old he went into the United States army, then engaged in the war of 1812, as a substitute, and was stationed at Sacket's Harbor, New York. He served but a short time before he was discharged. The next year he reënlisted, and served, but we have not ascertained the length of time.

Returning from the army he removed to Henrietta, near Rochester, New York. January 5, 1823, he was married to Miss Harriet Benton, daughter of John and Sarah (Bradley) Benton, who survived him, and died a few years ago in Nebraska. She bore to him six children; viz.: Orange L., Anna C., Rosina, Lyman L., Levi L., and Loami L.

In 1826 he removed to Warrensville, Ohio, and while there in May, 1829, he was baptized by Sidney Rigdon into what was then called the Rigdonite or Campbellite faith; and while associated with that people joined with Isaac Morley,

Titus Billings, and others in what was called the "Common Stock Family," holding their property jointly.

On November 14, 1830, he was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by Elder P. P. Pratt, and on the 20th ordained an elder. At the June conference of 1831 he was ordained a high priest, and soon after went to Missouri in company with Elder John Murdock. His family followed him to Missouri, arriving at Independence, September 6, 1831. Providing a home for them on Big Blue River, in Jackson County, he gave his time to the ministry. In 1833 he was among those banished from the county into Clay County by the mob. Early in 1834 he and Parley P. Pratt were sent as messengers to Kirtland. Arriving there he assisted in gathering men and means for Zion's Camp. When the camp moved westward he went with Hyrum Smith through Michigan and Northern Illinois, joining the camp soon after crossing the Mississippi River, and was chosen General of the camp. July 7, 1834, he was ordained a member of the High Council of Zion, which position he held until 1837.

He was elected Colonel of the Fifty-ninth Missouri militia, receiving his commission from Governor L. W. Boggs. On June 28, 1838, he was chosen counselor to John Smith, President of the Stake at Adam-ondi-ahman. In October, 1838, he was taken prisoner, and was with the Prophet and others until their escape in 1839. He was again counselor to John Smith in the High Council of Iowa.

On April 8, 1841, he was ordained an apostle to succeed David W. Patten, which position he held to the time of the martyrdom in 1844. He was a member of the Nauvoo House building committee, and in the summer of 1843 he and Bishop George Miller took charge of an expedition to get lumber in the Wisconsin pineries for the building of the temple and Nauvoo House. After the death of President Smith, Elder Wight took a decided stand against what he termed the usurpations of Brigham Young, and was one of the three in the quorum who refused to affiliate with those who assumed the Presidency of the church. He also rejected the claims of each one who claimed to be the suc-

cessor of Joseph Smith, and in 1845 led a colony to Western Texas, where he persistently maintained that the Twelve and all other officers should have remained in the places occupied by them until the son of Joseph Smith should take his father's place. In July, 1855, he wrote Cooper and Chidester, editors of the *Northern Islander*, published in the interests of J. J. Strang on Beaver Island, Michigan. He states:—

"Now, Mr. Editor, from what I have written you will discover that what I have done is according to my ordination and calling, having acted in my own place and stewardship, and not in the shoes of any other man. If all had done the same, I think the church would have been in a much higher state of perfection. There was authority enough left to have moved the cause of Zion on, if all the authorities of the church had stepped forward, with the many good instructions given by Bro. Joseph, and, heart and hand together, it could have been carried on in perfect good order. Every man standing in his place according to his calling and ordination would have made a firm and sound presidency. And then if one of Joseph's posterity had stepped forth and done *his own work*, (and not his father's,) as Joseph's was handed down from father to son by lineage, (and he finished his work,) and handed it down by lineage to his posterity, so should his posterity have done his work which the father gave him to do on earth. Then, and not till then, shall we have a happy kingdom."

In the same letter he claims that he with Joseph Smith laid his hands upon a youth, whom Joseph blessed to be his successor. An old letter book of Elder Wight's containing this letter is now in our possession, and reads as follows:—

"Now, Mr. Editor, if you had been present when Joseph called on me shortly after we came out of jail [Liberty jail, Missouri, Ed.] to lay hands with him on the head of a youth, and heard him cry aloud, 'You are my successor when I depart,' and heard the blessings poured on his head,—I say had you heard all this, and seen the tears streaming from his eyes—you would not have been led by blind fanaticism,

or a zeal without knowledge. . . . While in jail there were many things spoken by the mouth of our martyred Prophet and Patriarch, and when I see these things taking place just as they were spoken, it cheers my heart and that of the brethren and sisters in this branch also."

Lest anyone should doubt who the youth referred to was, we here insert an extract from an address of Lyman Wight, written in December, 1851. We quote from the manuscript:—

"The church mostly went from there [Kirtland, Ohio] to Missouri, where they commenced another house from which they were driven to the State of Illinois, where we were commanded to build a house or temple to the Most High God. We were to have a sufficient time to build that house, during which time our baptisms for our dead should be acceptable in the river. If we did not build within this time we were to be rejected as a church, we and our dead together. Both the temple and baptizing went very leisurely, till the temple was somewhere in building the second story, when Bro. Joseph from the stand announced the alarming declaration that baptism for our dead was no longer acceptable in the river As much to say the time for building the temple had passed by, and both we and our dead were rejected together. Bro. Joseph then called all the councils together, and chose what he called a grand council of fifty persons, himself and counselors among the rest, as also the Twelve. More than once did he exclaim after this organization that if he should be taken out of the way the church would remain organized.

"We remained in a gloomy fearful situation for a short time when the death of Bro. Joseph took place by the hands of the mob, . . showing to us much plainer than language could tell that the church was rejected if the head was taken from it.

"The church now stands rejected together with their dead. The church being rejected now stands alienated from her God in every sense of the word.

"This being the case, what should now be done? I will here state the first thing to have been done would have been to have called the fifties together from the four quarters of

the earth, which contained all the highest authorities of the church. As you will readily see, that had not the fifty constituted the highest authorities, it would have been a species of weakness to have ordained all the highest authorities into that number. The fifties assembled should have called on all the authorities of the church down to the laymembers from all the face of the earth, as much as was convenient, and after having taken sweet counsel together, in prayer and supplication before God, acknowledged our sins and transgressions which had caused our head to be taken from our midst; and then have called on young Joseph, and held him up before the congregation of Israel to take his father's place in the flesh! Then should he have received intelligence of our forgiveness of our sins and transgressions, and we had then went on and finished the temple according to revelations of God, and the words of his servants—then should we so have done—then should the fifty have sallied forth unto all the world, and built up according to the pattern which Bro. Joseph had given; the Twelve to have acted in two capacities, one in opening the gospel in all the world, and organizing churches; and then what would have been still greater, to have counseled in the Grand Council of heaven, in gathering in the house of Israel and establishing Zion to be thrown down no more forever. In this way the church might have moved smoothly on, and onward, until the final redemption of Zion, and the building of the great temple therein."

Elder Wight died March 30, 1858, near San Antonio, Texas.

He maintained the views herein expressed unto the end.[1]

[1] As further evidence that Elder Wight previously taught the same, we quote from *Gospel Herald* (Strang's organ) published at Voree, Wisconsin, August 31, 1848:—

"Lyman Wight seems to cherish the idea that is ignorantly held out by some others, that Joseph, the Prophet's son, will yet come up and take his father's original place in the church, as the prophet to the church; whereas there is not one single word in all the Book of Doctrine and Covenants to warrant the idea."—*Prophetic Controversy*, No. 2, p. 17.

CHAPTER 36.

GEORGE MILLER.

We have no information enabling us to write of the early life of Bishop Miller. In January, 1841, he was called by revelation to succeed Bishop Partridge as Presiding Bishop of the church, and of him the revelation states:—

"My servant George Miller is without guile; he may be trusted because of the integrity of his heart; and for the love he has to my testimony, I, the Lord, love him: I, therefore, say unto you, I seal upon his head the office of a bishopric, like unto my servant Edward Partridge, that he may receive the consecrations of mine house, that he may administer blessings upon the heads of the poor of my people, saith the Lord. Let no man despise my servant George, for he shall honor me."

He was also chosen President of the High Priest's Quorum, to succeed Don C. Smith, and a member of the building committee of the Nauvoo House. In 1843 he went with Lyman Wight to the Wisconsin pineries to obtain lumber for the temple and Nauvoo House.

After the death of Joseph Smith, though not in full accord with Brigham Young and others, he remained with them, acting as Bishop and Trustee in Trust, until the exodus in 1846. He then started with them, but could not or did not agree with Young and others, and this was the cause of some disturbance on the way, the particulars of which we do not know. The only charge, however, that we have seen against him was in the language of Andrew Jensen, of the Utah Church, author of the "Historical Record":—

"Bishop George Miller was unmanageable; he would not observe order, and could not be controlled. Finally President Young was compelled to say that he would be disfellowshiped from the camp unless he repented."

When the camp stopped at Winter Quarters and Kanesville, Bishop Miller with a small following moved on up the river about one hundred and fifty miles and located for the winter at the mouth of the Running Water.

In the spring of 1847 he returned to Winter Quarters, but when it was resolved to send out the pioneers to select a location in the West, Bishop Miller objected, and soon after went to Texas and joined with Lyman Wight who was advocating the right of "Young Joseph" to lead the church. That Lyman Wight had been preaching the claims of Young Joseph sometime before August, 1848, is evident from an attack made upon him in the *Gospel Herald*, (Voree, Wisconsin,) August 31, 1848. An extract from a letter now before us written by Bishop Miller to J. J. Strang, from Austin, Texas, June 12, 1849, will be of interest and explain some of his motives:—

"I was baptized in the summer of 1839, by John Taylor, then one of the Twelve; and in the summer of 1840 was ordained a high priest, under the hands of Bishop Knight, Hyrum and Joseph Smith; and in January, 1841, I was called to the Bishopric, and set apart by the First Presidency, and under the hands of Elder Marks. And at the fall conference after the death of Don Carlos Smith, I was called and set apart as President of the Quorum of High Priests, with my counselors Noah Packard and Amasa Lyman.

"On this wise I now find myself in Texas, an isolated, frail being. In the spring of 1844 Joseph organized a council of fifty. I was one of that number. The question arose in regard to settling those saints in the South, that were making lumber in Wisconsin, for building the temple and Nauvoo House. The decision of the council was had, and Lucian Woodworth, George Miller, and Lyman Wight appointed to settle the company and their families, and procure a place for a stake for the gathering of the saints; whereupon Lucian Woodworth forthwith started to Texas and returned about the first of May. He negotiated with Samuel Houston (then President of the Republic of Texas) for a district of country to colonize the before-mentioned saints upon, which was to have been ratified at the meeting of the Texan Con-

gress the ensuing fall. On the part of the church we were to send commissioners or delegates to meet the Texan Congress, clothed with the authority of the church, to complete the negotiations for the aforesaid purpose. Woodworth, Brown, Wight, and myself were understood to be the delegates for said purpose. Immediately upon this decision, all or most of the before-mentioned council were sent on missions during the presidential canvass. I was sent to Kentucky, and Lyman Wight to Washington City.

"Whilst I was in the vicinity of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, on the morning of the 28th of June, 1844, Joseph appeared to me in a dream, and told me of the assassination of himself and Hyrum. I returned to Nauvoo. You are aware of many things that have taken place since in regard to the church. Lyman Wight took the lumbermen and others and left, and with them one of my sons. Lucian Woodworth and myself applied to Brigham Young, President of the Twelve, in his assumed standing, for the necessary outfit in papers, etc., to take with us to meet the Texan Congress. He dissolved the appointment. I started with the camp, came to Texas to look after my son. I have preached some and a few have believed; but I have not baptized any, because of the distracted state of the minds of believers in regard to the Presidency, etc. And until recently I have been disposed to get an inheritance in Missouri, and then stand still and see the salvation of God."

Subsequently Bishop Miller became identified with James J. Strang. We know but little of his history since that time.

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